GUIDE TO THE OX6 MARQUESAS FILE

[This file contains thirteen sources. The first of four historical sources is 4: Quiros, which, while it does not contain a very large amount of information, is unusual in that it records the first contact between Marquesan and European civilizations. 11: Cook, gives a record of contact made in the late seventeen hundreds. 5: Porter and 6: Lisiansky record Marquesan culture as it existed in the early nineteenth century, and include data on native life obtained from English sailors living in the islands.

The basic source in the file is 1: Handy, which gives a good general description of Marquesan non-material culture in all of its aspects. 7: Linton by a prominent social anthropologist who was Handy's assistant at the time, describes the material culture of the Marquesas in detail. 10: Linton describes the culture of the Marquesans from a personality-in-culture point of view. 13: Suggs is a manuscript prepared for the file by an anthropologist, who made a thorough study of sexual behavior on the island of Nuku Hiva in 1956-1958.

The physical anthropology is covered in detail by 12: Sullivan. 2: Handy and Winne discussed the music of the group and includes illustrative material, while 3: Handy covers the language. 8: Handy describes Marquesan tattooing, and presents many examples, and 9: Greiner illustrates and discusses the decorative designs used by the islanders. The file is well rounded in coverage of the complete culture and in addition is unusual in that historical depth from first contact in 1595 to the ethnographic present is available. The file was rpocessed between 1959 and 1964.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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CHAPTER XII.

Washington Islands.—Rooahooga.

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On the meridian of the 23rd October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S. W. Our latitude at this time was 9° 6′ south, and the longitude by chronometer 138° 27′ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Lord Hood, while a midshipman with Captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this Island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. On my prizes joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by Captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a Captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a Captain Marchand, in the French ship Solide, bound on a trading voyage to the N. W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and Lieutenant Hergest, probably

[pp. 1-74 not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by Captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship Dædalus. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet Captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American Captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains Lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleurien, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and 101
whatever names may be given to them by English or French 114
partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga 133
(so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe 609
coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom
was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some [301]
yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish
and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the [301]
fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, [237]
the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
● 101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

126 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

useful to him in his present situation. I also left with him a quantity of garden seeds, which he promised to cultivate. Gunpowder was the only thing I refused him; for it was a law with me, not to suffer a single grain of this dangerous commodity to be given to the islanders. As this was to be the last day of our stay, I ordered, at night, some rockets to be let off, the appearance of which terrified the natives extremely. They verily believed that we had the power of sending up stars, and that these luminaries, after disappearing in the sky, returned to us to be sent up again. 1804. May.

Though in my narrative of events as they occurred, I have exhibited, perhaps, no very imperfect view, either of the islands we are quitting, or their inhabitants; it may not be amiss to add a few particulars, to render the picture more complete.

133 The old Marquesa islands, the names of which I have already given in their place, are five in number. They extend, by the observations I made, from 138° 18′ to 138° 55′ west longitude, and from 9° 25′ to 10° 30′ south latitude.

The new Marquesas are in like manner five in number; and [101] are called by their inhabitants, Ooaboa, which is Trevannion's island; Ooahoonha, which is Riou's; Noocahiva, which is Martin's; and Hiaoo and Fatooda, which are Roberts's. The first three occupy about thirty-five miles in latitude, and forty in longitude; they were discovered in 1791, by Mr. Ingram of the United States, in his voyage to America for furs, and were named by him after the immortal Washington. Having stopped only at the island of Noocahiva, I can say nothing of the rest,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONCLUSION

In spite of the large amount of literature dealing with Polynesia, few parts of this vast region have been carefully studied and there is no part for which the information can be considered at all complete. New Zealand is probably the best known locality. Satisfactory, but by no means complete, information is available for Hawaii and Samoa and the present activities of Bishop Museum will contribute additional information regarding Tonga, the Austral Islands and the Marquesas. /2/

Accounts of the culture of single localities are chiefly valuable as a basis for the careful comparative study, which alone can throw light on the relations of the various Polynesian groups and ultimately on the larger questions of Polynesian origin and diffusion. The final solution of Polynesian problems can come only from a correlation of the evidence along all lines. Comparative studies based on a single class of evidence—traditions, religion, material culture or physical type—serve to arrange the data in order and make them available for such correlation. Theories based upon such partial studies can only be tentative but are justifiable on the basis of Bacon's dictum that truth can be brought out of error much more readily than out of chaos.

Recent studies of physical type have proved conclusively that the Polynesians are not a pure race but are made up of at least three racial elements (70). These elements are a dolichocephalic negroid race, a dolichocephalic or mesocephalic race which shows Caucasic affinities, and a brachycephalic race with slight Mongoloid affinities which Sullivan calls Indonesian (79, *b*, p. 18). The frequency and distribution of the two non-negroid races seems to indicate that they entered the region in nearly pure form. All three races are present in most of the Polynesian islands but they vary in the proportion which they bear to the total population of each group. The negroid element is strongest in Easter Island but is important in northern New Zealand and is found throughout southeastern Polynesia. The Caucasic element is strongest in northern New Zealand and the Marquesas. The Indonesian element is strongest in Tonga but is important in Samoa, southern New Zealand, Hawaii and the northern Marquesas. 144

Polynesian material culture shows an even more complex condition. The climate and products of all the Polynesian islands except New Zealand are so nearly the same that local difference in culture can not be ascribed to environmental causes, but it is hard to determine which of them are due to differences in the culture of the original settlers of each group. Many of the Polynesian groups are separated from their nearest neighbors by hundreds of miles of open sea and must have originally been settled by very small parties of immigrants. The *tuhuna* system, which placed the more important industries in the hands of 171 101

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 a few skilled workmen, was highly developed among the historic Polynesians and when an immigrant group included no *tuhuna* of a given trade, that element of 101 their original culture would tend to be lost or considerably modified. Primitive cultures are not static, and isolated populations come, in time, to have distinctive cultures. The legendary history of Polynesia points to long periods of quiescence and comparative isolation interspersed with periods of great nautical activity. Features which had been developed locally during a period of isolation might be carried to far distant groups during a succeeding period of voyages. The Polynesians were not conservative and it would have been possible for an immigrant group, too small to materially affect the physical type of an inhabited island, to profoundly modify its culture. Even during the periods of quiescence there was probably intermittent contact between the Polynesian islands through the medium of castaways. Some of the involuntary voyages which have occurred in Polynesia during the historic period have covered great distances, and the vagaries of winds and currents have sometimes carried canoes past many intervening islands to landfalls thousands of miles from their starting points. Castaways were usually well received and although they could hardly have brought about any major changes in culture they may very well have introduced single features such as folk tales, superior mechanical appliances, or new forms of ornaments. Western Polynesia was exposed to influences from both Micronesia and Melanesia. There is known to have been considerable contact between Samoa and the Gilbert Islands; and both Samoa and Tonga have been strongly influenced by Fiji.

171 In the preceding chapters of this publication a number of resemblances have been pointed out between the elements of Marquesan material culture and those of other parts of Polynesia. The distribution of the more important cultural traits in the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, the Society Islands, Samoa and Tonga is shown in the accompanying tables. Traits which are everywhere present in identical form, and traits which are limited to a single locality, have been omitted. The distribution of a few of the more important traits of non-material culture is also shown.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, is that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named[4] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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[4] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

BY

RALPH LINTON

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHIC SKETCH

903 The Marquesas include thirteen islands. The eight habitable islands form geographically two divisions—the Northern Division, which includes Ei Ao, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and Ua Pou; and the Southern Division, which includes Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva. (See fig. 1.) Ei Ao and Moho Tani, although formerly inhabited, are now deserted.

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[132]

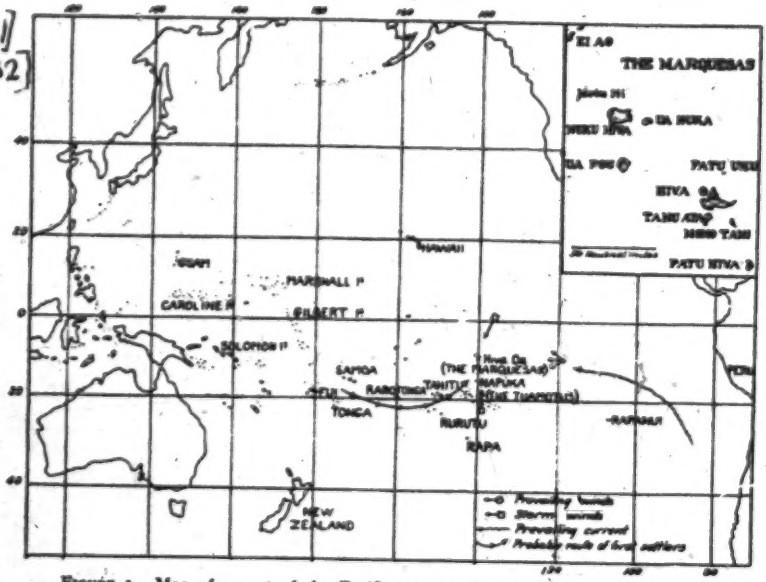

FIGURE 1.—Map of a part of the Pacific showing the position of the Marquesas and the principal islands of the group. The islands Ei Ao, Motu Iti, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, constitute the Northern Division of the Marquesas, and the islands Fatu Uku, Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva, the Southern Division.

[Note: this source has two sets of page numbers]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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GLOSSARY OF MARQUESAN NATIVE TERMS

In this glossary and throughout the text the terms used are those of the southern section of the island group unless otherwise indicated. If the term differs in the northern section, the variant is printed in parenthesis following the term of the southern dialect.

A. Day.
Ahana. Husband, male.
Aho. Cord.
Ahui (kahui). Prohibition placed on land, sea, or foods.
Akau. Wood.
Ama. 1. The candlenut tree and its nut. 2. The torch made of the kernels of the nut.
Ame. A carrying pole.
Ava-ika. Fishing.
Ehi. The coconut. Tumu ehi, the coconut tree.
Ehua. Year.
Eita, teita. Herbiage, weeds, foliage.
Ena (eka). The turmeric plant. 2. Curcumin.
Enata (enana, kenana). Native, native people. Syn. mao'i.
Etua, atua. God, spirit.
Fa'e (ha'e). Dwelling house.
Fa'e tukau or tu'a. Inspirational priest's house.
Fa'e tumau. Cooking house, kitchen.
Fainu, haika. Medicine.
Fanaua (hanaua). Female demons.
Fata'a. Sacred store house.
Fata. Food post.
Fau (hau). A tree related to the Hawaiian hau.
Fenua. Land.
Fetu. Star.
Ha'akekai (tekao). Legend.
Ha'a-te-po-'iu (haka-te-pe'iu). Chiefess.
Haina. Utensils, furniture.
Haka. Dance.
Haka-iki. Chief, first-born son.
Hami. Loin cloth.
Hana (haka). 1. Work. 2. Bay.
Heana (heaka). Revenge or sacrifice victim captured in war.
Hei. Necklace or crown.
Hiapo. A young tree of the fig family (Ficus prolixa) the bark of which was used to make the red-brown sacred cloth. (The old tree was called aoa.)
Hoe. A paddle.
Heki. Troupe of dancers and singers.
Honi. To rub noses, to kiss.
Hua'a (huaka). Relative, fellow tribesman.
Hue. Gourd or any closed container.
Ihi. 1. A tree (Inocarpus edulis). 2. The nut of the tree.
Ika. Fish.
Ima. Arm, hand.
Inai. Any flesh accompanying the popoi pudding made of breadfruit.
Inoa. Name e inoa, to be namesakes.
Ipu (kipu). A small container, a bowl.
Ka'avai. Valley.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Ka'eu. Woman's waist cloth.
Kahu. Cloth, robe.
Kaikai. Food.
Ka'ioi. Youthful liberties.
Kanahu or kanau'u. South wind.[28]
Kanau'u tokoao. Southwest wind.
Kanau'u tuatoka. Southeast wind.
Kava. 1. A shrub (Piper methysticum). 2. A drink made from the root.
Ke'a. Rock
Ke'etu. A squared block of cut tufa or coral.
Keho. A basalt column planted in the ground to serve as a back rest, a carved stone seat.
Keta. Basket or bag.
Keu. Game, play.
Kiva. Smooth beach pebble or boulder.
Kohe. Bamboo, knife.
Ko'ina (ko'ika). Feast or festival.
Koufau. Poles or sticks or fau with bark peeled off. Used ceremonially.
Ma. Fermented breadfruit paste.
Ma'ama. Month in the northern section.
Mahina. Moon, month in the southern section.
Mana. Power, skill.
Mata. Eyes, face.
Mata. Genealogy.
Mata tetau. Recitation of genealogy.
Mate. Sickness, death.
Mata-ei-nana. Tribe, people.
Matau. A fishhook.
Me'ae. Tomb, temple, sacred place.
Mei. Breadfruit.
Me'ie. Serene, clear, not tabu.
Mi'o. A tree (Thespesia populnea).
Moa. Temple assistant.
Moena (moeka). Mat.
Motu. Island.
Nati, kaha (nani kaha). Sorcery.
Noni. A tree. (Morinda citrifolia.)
Oho au. A special structure erected for some work.
O'ono (o'oko). Chants.
Ouoho. 1. Head hair. 2. Ornaments made of hair.
Pa'e. Headdress.
Paepae. Stone platform.
Pahu. Drum.
Pani. Perfumed coconut oil.
Papa. Board, flat rock, coffin.
Papua. Enclosed place, platform, garden patch, stockade.
Patiutiu. Northeast wind.
Patu tiki. Tattoo.
Pekio. Secondary husband or wife.
Po. Night, darkness.
Pu. Conch shell, musical instrument.

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[28] The names of winds are from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and from the Lawson Ms. Lawson writes that the natives had thirty-two names for winds, but that when he was in the Marquesas (1867) they remembered only a few. It is probable that most of the other names were those of kinds of winds (such as, gusts causing ripples near the shore, etc.), as is the case with names of winds in Hawaii and Tahiti.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Pu'a. Flower.
Puna. 1. Coral. 2. Source, origin, spring.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit.
Taetae. Personal possessions, ornaments, clothing.
Tafai. To feed or to adopt.
Taha ke'ina (ke'ika). Festival place.
Tahi'i. A fan.
Tama. 1. Child. 2. Subject of a chief.
Tanu. To plant.
Ta'o. Taro.
Tapa. Bark cloth.
Tapu. Sacred, prohibited.
Tatihi. Doctoring, surgery, medicine.
Tau'a. Inspirational priest.
Teka. Incision of the foreskin.
Temanu. A tree. (Calophyllum inophyllum.)
Ti. A shrub (Cordyline terminalis).
Tiki. Idol, image, representation, design.
Tino. Body.
Tiu. North wind.
Tiu tokoso. Northwest wind.
Toa. Ironwood tree (Casuarina equisetifolia).
Tohua. Paved dance place.
To'i (toki). Adz.
Tokai. Place where women dying in childbirth were buried.
Tokoso. West wind.
Toua. War.
Tou'a. Rope.
Tuaivi. Mountain.
Tuatona. East wind.
Tuhuna (tuhuka). Professional, director, expert.
Tuhuna nui. Master of crafts and learning.
Tuhuna o'ono (tuhuka o'oko). Ceremonial priest and bard.
Tumu. Tree.
Tupapa'u (tupapaku). Corpse.
Uapu, a'anui. Road, path, trail.
Uhane (kuhane). Ghost, spirit, soul.
Upena (upeka). Fishing net.
Upo'o (upoko). Head.
Uta. Paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from the bark of which was made the fine white cloth used for dress and ceremonial purposes
U'u. War club.
Vae. Leg, foot.
Vai. Fresh water, stream.
Vaka. Canoe.
Vehine. Woman, wife.
Vehine hae. Ghost, demon, ogress.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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That is past	Oovayoo
That will be	Ena ebo
They	Ato
Thief, he is a	Ekamoo
Thigh	Pooha
Thou	Koé
Tongue, hold your	Tooi tooi
True	Toomoo

W.

War	Etou
Water	Vy
Water, is there no?	Hamtivy
We	Mato
Well, that is	Midaggé
What do you call it?	Ehadené
What is that?	Ea ha
Where do you go?	Anoigé
Where is he?	Ihé
Where is your king or chief?	Ha kyiriké
White or Yellow	Tava tava
Who is that?	Ooy
Why	Meyaha
Wife	Evehené
Woman	Vehené
Work	Hanamydehana
Wounded	Vootoo

Y.

Year	Etahetau
You	Taoe
I am	Ooaoo
Thou art	Koé enaeeshoo
He is	Oyana
I was	Ooaoo houné
You were	Koé houné
He was	Oyana houné
She was	Tahova hené houné
I will do it	Ehaooney
You will do it	Atahagoé
He will do it	Tyé hanha aooné
I have	Eia
I had	Iua oo houné
I will have	Eyna aeetahé

Numerals.

1	Eytahé
2	Eynoo
3	Eyto
4	Eyha
5	Eyma
6	Eyono
7	Ehitoo
8	Evahoo
9	Eyva
10	Hanhoo.

[802]

N. B. By the inhabitants of Noocahiva the letter *h* is not always sounded. The vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are pronounced as the French pronounce them, except where the *e* is doubled.

[1047]

[pp. 326 - end not processed.]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXb Marquesas OX6

105 649 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 105 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspirational priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 461 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 619 484 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships, and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preeminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

1: Handy, E.S. Craighill. The Native Culture in the Marquesas. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin No. 9. Honolulu: 1923

Yale: S11 O182 9.

Pp. v, 358; 7 end plates; 30 text figures including 7 maps.

[This work by a professional ethnologist constitutes the major source on the culture of the Marquesas. While much of the former culture has disappeared, Handy, by utilizing the memories of aged informants and the early accounts of travelers, has been able to reconstruct the culture as it existed in the past. Although the book deals primarily with these data, some information is included on the modern inhabitants of the Marquesas. The book contains information on material culture, social organization, political structure, warfare, life cycle, religion, and subsistence patterns. Many of the passages used by the author to illustrate given points are credited by the author to Ralph Linton, who accompanied the author in the capacity of archaeologist. There is a lengthy errata sheet on page v. --Analyst]

Field date: 1920-1921 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: James R. Leary Processed in 1959

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OX6 Marquesas

2: Handy, E.S.Craighill, and Winne, Jane Lathrop. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin No. 17. Honolulu: 1925.

Yale: S11. 0182 17

Pp. 51.

[This monograph is written in two sections. Pp. 5-31 consist of a discussion of the music of the group by Handy, while pp. 32-51 contain examples of the music, along with native texts and translations, analyzed by Lathrop. In addition to this material, some data are given on other aspects of culture, primarily as background. --Analyst] Winne did not visit the Marquesas Islands, but worked with Handy's primary material.

Field date: 1920-1921
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5, Musician-4.
Processed in 1958

OX6 Marquesas

3: Handy, E.S. Craighill. Marquesan Legends. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin No. 69. Honolulu: 1930.

Yale: S11 0182 69.

Pp. 138; frontispiece.

Omitted from the files, native texts: pp. 21-138.

[Only pp. 1-20 have been processed for the files. There is a section on phonology, and a legend with parallel texts. Short sections are also included on stylistics, special languages, and the teaching methods used to transmit legends and geneaologies--Analyst]

Field date: 1920-1921
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

4: Fernandez de Quiros, Pedro. The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. 14, Vol. 1. Translated for the Hakluyt Society by Clements Markham. London: 1904.

Yale: E10 H15 II.14

Pp. xlvii, 320; 3 maps.

Omitted from the files: pp. 1-15, 30-148, 153-320.

[This work represents an account of the first contact between the Marquesans and European civilization. At the time covered by the narrative, the author was Chief Pilot to Adelantado (Provincial Governor) Alvaro Mendaña. Only the sections dealing with the Marquesas have been processed for the files, pp. 15-29, 149-152. The second of these two sections is more or less an abbreviated version of the first. The actual cultural data contained herein are scattered, but valuable since they were gathered during the initial contact of Europeans and Islanders. --Analyst]

Field date: 1595
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1959

5: Porter, David. A Voyage in the South Seas in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814. London: Sir Richard Phillips & Co., 1823.

Yale: Eca 819 v.8

Pp. 126; 1 plate; 1 map. This is a separately paginated section in the volume entitled New Voyages and Travels: Consisting of Originals and Translations, Vol. 8, published by Sir Richard Phillips & Co. n.d. Only pp. 75-118 of Porter's article have been processed for the files.

[Porter was Captain of the American Frigate, the Essex. Part of his information consists of first-hand observation, but a portion of it was obtained from an Englishman named Wilson who had lived with the natives for some years and had evidently come to share their way of life. While a large portion of the material recounts the dealings with the natives, there is substantial information on material culture, warfare,and religion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1812-1814
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1959

6: Lisiansky, Urey. A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6. London: John Booth; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown. 1814.

Yale: Ecd +803 Lig.

Pp. xxiv, 388; 8 maps; 6 plates; preface; appendix.

Omitted from files: pp. 1-60, 95-322, 326-388.

[The material in this volume, written by a Captain in the Russian Navy, was collected during a Russian navy world cruise to explore sea routes. Only one map and pp. 61-94, 323-325 were processed for the files, since the other portions of the book do not concern the Marquesas. The report consists mostly of a description of relations with the Marquesans, but cultural data were gathered from a runaway English sailor who had married into the group. An appendix is included of native vocabulary. Cultural data are generally in the nature of short observations about random facets of native life. --Analyst]

Field date: 1803-1806
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1958

7: Linton, Ralph. The Material Culture of the Marquesas Islands. Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 5, pp. 263-468. Honolulu: 1923.

Yale: S11. 0185. 8

[This source by Ralph Linton, a professional anthropologist who accompanied Handy to the Marquesas on the Bayard Dominick Expedition, is primarily of a descriptive nature. A very thorough description is given of houses, canoes, artifacts and utensils, weapons, musical instruments, clothing, ornaments, and data on all native crafts. The field study was supplemented by research in museum collections in the United States. --Analyst]

Field date: 1920-1921
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

8: Handy, Willowdean Chatterson. Tattooing in the Marquesas. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 1. Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication No. 3. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1922.

Pp. 32, 38 plates, bibliography.

Yale: S11.0182.1

[The author served as volunteer associate with the Marquesas party of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of 1920-21. This study is based upon her collection of tattooing designs found among the natives while with the expedition and supplemented by information gleaned from existing literary sources. The social significance of tattooing, the method of execution, the classification of typical designs, and the stylistic differences between the southeastern and northwestern island groups are discussed in detail. --Analyst]

Field date: 1920-21
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1959

9: Greiner, Ruth H. Polynesian Decorative Designs. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 7. Honolulu, 1923.

Pp. ii, 105; 29 plates; 2 text figures.

Yale: S11.0182.7

Omitted from the file, not dealing with Marquesas: pp. 35-100, plates 19-29.

[This study is based upon rubbings and sketches of designs in the Bishop Museum collection, and supplemented by drawings and photographs from published works. The discussion of tattoo designs is based largely upon the drawings of W. C. Handy (8: Handy of this file). The author believes that Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: house post designs which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear, and tattoo designs. -- Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1959

111 OX6 Marquesas

10: Linton, Ralph. Marquesan Culture. In, The Individual and His Society: the Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization, by Abram Kardiner. Pp. 138-196. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Yale: Nkb60. 939k. Copy 1.

[This is a descriptive summary of Marquesan culture by a well known professional anthropologist, similar to a standard ethnographic treatment but with emphasis on data significant to the psychological analysis which accompanies it in the original book. The author presents sections on environment and economy, master craftsmen, distribution, attitude toward objects, social and tribal organization, the household, sex, social grading, the individual life cycle, war, religion, and folklore and legends--Analyst]

Field date: 1920-1921
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

11: Cook, James. Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery. London: J. M. Dent & Co. for Everyman's Library, 1906.

Pp. x, 479.

Yale: Ecd 768Db

[Only pp. 164-167, which deal with the Marquesas, have been processed for the Marquesas file.]

[Captain Cook visited the Marquesas on his second voyage in April 1774. He did not stop long and had some trouble with the natives' thievery. The section is an impressionistic sketch of the Marquesans themselves, with some data on their culture, including food preparation and trade. --Analyst]

Field date: 1774
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Traveler - 5
Processed in 1959

12: Sullivan, Louis R. Marquesan Somatology with Comparative Notes on Samoa and Tonga. Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 9, pp. 139-249, and plates 36-41. Honolulu, 1923.

Yale: S11. O185. 9.

[Omitted from the file, pp. 197-232, 242-247, dealing with Samoa and Tonga.]

[This monograph, based on the field studies of E.S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy, is concerned almost entirely with the physical description and a discussion of the racial affinities of the Marquesans. Some population statistics and occasional brief notes on cultural data are given. Numerous tables of measurement are analyzed and summarized, and 90 separate photographs of individual subjects are presented in the plates. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-4
Processed in 1959

13: Suggs, Robert C. Marquesan Sexual Behavior. Unpublished Manuscript. New Haven, 1963.

Pp. 89 (HRAF typescript)

[This source, compiled by a professional anthropologist, presents a thorough and exhaustive study of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained from the field work of the author, assisted by his wife, on the island of Nuku Hiva in the years 1956-1958. Comparisons are made throughout the text relating the data obtained, to other ethnographic and historical documents of a similar nature. In addition to highly detailed information on sex behavior, the source also covers such ethnographic aspects as the author's investigative techniques and methods of obtaining rapport with the Marquesans, population statistics, the life cycle, infancy and childhood, puberty, adolescence, marriage, sex in later life, sex in humor, venereal disease, and a general over-all summary of the above. Other incidental data found in this source pertain to childbirth, circumcision, grandparent relationships, culture history, and mission activities. The

13: Suggs, Robert C.

final conclusions present information on various aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior which have aroused interest in other reports. --Analyst]

Field date: 1956-1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

Handy, Willowdean Chatterson. String Figures from the Marquesas and Society Islands. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 18. Honolulu: 1925.

Yale: S11 0182 18

Pp. 92; 4 plates; 45 figures.

[This source deals at length with string figures (cat's cradles) and describes the steps necessary to make a number of them, illustrating the finger positions involved. Inasmuch as the source contains no other cultural information, it has not been processed for the Marquesan file. --Analyst]

Linton, Ralph. Marquesan Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, pp. 474-478. Menasha; American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 27

[This very brief article deals with Marquesan culture generally. It has not been processed for this file inasmuch as it contains no information not presented in 10: Linton and 7: Linton of this file. --Analyst]

Elbert, Samuel H. Chants and Love Songs of the Marquesas Islands, French Oceania. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 50, Pp. 53 - 91. Wellington: The Polynesian Society, 1941.

Yale: Nk10 P76e v. 50-51.

[This work starts with a brief section on Marquesan language and song, and includes data on acculturative influences thereon and on the modern status of music. The major portion of the article is devoted to parallel texts in Marquesan and English of a number of chants and love songs. No musical notation is given. The author, while not a trained anthropologist when this source was written, is experienced in Polynesian field work. While a number of similar texts appear in the OX6 file, the file user who wishes more extensive material on Marquesan music and songs is advised to consult this source.]

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *pene ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective 121
report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years
1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern [131]
group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with
ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning
sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will
be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the
Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits.
Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of
aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some
interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected 122
while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the 114
Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American
Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a
total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago,
mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the
archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number 121
of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology
and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide
with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan
aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt
with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku
Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, [113]
Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro.
Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the
derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population
density in prehistoric times, native political organization,
economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports
and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior.
The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and
Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. [113]
New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Native Culture in the Marquesas

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The following description of the native culture in the Marquesas Islands is based on original research during a nine months' residence, supplemented by knowledge derived from printed literary sources and unpublished manuscripts. As ethnologist of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Marquesas, sent by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu, I arrived in the Marquesas September 21, 1920, remaining until June 21, 1921. The other members of the party were Ralph Linton, archæologist,, and Willowdean Chatterson Handy, volunteer associate. 114

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to pursue this piece of research is here expressed to Mr. Bayard Dominick of New York, who financed the Expedition; to the Trustees of the Museum, under whose auspices the work was done; and to the Director, whose staunch support was unfailing. Cordial thanks are expressed to the other members of our party for their willing and productive coöperation in the work in the field. Especial thanks are due to Jane Lathrop Winne and the editorial staff of the Museum for their aid in the preparation of the manuscript in its last stages. The maps were made by Stanley C. Ball from charts issued by the U. S. Hydrographic Office; the drawings are by Willowdean Chatterson Handy.

To many others whose friendship and courtesy did much to make the work in the field successful, thanks are due. The party owes a particular debt of gratitude to the Administrator of the Marquesas, M. G. de Poyen-Belleisle, who, as the representative of France, extended to the American party every possible courtesy, including the free use of government buildings for residence and work, and whose personal friendship and courtesy did much to make our stay agreeable. Particular thanks are due to three members of the Catholic Mission (La Congrégation des Sacrês-Coeurs de Picpus) of the Marquesas, to Monseigneur David Lacadrê, le Père Simeon Delmas, and le Père Ignace whose interest and generosity opened to me information to be obtained from no other source, contained in manuscripts written by the Catholic fathers and now in possession of the Mission. To M. Paul Vernier, head of the Protestant Mission, and to Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, we owe a debt of gratitude for their hospitality and for the aid that they gave to the work through introductions and personal interest. Special thanks are due also to M. Guillitou of Atu Ono, Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, Mrs. G. M. Fisher of Taio Hae,

[122]

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Music In The Marquesas Islands

By E. S. Craighill Handy and Jane Lathrop Winne

INTRODUCTION

114 The native music of the peoples of the different island groups in Polynesia offers a field for research of great interest and value both intrinsically and historically, which has up to this time been practically wholly neglected, a field perhaps richer than any other branch of ethnographic research that American or European students will be able to find in this region of the Pacific where so much of the native culture has been lost under the foreign overlay. This whole rich field lies open to anyone who cares to cultivate it, for it is still possible to hear the singing of genuinely native songs and chants in every part of the region. But no one should enter upon this work without a full realization of its requirements. The research, if it is thoroughly performed, demands not only training and experience but also the ability to learn and use various of the native dialects, infinite patience, and the capacity for enduring considerable physical and mental hardships.

Information concerning the native system of music in the Marquesas was acquired during my stay in those islands as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum in 1920-1921. At that time a number of native songs and chants were recorded and a study made of the significance of the songs and the manner of presentation.[1] On returning to Honolulu the musical aspects of Marquesas chants and of Polynesian poetry in general were discussed with Miss Jane Winne, instructor of music in Punahou School, who has given much attention to Hawaiian singing. During 1923 Miss Winne served as volunteer assistant with the Museum field party engaged in an ethnologic survey of the Society Islands.

121 In the preparation of this paper I have had the skilled assistance of Miss Winne, particularly in providing a method of transcription and in the preparation of the melodic figures.

This brief and fragmentary study of chants is to be taken as merely sug-

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with love-making and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Marquesan Legends

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The legends included in this collection were, with a few minor exceptions, collected in the Marquesas Islands in 1920 and 1921, in the course of the investigations of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. 114

The collecting of the bulk of the contents of this compilation gave many hours of interest and pleasure as I recorded the legends given in text sitting on the verandah of the house that was our base of operations at Atuona, while my learned friend and co-worker, Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuani, recited legends of the ancients with the peculiar vigor and enthusiasm typical of older Marquesans whenever they roll under their tongues the sacred lore of their ancestors which will soon be wholly forgotten. Even now, no living Marquesan has more than a fragmentary knowledge of their lore. When asked how it came about that Haapuani was so much better versed in Marquesan lore than any other whom I had met in the islands, his friends described to me how, when he was a boy, he used to be seen sitting in the midst of a group of older men gathered to talk of the exploits of heroes such as Kae and Tana-oa, taking in with eager ears and quick mind words which, treasured in his memory, were one day to enable him, with the aid of an interested friend from the big island named America, to preserve from oblivion at least a part of the wealth of lore with which the minds of all educated Marquesans were stored in the old times. Haapuani himself told me that he had acquired some of his knowledge when he was a school boy at Puamau, Hivaoa; but that later much had come to him from his wife's father who was a very learned man. 115

I was very fortunate in coming early into association with this native scholar—probably the most learned man in all the islands at the time—in the valley now called Atuona, on Hivaoa, where he was born and where his ancestors and those of his wife have lived from time immemorial. The ancient name of this region was Vevau; and Vevau [1] was recognized, by Marquesans throughout the islands, as the great center of lore in the *fenua enata*. Hence I was doubly fortunate in being led by circumstance to the man and the place best suited to give me the authentic lore I sought.

[1] See Handy, E. S. C., The Native Culture in the Marquesas: Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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CHAPTER XII.

Washington Islands.—Rooahooga.

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On the meridian of the 23rd October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S. W. Our latitude at this time was 9° 6′ south, and the longitude by chronometer 138° 27′ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Lord Hood, while a midshipman with Captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this Island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. On my prizes joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by Captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a Captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a Captain Marchand, in the French ship Solide, bound on a trading voyage to the N. W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and Lieutenant Hergest, probably

[pp. 1-74 not processed.]

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ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by Captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship Dædalus. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet Captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American Captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains Lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleurien, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group. 101 114

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded. 133

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of 609 [301] [301] [231]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

● 114

RALPH LINTON SERVED AS ETHNOLOGIST WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921, DEVOTING HIS ATTENTION TO MATERIAL CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY. SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE FIELD WORK A STUDY WAS MADE OF THE MARQUESAN COLLECTION IN MUSEUMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

[p. 2]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

114

WILLOWDEAN CHATTERSON HANDY SERVED AS VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATE WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921. SHE HAS TAKEN SKILLFUL ADVANTAGE OF HER OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE AN UNUSUALLY COMPLETE AND INTIMATE RECORD OF TATTOOING DESIGNS.

[p. 2]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[p. 141]

MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN
Based on the Field Studies of E. S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgments

114 THE field studies which form the basis of this paper were made by E. S. Craighill Handy in conjunction with his ethnological survey of the Marquesas. In the field Mr. Handy was ably assisted by his wife, Willowdean C. Handy. Ralph Linton assisted in the photography. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the field notes were turned over to me for analysis and interpretation. The mathematical computations were prepared by Mrs. Lois Treadwell Ruml and my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan, who also prepared the appendix and assisted throughout the preparation of the manuscript.

The somatological studies in the Marquesas followed the plan of those already completed for Samoa[1] and Tonga.[2] In addition to the somatological records Mr. Handy supplied me with full and valuable notes on the history of the population, opportunities for intermixture with whites and Asiatics, and customs of deformation of parts of the body. I am likewise indebted to him for valuable suggestions as to possible inter-island differences in culture and physical type which made my analysis much easier. The comparative data from Samoa and Tonga were furnished by the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, acknowledged in previous papers.

The Population

124 The material submitted for study consisted of the records of 201 persons. When the admitted mixed-bloods, senile and adolescent individuals were eliminated there remained two series consisting of 84 adult men and 74 adult women. Three persons with a small amount of Hawaiian blood were included in the analysis. By nativity the individuals examined were distributed as follows: Nuku Hiva 18, Ua Huku 18, Ua Pou 47, Hiva Oa 61, Tahu Ata 2, and Fatu Hiva 12. The material was not selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Marquesan people of today. Incidentally the 201 persons represent about 11 per cent of the total population.

[1] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

[2] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Tongan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4, 1922.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and 141
writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the 114
cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, 128
and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a 141
series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a 141
high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of 304
the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

GENERAL COMPARISON OF MARQUESANS WITH SAMOANS AND TONGANS.

X 142 114 The Bayard Dominick Expedition has furnished the comparative data from Samoa and Tonga. For New Zealand a unique and important contribution to somatology is that of Te Rangi Hiroa, a Maori, who has recently begun to publish in serial form a careful and thoroughly scientific study of his race. The first number,[1] dealing with skin color, hair form and color, eye color, weight, and stature has already appeared. Judging from this there is every reason to expect that the completed work will form one of the most important contributions to somatology.

Although skin color is of great interest the observations upon this character were most unsatisfactory. All of the observers complained that Fritsch's standard was not adapted to the study of the Polynesians. From my own experience with it I can sympathize with them. Furthermore the Fritsch standard is not expressed in numbers and I gave to the standards arbitrary numbers of my own. As the Fritsch chart is little known and to give the results in terms of it would be useless, it became necessary to translate these results into the terms of von Luschan's scale. I did this as best I could, but found it necessary to use two numbers in many instances. In order that there might be no personal peculiarities in the results I later asked four of the men engaged in these studies to match Fritsch's scale with von Luschan's scale. Here again great differences of judgment were shown by observers in the field. In view of this it seems best to state the results of skin color as a mere approximation. Two numbers were most frequently used—numbers 10 and 18 for unexposed skin color. Translated into terms of von Luschan's scale 10 was variously given as 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Number 18 is much darker and approaches 17, 18, or 22, 23, 24 of von Luschan's scale. For Tonga and Samoa Gifford and McKern most often reported 10 as the skin color for men. Handy gives 10 and 18 in about equal proportions. This would indicate that the Marquesans were considerably darker than the Samoans and Tongans. For exposed skin, however, no such differences occur. The Tongans, Samoans, and Marquesans are very similar. Buck's studies on the Maoris seem to indicate that they are also somewhat darker than the Samoans and the Tongans.

X 142 144 From Table V it will be noted that the Marquesans have more wavy hair than either the Samoans or the Tongans. Some of the difference may be accounted for by differences in standards of observation. This is true particularly of the curly hair of the Marquesans. (See p. 144.) But it seems fairly

[1] Hiroa, Te Rangi (P. H. Buck), Maori somatology: Journ. Polynesian Soc., vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1922.

/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern [131] group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected 122 while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the 114 Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number 121 of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, [113] Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. [113] New York. 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

/5 cont./

the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [114]

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to 161 114
determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the pro- 162
portions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed 843
by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role 842
of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating 841
(mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed 842
that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided [997]

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/87 cont./

114 165

birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. [776] [753]

Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [778] [776] [847]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for 853 182
nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical
remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan
nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent Euro-
pean introduction, as one would have to conclude from [114]
Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first 182
male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption sur- 844 597
rounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the 788
past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical docu- 175 157
ments or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal 856
astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There
are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the
native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the
Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of
general astringents, including some of those mentioned above
in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several
of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of
others is not identified, but no mention is made in the
missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the de-
gree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all
of the astringents are native plants (many of which are be- [137]
coming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the prac-
tice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion
that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably
connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities [832]
as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a
woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of 114
prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to 826
Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast de- 832
velopment which he believed he saw manifested by the
Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing
general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881 are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182 speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789] in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicate [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere-
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, [114]
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [157]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 869 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 114 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 342 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 183 a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 1140
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923). 462

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114 ●
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery. 182 831

Conclusions

114 ●

The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

/117 cont./

The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton 114
report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be ac- 114
cepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical 171
for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many 114
of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in 182
Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and 121
culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Marquesan Legends

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The legends included in this collection were, with a few minor exceptions, collected in the Marquesas Islands in 1920 and 1921, in the course of the investigations of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. 114

The collecting of the bulk of the contents of this compilation gave many hours of interest and pleasure as I recorded the legends given in text sitting on the verandah of the house that was our base of operations at Atuona, while my learned friend and co-worker, Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuani, recited legends of the ancients with the peculiar vigor and enthusiasm typical of older Marquesans whenever they roll under their tongues the sacred lore of their ancestors which will soon be wholly forgotten. Even now, no living Marquesan has more than a fragmentary knowledge of their lore. When asked how it came about that Haapuani was so much better versed in Marquesan lore than any other whom I had met in the islands, his friends described to me how, when he was a boy, he used to be seen sitting in the midst of a group of older men gathered to talk of the exploits of heroes such as Kae and Tana-oa, taking in with eager ears and quick mind words which, treasured in his memory, were one day to enable him, with the aid of an interested friend from the big island named America, to preserve from oblivion at least a part of the wealth of lore with which the minds of all educated Marquesans were stored in the old times. Haapuani himself told me that he had acquired some of his knowledge when he was a school boy at Puamau, Hivaoa; but that later much had come to him from his wife's father who was a very learned man. 115

I was very fortunate in coming early into association with this native scholar—probably the most learned man in all the islands at the time—in the valley now called Atuona, on Hivaoa, where he was born and where his ancestors and those of his wife have lived from time immemorial. The ancient name of this region was Vevau; and Vevau [1] was recognized, by Marquesans throughout the islands, as the great center of lore in the *fenua enata*. Hence I was doubly fortunate in being led by circumstance to the man and the place best suited to give me the authentic lore I sought.

[1] See Handy, E. S. C., The Native Culture in the Marquesas: Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

[p. 3]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r, k, v,* or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

15
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128

The catalog numbers of the individuals illustrated are here given. By referring to the Appendix complete details as to stature, cephalic, facial, and nasal indices, and other measurements may be obtained.

PLATE I—POLYNESIAN MEN

1—No. 16
2—No. 100
3—No. 137
4—No. 128 Chief
5—No. 143
6—No. 158
7—No. 104
8—No. 88
9—No. 146
10—No. 184
11—No. 58
12—No. 194
13—No. 88
14—No. 146
15—No. 40

PLATE II—MEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 28 marked incisor rim
2—No. 5
3—No. 2
4—No. 11
5—No. 27 part-Hawaiian
6—No. 9
7—No. 42
8—No. 55
9—No. 11
10—No. 28
11—No. 42
12—No. 55
13—No. 9
14—No. 27
15—No. 2

PLATE III—POLYNESIAN WOMEN

1—No. 126
2—No. 110—part-Hawaiian
3—No. 7
4—No. 145
5—No. 81
6—No. 182 marked incisor rim
7—No. 180
8—No. 148
9—No. 172 marked incisor rim
10—No. 15
11—No. 151
12—No. 196
13—No. 192
14—No. 60
15—No. 139

PLATE IV—WOMEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 50
2—No. 44
3—No. 3 part-Hawaiian
4—No. 38
5—No. 51
6—No. 1
7—No. 22
8—No. 6
9—No. 47
10—No. 21 frizzly hair, but cephalic index 88.2
11—No. 44
12—No. 50
13—No. 35
14—No. 6
15—No. 51

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PLATE V—MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES

1—No. 102
2—No. 161
3—No. 26
4—No. 48
5—No. 13
6—No. 59 } long heads, high faces,
7—No. 49 } and broad noses
8—No. 153
9—No. 23
10—No. 54
11—No. 152
12—No. 31
13—No. 116
14—No. 29
15—No. 14

PLATE VI—TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS

1—one-half Chinese
2—one-half Chinese
3—part-Chinese
4—part-Chinese
5—one-half Chinese
6—one-half Chinese
7- one-half Chinese
8-one-half Chinese
9-one half Chinese
10—one-half Chinese
11—one-quarter white, one-quarter Tahitian
12—one-quarter white one-quarter Tahitian
13—one-half English
14-
15- one-quarter Spanish, one-quarter French

ERRATA

In "Marquesan Somatology," by Louis R. Sullivan, B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem., Vol. IX, number 2, 1923, Plates XXXVI-XLI should read "Volume IX" instead of "Volume VIII."

[Errata have been noted on plates —Analyst]

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881 are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182 speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] ● them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824 in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [789] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without [833] stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes be- [114] gan heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicate [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the com- plex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

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ERRATA

Page	Line	Correction	Error
3	36	Ona	Ono
10	37-39	*a'o*	*ao*
12	12	islanders	islands
13	7	the few	these few
14	30	these names	that name
15	35	1100 A. D.	1100
	36	1400 and 1450	950 and 1150
17	11	Ua Pou	Na Pou
	38	Pua Ma'u	Pua Mau
20	30	*po'i*	*pi'i hina*
	31	Fiti-nui	Fitinui
	33	close	closer
	35	there	these
	40	Hana Pa'a Oa	Hana Pa'a
21	24	found	nd
22	12	Tahu Ata	Tahuata
23	26	stories	stores
24	31	distinctive	indistinctive
25	15	Easter	Eastern
27	9	Taha Uku	Tahauku
	29	Ona	Ono
30	7	Taupo-tua	Tau-po-tua
	17	whence	where
	30	whence	whither
31	8	The two	These
32	1	Tai-pi-ava-angi	Tai-pi ava-angi
37	8	(being not *tapu*)	(not *tapu*)
38	33	functionaries	functioners
39	1	masters	master
44	26	appears	appear
46	22	*manahi'i*	*manihi'i*
49	11	chief?	chief[1]
52	13	Nuku	Nuka
53	9	purpose	purposes
	19	words occurring	words
56	34	jealousy	jealusy
70	10	relationship term	relationship
	11	also to first	also first
81	5	Nuku	Uuku
89	26	*e inoa*	*o inoa*
94	1	her sisters	his
98	38	or merely	merely
99	24	occasional	occasionel
110	5	touched	touch
115	30	islands	island
124	8	Hiva	Hivo
127	45	*ouoho*	*owoho*
132	4	*tuhuna*	*auhuna*
140	30	*cooked. The*	cooked, the
141	9	was	war
	27	tribes	tribe
	38	Pa'aha-tai	Pahati
145	4	Fatu	Fata
	24	That is to say	That is, I say
148	39	sections	section
153	2, 6, 8	plate	joist
154	31	*vaka*	*veka*
157	21	pieces	piece
158	6	coconut fiber	coconut cord
164	10	store	stone
168	10	distributed	distributes
170	2	*au'oa*	*auo'a*
	3	*kau'oa*	*kauo'a*
178	14	cord	corn
179	55	ko'oka	koo'ka
184	19	described	describes
188	32	Tahu Ata	Tahu, Ata
190	34	keeps	keep
201	22	and even	even
209	7	*Uia*	*Via*
	34	*hunona*	*hunono*
211	6	valuables	valuable
212	16	usually	usual
213	31	*hahi*	*nahi*
214	10	description	descriptive
221	35	*ka'ioi*	*ka-ioi*
223	11	*tuhuka*	*tuhika*
234	32	*tapu*	*tapa*
241	18	the ears	their ears
247	29	Tiki, Tu, Kae	Tiki Tu Kae
248	14	seem	seems
257	32	chiefess	chiefly
262	2	*papa a'o*	*papa'ao*
268	17	*huetu*	*heutu*
275	32	fast	fact
280	24	*Ka'ioi*	*Ka-ioi*
	35	Haka Ui	Haka Hi
306	15	*hoko*	*hako*
311	26	*ru'u*	*eu'u*
315	25	intervals	entervals
316	27	*ko'ino*	*ko'ino*
319	32	Fai	Tai
321	13	large	lage
327	8	refer	refers
	32	momoe	momoa
333	11	example	examples
337	31	chant	chart
342	5	woman	women
	15	*to'o*	*ta'o*
352	7	Hiva	Hivo
354	36	Nati kaha	Nati, kaha
357	24	Ta'a Oa	Ta'a Ua
	33	Omo'a	Umo'a

Page 3, line 36, and elsewhere, substitute: Taiohae *for* Taio Hae *or* Tai o hae.

Page 12, line 5, substitute: contact with light-skinned Asiatics, or when some of them were themselves "white." A num-

Page 15, Table III, opposite the word "Taupo" substitute: 14, 24, 19, 475, 1400 A. D.

Page 114, lines 11 and 12, substitute: *humu ia pa'aha* (to bind in the coffin) were killed.

Page 158, lines 1 and 2, substitute: bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in place the caulking of coconut fiber.

Page 170, following line 10, insert lines 1 to 12 inclusive of page 172.

Page 188, line 35, substitute: There is a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona.

Page 282, insert between lines 38 and 39: chin, or on the fingers. The ornaments made of head hair were worn sometimes. . .

This list of errata has been prepared by the author, who has had no earlier opportunity to make corrections.

[P.V]

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THE NATIVE CULTURE
IN THE
MARQUESAS

BY
E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

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[p. 1]

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000

E. S. Craighill Handy served as Ethnologist with the Marquesas party of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, 1920-1921, devoting his attention especially to the religion and social organization.

[p.2]

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The Native Culture in the Marquesas

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The following description of the native culture in the Marquesas Islands is based on original research during a nine months' residence, supplemented by knowledge derived from printed literary sources and unpublished manuscripts. As ethnologist of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Marquesas, sent by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu, I arrived in the Marquesas September 21, 1920, remaining until June 21, 1921. The other members of the party were Ralph Linton, archæologist,, and Willowdean Chatterson Handy, volunteer associate. 114

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to pursue this piece of research is here expressed to Mr. Bayard Dominick of New York, who financed the Expedition; to the Trustees of the Museum, under whose auspices the work was done; and to the Director, whose staunch support was unfailing. Cordial thanks are expressed to the other members of our party for their willing and productive coöperation in the work in the field. Especial thanks are due to Jane Lathrop Winne and the editorial staff of the Museum for their aid in the preparation of the manuscript in its last stages. The maps were made by Stanley C. Ball from charts issued by the U. S. Hydrographic Office; the drawings are by Willowdean Chatterson Handy.

To many others whose friendship and courtesy did much to make the work in the field successful, thanks are due. The party owes a particular debt of gratitude to the Administrator of the Marquesas, M. G. de Poyen-Belleisle, who, as the representative of France, extended to the American party every possible courtesy, including the free use of government buildings for residence and work, and whose personal friendship and courtesy did much to make our stay agreeable. Particular thanks are due to three members of the Catholic Mission (La Congrégation des Sacrês-Coeurs de Picpus) of the Marquesas, to Monseigneur David Lacadrê, le Père Simeon Delmas, and le Père Ignace whose interest and generosity opened to me information to be obtained from no other source, contained in manuscripts written by the Catholic fathers and now in possession of the Mission. To M. Paul Vernier, head of the Protestant Mission, and to Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, we owe a debt of gratitude for their hospitality and for the aid that they gave to the work through introductions and personal interest. Special thanks are due also to M. Guillitou of Atu Ono, Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, Mrs. G. M. Fisher of Taio Hae, 000 [122]

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and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the
genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of
any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands,
but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two
rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While
popoi made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking [262]
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who
have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of
Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their
sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally
affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 177
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, accord- 144
ing to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the
finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of
them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. 164
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of
rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other
minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands
and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life
with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their
whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural
avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely
by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near
disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension
on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse
that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally
unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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181 In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

THE ISLANDS

131 The Marquesas lie between parallels 7°50′ and 10°35′ south of the Equator, and meridians 138°25′ and 140°50′ west of Greenwich (See fig. 1). In other words the group is from one to three degrees north of the latitude of Lima, Peru, and from fifteen to eighteen degrees east of the longitude of the island of Hawaii. The principal islands are Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Nuku Hiva. (See figs. 2-7.)

133 The group lies in the course of the westward equatorial current from the coast of South America. Of currents we read in the Pacific Islands Pilot (28, p. 177):

> The current, impelled by the prevailing trade wind, is usually to the westward, between west-northwest and west-southwest, at a rate of about half a knot an hour, sometimes, however, increasing to three knots. If the wind dies away or changes to the westward, the current slacks, and during persistent westerly winds its direction changes. After a week of northwesterly winds, a current setting to the eastward at the rate of three knots were observed in Bordelais Strait, between Hiva oa and Tau ata.

132 It is the trade winds which bring the islands their rain, the moisture borne by them being caught and precipitated by the high mountains. To quote again the same authority (28, pp. 176-7):

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From April to October the southeast trade wind, called by the natives *tua to ha*, prevails in the vicinity of these islands. The general direction is east-southeast, but it varies between east and south-southeast. . . . The wind sometimes gets to the west of north, when it is apt to turn into a gale. Gales are, however, of rare occurence, generally occurring in December, if at all. 132

As a consequence of the fact that this precipitation is much heavier at the windward than at the leeward ends of the two large islands, Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the flora is much more luxuriant at these ends, and a diminution of the luxuriance and a change in the nature of the flora due [137]

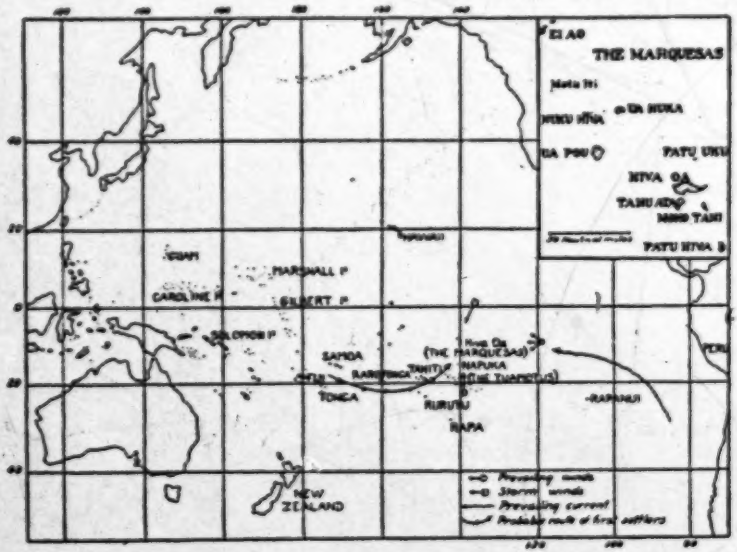

FIGURE 1.—Map showing location of the Marquesas.

to decreasing rainfall is seen from east to west. This tendency is to be observed in each of the inhabited islands, but there are individual differences in certain of these which should be noted. Fatu Hiva is known for its wetness. Its position makes it the first island to tap the southeast trade winds. Eastern Hiva Oa is wet, Western Hiva Oa, dry, and Ua Huka is also dry because its mountains are low. Nuku Hiva is wet on its eastern section while all the western plateau is practically desert. Ua Pou is the dryest of all the islands, its rain being cut off by Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva. Dryness amounts to dessication in times of drought. There is no regular rainy season in the group, the rain coming most commonly from January to July, and intermittently. But the group is

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132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 [134] The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of all the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [25] [262] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

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The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

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161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it* fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i oo,*" it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a misspelling of *i oo*.

* [i.e., the population. – Analyst]

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and Rarotonga. Again, the story from Hiva Oa of going to Rarotonga for feathers indicates a definite knowledge of that island and of several others, the locations of which the natives apparently anciently knew but which cannot now be identified with the present state of knowledge regarding the ancient names of islands in the eastern Pacific. The occurrence in certain sacred chants of the names Tona Tapu (Tonga-tabu), Vevau (Vavau), Fiti Nui (Fiji-Nui), Havai'i (Hawai'i, Savai'i), Upo'u (Upolu), Po'apo'a (Borabora), and others, as names of *fenua* or lands to the westward (toward Havai'i) indicates a memory, at least, of some geographic region where these were familiar names. Whether these were original for the natives of the Marquesas in the regions in which they were the native names of the islands at the time of discovery or whether their origins must be sought much further back toward Asia, only future investigation can prove conclusively. That names of lands were transplanted in the Pacific is proved in Central Polynesia. Vavau for the Tongan was the largest of the northern islands of this group; for the Tahitian, it was the ancient name of Borabora; for the natives of the Marquesas, it was the great valley on Hiva Oa now called Atu Ona. Fiji to the Tongan was Fiji Nui, "the great land to the west;" Hiti Nui was the ancient name of Tahiti; Fiti Nui to the Marquesan was a region on the western end of Hiva Oa. I have been assured by trustworthy informants that in ancient times Marquesas islanders used to go to Tona Tapu. There is a story from Hiva Oa which relates the voyage of a chief to Tefiti. This may well be the Hiva Oa dialetical variant of Tahiti; but it is to be noted that in the story it is definitely said that this land was toward the rising sun. The distribution of these land names just discussed proves one thing: that the people who used these names extended their possession right across central Polynesia from Tonga and Samoa, through the Society group, to the Marquesas.

No evidence has come to light which would indicate that Marquesas islanders had ever seen white men before the arrival of the historic explorers. In Hiva Oa it is said that Tane and Atea were, respectively, older and younger brothers. Tane was fair with light hair and is said to have been the ancestor of the white race (the Hao'e); Atea was dark like the natives, who are his descendants. This conception of Tane as a fair god I believe to be genuinely native, since it is in line with many similar mythological concepts of deities with fair hair and fair skins in other groups of Polynesia. Whether or not this indicates contact with individuals or groups of the white race prior to the historic discovery of the Marquesas, one cannot say. The beginning of the period when

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173 Spanish or Portuguese adventurers might have arrived at the group was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, these concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia or in Asia itself, when some of the ancestors of the Polynesians were in concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia ber of early voyagers say that white men who first came to the group were supposed to be gods *(etua)*. Whether this was due to association of the white men with such mythological teachings as are mentioned above, or merely to the fact of the size of their ships, the splendor of their uniforms, and particularly to the sight and sound and effect of their firearms, one cannot tell for certain. All that one may say with assurance is that the Marquesas islands, like the rest of the Polynesians, must, at some time prior to the first recorded visits of Europeans, have known of the existence of a white race, but that there is no evidence of their remembering having seen white men prior to the historical arrival of the earliest European visitors, the Spaniards, under the command of Quiros in 1595. The presence of Caucasian blood in the native physical complex, which is indicated by the descriptions of the early voyagers, and which was brought out also by the anthropological investigations of our expedition, must be borne in mind in connection with these considerations. All of the early voyagers were struck by the lightness of skin of the natives. Quiros (pp. 17, 22, 28) in particular speaks of light skins and refers once to red hair. This fairness of skin was undoubtedly due to some extent to the practice of bleaching; but the custom itself indicates an admiration for light complexion. This admiration is exhibited in many legends, as in that of Tuapu in which the color of the skin of the hero is likened to that of the meat of a coconut. Some credence is certainly due also to the statements of natives of the present day, with many of whom I have discussed this subject. All insist that in ancient times, before the arrival of any Europeans, there were many of their people with very light skin and reddish hair.

Quiros gives a very interesting bit of evidence indicating that the inhabitants of Hiva Oa had a knowledge of some darker complexioned people living in regions to the southward of their island. One concludes that these must have been natives of Tuamotu, some of whom, as a result of their life in the sun, wind, and sea, are very dark. To quote Quiros (25, p. 152):

> The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs toward the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess.

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The most trustworthy evidence as to the immigration of the original natives of the Marquesas comes from genealogies and legends. Some analysis and discussion of the genealogies will be necessary before conclusions can be stated. 173

Evidence of Genealogies

Every genealogy that I possess has in it, doubtless, numerous errors. No native today can recite his genealogy for many generations back. It is only these few that have been laboriously written down in old account books or on sheets of paper that can be obtained now, and in the writing of these by natives many errors have crept in. For instance, one was given me to copy in which all the names of men and of women were transposed in one section of the genealogy without anything to indicate the change. Frequently, too, a list of the children of some man and woman in the direct line is included in a single column, instead of being put into a side column, the children thus appearing as consecutive generations in the direct line. It is evident from the most trustworthy of my records that even in the ancient days one would have found considerable variations. For instance, in the early sections where conformity would be expected, there is wide variation, omission, different names, transposition of superior and inferior, and even of male and female. In other words it seems almost certain that, even in ancient times, the genealogists would not have been found to correspond accurately in detail, but rather to approximate each other. The division of the people into tribes, their separation and isolation, and the transmission of rceords by word of mouth from *tuhuna* to *tuhuna* must necessarily have given occasion for much error.

It does seem, however, that the genealogies may be utilized safely in making approximations of time elapsed. They may be said to furnish trustworthy suggestions at least. In the following tables certain notable names have been selected from the most trustworthy of the genealogies at hand: the numbers of generations following them, down to the last name written, have been recorded and these records have been converted into years, and averages made. Explanatory notes follow the tables.

With regard to Genealogy IV in Table I in which the number of generations is so much less than in the others, it should be remarked that this is the only one of the four of which I have no way of knowing whether or not it is complete down to the recent times. It was recorded by Père Pierre. For a number of reasons I am inclined to think that it is not complete in its latter portion. I should, therefore, be inclined to regard the average figures arrived at by using this genealogy in combination with

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173 the other three as a more accurate minimum than that given by Genealogy IV alone. The figures are self explanatory. In converting the generations into years, twenty-five years has been chosen as the probable average per generation.

TABLE I.—MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

	GENEALOGIES				AVERAGES		EXTREMES			
							MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	I	II	III	IV	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.
Atea and Atanua	90	67	74	46	69	1665	90	2250	46	1150
Ancient lands (Vevan, Fiti, etc.)	82	61	65	39	62	1550	82	2050	39	975
Tiki	69	54	45	32	50	1250	69	1725	32	800
Tana-oa	65	51	41	23	45	1125	65	1625	23	575

Atea and Atanua were traditionally the progenitors of the race. After Atea and Atanua always come names corresponding to those in use elsewhere anciently and in modern times—names which to the Marquesas islanders were at the same time names of ancient, distant lands and ancient names of local regions. Is there justification for concluding the Marquesas islanders were living in lands called by these names perhaps as long ago as two thousand years? No more than for concluding that these names are those of actual human beings. I take the occurrence of these names to mean, not that the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas were living in Vavau, Tonga, Fiji, or Savai'i at that ancient date, but that the region throughout which these names occur—Central Polynesia—was the route by which the natives, who arrived at the Marquesas in about the tenth century, came; and that these were revered names of some kind in still more distant and ancient lands to the northwestward.

Tiki and Tana-oa are deities and legendary heroes, undoubtedly purely mythical, so far as the Marquesans are concerned. There is no reason to suppose that any persons known by that name ever actually lived in the Marquesas.

In Table II is tabulated the antiquity in generations of certain characters, famous in legend, whose names are today the names of tribes or larger divisions of the country. The dates were arrived at by using 1875 as the approximate date of the last generation recorded.

TABLE II.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS

BASED ON FIVE GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES					AVERAGE	YEARS	APPROX. DATE
	I	II	IV	V	VI			
Nuku	35	39	18	—	—	31	775	1100 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	13	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	14	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	—	—	27	31	775	1100 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	8	21	—	17	425	1450 A.D.

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Nuku was, traditionally, one of two brothers who were the first settlers on Hiva Oa. As the name of the settler of the western half of Hiva Oa, Nuku became the name of the whole of that part of the island, or of the people living there in the dual division which is described below. Tiu is said to have been born in the valley of Taha Uku and to have settled in Ta'a Oa—the inclusive name for all the people in the great valley of Ta'a Oa is Tiu. Mo'ota was the name of one of several brothers of Tiu, who went to settle on Fatu Hiva and today is the name of a tribe on that island. There is everything in the legend of Tiu to make one feel justified in regarding it as certainly of local origin, and as a trustworthy piece of traditional history. Mohuta is the name of the tribe which inhabited the valley of Hana Uaua on the south coast of Hiva Oa. Taupo is the name of one of the subtribal divisions in the great valley of Vevau (Atu Ona). As was said above it is not certain that Genealogy IV is complete to recent times. The fact that the figures based on it are so much lower than those based on the others, which I am sure are complete, leads me to think that it is not. I feel justified, therefore, in regarding the averages arrived at by including Genealogy IV as a safe minimum. By using only Genealogies I and II, the two most trustworthy I have—both from Atu Ona—a safe maximum may be obtained.

TABEL III.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS
BASED ON THE TWO MOST TRUSTWORTHY GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES I	GENEALOGIES II	AVERAGE	YEARS	DATE
Nuku	35	39	37	925	950 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	37	925	950 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	37	925	950 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	33	825	1050 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	38	950	925 A.D.

Judging from the genealogies, it would seem that one is justified in arriving at the following conclusions, based on the figures given in Tables II and III:

Nuku, a first settler on Hiva Oa, came between 950 and 1100 A.D., perhaps somewhat earlier, certainly not later than 1100; Tiu, a brother of Mo'ota, settled in Ta'a Oa between 950 and 1150 A.D., and founded the tribe inhabiting that valley; Mo'ota was born in Taha Uku, Hiva Oa, between 950 and 1150 A.D., and went to settle in the island of Fatu Hiva, where he founded a tribe; Mohuta founded a tribe in Hiva Oa in about 100 A.D.

The founder of the subtribe of the Na-iki in Vevau (Atu Ona)) called Taupo, was born sometime between 1175 and 1450 A.D. The evi-

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173 dence, which indicates that the small valleys on the northwest coast of Hiva Oa were colonized by the Taupo tribe, this region being called Taupo Tua, or Back Taupo, is given below in the discussion of tribal relations on Hiva Oa. The expansion, which led to this colonization, certainly could not have come about for some centuries, even granting that Taupo may have had a number of followers when he founded his tribe. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the colonization of the northwest coast was, at the earliest, not before the latest date arrived at for Taupo, 1450 A.D. The northwest coast of Hiva Oa was, then, colonized certainly not before the fifteenth century.

On the basis of the evidence from genealogy and tradition presented above, which I consider trustworthy for approximations, it appears that Hiva Oa must have been settled in about the tenth century; that from that century to the twelfth was what we may call the early period of settlement in the islands of the southern group; and that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a period of later expansion. Conclusions based on evidence from these sources and arrived at by this method will be on a sure basis if more genealogies and more traditional evidence can be obtained. It is hoped that future work will make this possible.

First Inhabitants and Places of Settlement

174 According to Père Pierre (4), the natives believed that the names of the first inhabitants of the six main islands were as follows: of Nuku Hiva, Mohuta; of Hiva Oa, Tapu-oko; of Tahu Ata, Toheto; of Fatu Hiva, Mihi-toka; of Ua Huka, Koki-oho; of Ua Pou, Pa-hohe. The name Mohuta is the only one of these which occurs in the genealogies in my possession.

There is good reason to believe that early colonists to the Marquesas would have chosen Hiva Oa in preference to Nuku Hiva for settlement, since it is less rugged and much more inviting. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that they would have chosen as the most desirable location in which to dwell the region made up of what is now Atu Ona with the neighboring and easily accessible valleys of Te Hutu, Ta'a Oa and Taha Uku. This is obvious to one acquainted with the island, since this section presents by far the most expansive and most favored region for human existence. However, that this become a center of cultural development may have been due not to the choice of original settlers, but to the fact that after settlement was general it was the most favorable place for the development of a large population, and hence that its people gradually attained a dominant position politically and culturally. The naming of Atu Ona, Vevau, the claims of its inhabitants and other evidence,

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about to be discussed, leads me to feel, however, that the balance of evidence is on the side of this being an original center of settlement. 174

The largest and most important valley on Hiva Oa, now known as Atu Ona, anciently called Vevau Tua-kahakaha, or simply, Vevau, is said by informants of Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva, to have been the cradle and source of native lore, the center from which spread most of the traditions of the group, also the chants, the scenes of many of which are laid in its environs. This claim is sustained by other evidence, all of which points to this region as one of original settlement. In the first place, inhabitants of Nuku Hiva admit freely that most traditions came from Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva and Na Pou, the people believed that all souls returned to Kiukiu, the western extremity of Hiva Oa, before starting on their journey to Havai'i. Porter (p. 94) mentions the inhabitants of Tai o Hae speaking of another island named Vavao. The use of Vevau as a name for sacred places was very frequent. It is certain that Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were peopled by colonists from Hiva Oa. So much for this relationship of the other islands of the group to Hiva Oa.

Evidence from within Hiva Oa supports the assertion of Atu Ona natives that their valley (Vevau) was the nest of Hiva Oa culture. The sacred chants (*vavana* and *pu'e*, etc.) and information regarding them secured at Pua Ma'u, have furnished me with what I believe to be conclusive evidence that Vevau (Atu Ona) and the contiguous regions represent the center in which the Hiva Oa culture had its growth. The *vavana* was sung in a special structure called the *fa'e Papa*. What is said to be the *paepae* (platform) of the original *fa'e Papa*, in which lived Atanua, the ancestress of the Marquesas islanders, lies under the sea a little way from the westward end of the beach at Atu Ona. It is said to be visible on clear, calm days from some high points on adjacent shores, but I have never seen it. It is supposed to be built with cut, red-stone blocks *(ke'etu)* of the type used in platform construction. Whether this is a natural formation resembling a house platform, or actually a submerged platform, it is impossible to say. In the *vavana*, there is reference repeatedly to names that are ancient names of regions contiguous to the present Atu Ona: Vevau, Po'apo'a (said to be above Taha Uku), Fiti Nui (a plateau west of Ta'a Oa) and so on. Also in this chant there is reference to Atu Ona and Taha Uku, and to other places in the vicinity that can be definitely located. When working over this chant with informants in Pua Mau, I was told that the reason for such references was that the chants had originated there. There is one further item of evidence that should be presented. In the base of Vevau (Atu Ona) is a small mountain named Kei Ani (Pierce sky). This mountain was regarded

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174 as a *me'ae* (temple). There is no structure on it, according to informants, but it is called *mouna tuatini etua* (mountain of innumerable gods) or *mouna tautina etua* (mountain which is the landing place of gods). It is said that at certain times the gods of all the valleys and islands used to congregate at Kei Ani. Beyond this statement, I was never able to get any information regarding beliefs or activities connected with this mountain, but the spread of names from Atu Ona supports the evidence. Other names of places and tribes occur in repetition in different islands but none so frequently as the following: Vevau, the ancient name of the valley of Atu Ona, recurs as the name of temple in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Tai-pi Vai, Haka Ehu, and Pua on Nuku Hiva; inVai Paee on Ua Huka. It is the name of feast places in Ana Mi'ai on Tahu Ata, and in Vai Paee on Ua Huka. Na-iki, the name of the tribe of Vevau (Atu Ona), occurs also as a tribal name in Vai Paee on Ua Huka; in Pua Hapa'a, and Hatiheu on Nuku Hiva; and in Haka Hau on Ua Pou. Pou Au, the name of the sacred mount and temple in the base of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), recurs as a tribal name on Hiva Oa in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on Ua Pou in the valley of Haka he Tau; and as a temple name in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Vai Tahu, on Tahu Ata; in Omo'a on Fatu Hiva; in A'a Kapa, Tai o Hae, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva.

The distribution of the name, Pua Ma'u, is also interesting. In the first place it is the name of the great valley at the eastern end of Hiva Oa. We find it recurring as the name of feast places at A'a Kapa, Taipi Vai, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva. That this name recurs only on Nuku Hiva is significant. Pua Ma'u is not the ancient Hiva Oa name for that valley, but a new name. It may indicate the Pa'aha Tai, the tribe that finally drove out the Na-iki living in Pua Ma'u, came from Nuku Hiva. The *vavana* chant obtained in Pua Ma'u from the Pa'aha Tai had its origin in Vevau (Atu Ona); but this chant may have been acquired from the Na-iki before they were driven from Pua Ma'u.

It has been shown that evidence obtained on Nuku Hiva supports the claim of people living in Atu Ona today, that their valley was the ancient center of the culture; but it seems to me entirely within reason to suppose that there was another center of development and distribution on Nuku Hiva. The complete population of eastern Nuku Hiva by Taipi, the great size and advantages for habitation of the valley of Tai-pi Vai, and the unparalleled number of remains of temples and feast places in that valley, lead me to believe that if there was such a center there it was Tai-pi Vai. If there were two centers in the Marquesas, this may be the explanation of certain marked variations which are found among the people and their

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culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[9] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

[9] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

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More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

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Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hino)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

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184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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166 they were defeated in the war with all eastern Hiva Oa furnishes an example of a tribe taking refuge on another island.

There is every reason to believe that there was also peaceable penetration and settlement. This is probably what occurred in Taupo Tua (Taupo, a tribal name, *tua*, back), the section along the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. Investigation shows that this region was settled by the Taupo tribe, a powerful member of the Na-iki group in Vevau, who occupied the section of that great valley lying nearest Taupo Tua, so that they had easier access to the coast by land than could be had from any other part of the island.

Summary of Evidence

174 The conclusions that have been come to in the above discussion of the peopling of the Marquesas may be briefly summarized as follows: In the thought of the people themselves there is no conception of their forefathers having come to the islands—that is, of their having migrated. There is, however, in genealogies, legends, and chants, indirect evidence that indicates knowledge of lands to the westward in central Polynesia and proves conclusively that the early settlers of the Marquesas were a branch of the people who named the regions in which they lived, Vevau, Fiti, Tona, and so on. The distribution of these names as land names across central Polynesia seems to me to indicate that this was probably the route by which the early settlers of the Marquesas came to their islands. Comparative study of genealogies and traditions with regard to the occurrence of the names of the first settlers leads to the conclusion that the first colonists came about the tenth century; that from that time until the twelfth century was what has been called the early period of settlement; that the time from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries represented a period of later expansion. Evidence from modern informants, legends, sacred chants, and a number of indirect sources indicates that the region on the southern coast of Hiva Oa, including the valleys now called Taha Uku, Atu Ona, Te Hutu, and Ta'a Oa, was the favorable center in which the native culture was nurtured and the indistinctive traits which characterize it throughout the group were developed, and from which the people and their culture expanded. Lastly it was concluded that certain cultural variations in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, which are paralleled by slight physical and temperamental differences in the people of those islands, indicate the presence of another later immigrating group of Polynesian settlers who infused their blood and influences of their culture into the stock and the culture of the settlers already established throughout the group.

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TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipinui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4). 619

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined. 619 616

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa. 619 631

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

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FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

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All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

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621 578 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

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The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

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FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

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same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578

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FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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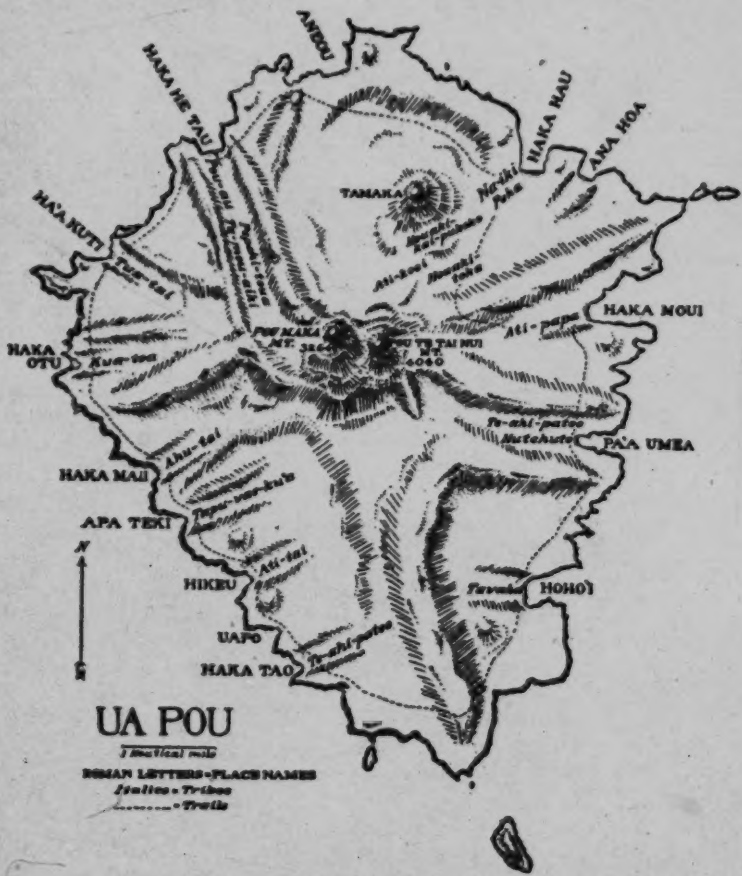

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

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sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

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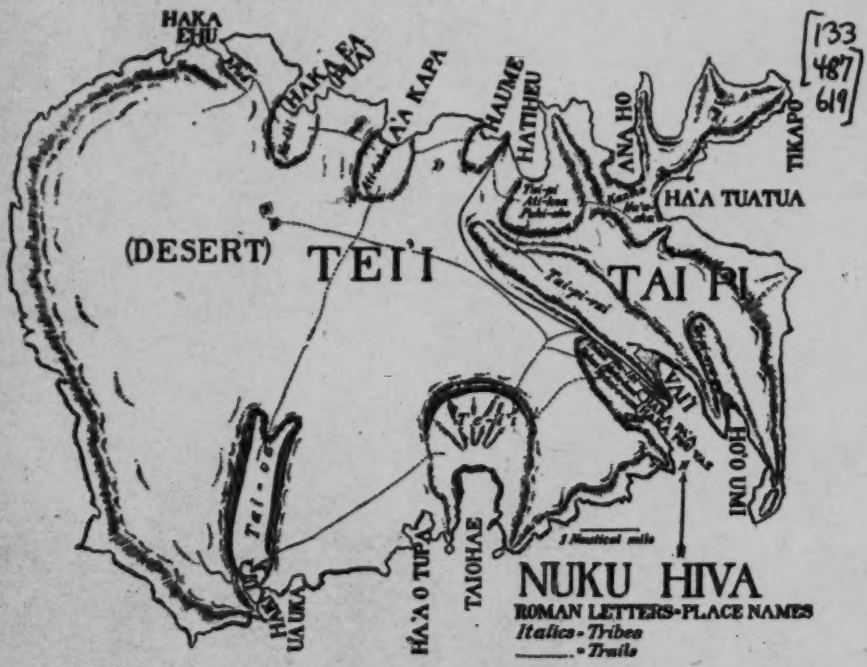

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FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage. 619 621

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes. 622 631 184

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224): 622 621

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

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621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
793 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the
574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [582]
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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565 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva,
622 probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa
[164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and
554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters,
571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi*). The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

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883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution [184] in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). 883
Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon 883
for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and par- 304
ticularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further [597]
explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born [593]
or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge [71] on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [343]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,*
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the [515]
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, re-
554 spectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them
593 a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki*. The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*,
554 and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu*, chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki*. She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*. Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu*, sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

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chief and chiefess are *haka-iki* (literally(made-chief) and *ha'a-te-pe'iu* or *haka-te-pe'iu* (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole. 622 554

Manner of Becoming a Chief

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. The chief referred to his people as his *hua'a*, the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as *hua'a*. *Tama*, literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances.. [642]

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167): 622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed. 622 592 357 [689]

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For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a*, which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relationship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka*, skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

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Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana*, and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto*. Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red cloth made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

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622 292 [304] singly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 [428] On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 [847] 848 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 500 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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622 784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—par- [689 754] ticularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected [562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power [689 754] to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god. 622

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief. 622 789 831

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *mohomoho,* a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of 622 [556]

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622 chiefs except over their own households. The evidence of early visitors varies as regards the authority of chiefs. Krusenstern (16, p. 165) supports this:

> I have already had occasion to mention that the form of government is any thing rather than monarchical; the king is not to be distinguished either by his dress or by his ornaments from the lowest of his subjects: they laugh at his orders, and should he venture to strike any one, he would infallibly meet with a like return.

Porter (24, p. 98) says:

> As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children.

Melville, on the other hand, was impressed with the personal authority of the chiefs in Tai-pi Vai during his residence. He writes (23, p. 217):

> During the festival I had not failed to remark the simplicity of manner, the freedom from all restaint, and, to a certain degree, the equality of condition manifested by the natives in general. No one appeared to assume any arrogant pretensions. There was little more than a slight difference in costume to distinguish the chiefs from the other natives. All appeared to mix together freely, and without any reserve; although I noticed that the wishes of a chief, even when delivered in the mildest tone, received the same immediate obedience which elsewhere would have been only accorded to a peremptory command.

When Melville arrived he was also made to feel the personality of the chief. He says (23, p. 74):

> Close to where we lay . . . were some eight or ten noble-looking chiefs . . . . who, more reserved than the rest, regarded us with a fixed and stern attention, which not a little discomposed our equanimity. One of them in particular, who appeared to be the highest in rank, placed himself directly facing me; locking at me with a rigidity of aspect under which I absolutely quailed. He never once opened his lips, but maintained his severe expression of countenance, without turning his face aside for a single moment. Never before had I been subjected to so strange and steady a glance; it revealed nothing of the mind of the savage, but it appeared to be reading my own.

Melville's whole account would indicate a strict obedience to their chief on the part of the people. It seems probable that in Taiohae at the time it was visited by Porter, Stewart, and Krusenstern, there were chiefs who were capable of wielding little personal authority. The general attitude of old Hiva Oa natives in discussing chiefs indicates a strong individualistic spirit of freedom but at the same time a definite respect for and appreciation of the authority of a *haka-iki*.

[171] One thing which prevented chiefs of the Marquesas from assuming such arbitrary power as was held by those of Tahiti and Hawaii was the fact that in the Marquesas chiefs were invested with neither the sacredness nor the religious prestige that would support such authority. It is

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the 622
same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and Executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and un- 624
organized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war 721
called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their 624
advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the 793
main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a,* the inspi- 624

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793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in
622 the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name. 627 784

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic. 622 423

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

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423 primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself,
622 but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut
[422] and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua.*) The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ka'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

[764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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OVO 421 784

I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho,* which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho.* This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 784 [251] [417 284]

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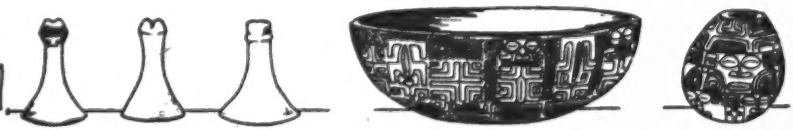
342 784 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with 252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. 372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415 531]



a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time. [415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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There was always a large, thick, and slightly hollowed, board *(hoana)* on which the breadfruit was pounded. The pounding was done with stone pounders *(ke'a tuki popoi)* of the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 9, *a*). Mr. Linton distinguishes four types of pounders: salt pounders, children's pounders, those used for the breadfruit paste, and 415

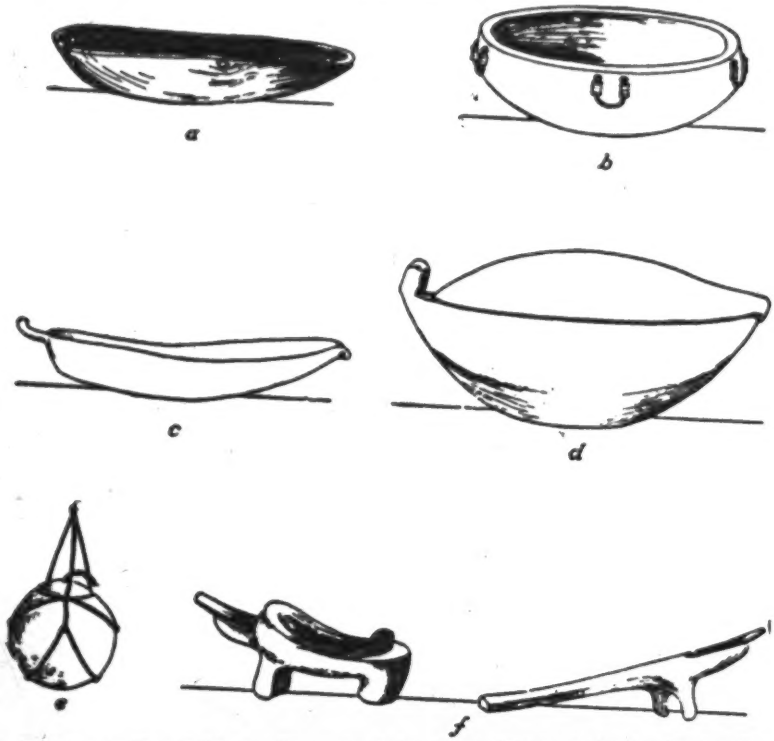

FIGURE 10.—Household utensils: *a*, bowl for *popoi* (*toto*); *b*, bowl with *handles*; *c*, kava bowl (elongated scoop form); *d*, kava bowl (bird form); *e*, gourd container (*hue*) in a net; *f*, types of coconut graters (*feka*).

those for infants' food. A full account of these and of the different types of bowls and containers used by the natives will be found in Mr. Linton's study of the material culture. The smaller vessels were made of coconut shell; the larger ones, of wood, fau, breadfruit, casuarina, *temanu*, and *mi'o*, the last named being the best and most commonly used. A large stone bowl *(ipu ke'a)* was seen at Pua Ma'u, but stone was not commonly

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1115 used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha*, *tanoa*, or *kotue*) used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the [237] tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small [352] nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

778 The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ua)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia. Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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601 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunooi,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiititohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every [604] child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not [587] allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 60

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana*, grandfather; *tupuna vehine*, grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna*. Great-grandparents were *peka*, great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau*, and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina*. These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama*, grandson, and *moupuna mo'i*, granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina*.

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata)*. Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una*, there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai*, literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o*, to take; *maohi*, to seize or take; and *hopu*, to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai*, foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama*, children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa*, boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e*, girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu*, an adolescent girl; *ahana*, males of virile age; and *vehine*, women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua*, old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o)*, old women. 601 561

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship
604 was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and
605 nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male
604 and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations,
835 rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina,* which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina.* Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left [759] alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered." 844

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed [753] to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several 846 times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a [262] woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to 833 one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. 846 In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had [841] sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as 851 *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made
by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut
milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before
suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come
out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very
early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation
of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means
of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its
skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
[602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the
father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have
it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According
to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and
another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog
was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry
presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all
the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee*
as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born
child. *Umouma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her
first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been
born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the
newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time
an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth
and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 853

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 854 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who
[262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought
[755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves
824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or
428 female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ances-
[769] tral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories
[539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 852 858 881 [584] [304] Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 858 The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door. 852 858

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled. 852 858 342

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue*.) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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952 (clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon
858 the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the
342 food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

852 This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in
858 the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

858 The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and
869 legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 581

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [551] [428]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565 184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, 597 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing 621 about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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Adoption Rites for Chiefs

The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

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The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, koaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

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597 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption. 597 431

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things. [602]

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and 551

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551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named[4] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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[4] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

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Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii. 551 [424]

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names. [597]

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku-Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond. [826]

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father. 597 551

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[577] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 421

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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553 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with
572 just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they
[782] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ho'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ho'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The 852 783

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feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

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A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece). 852 858

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. [302] Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived. 881

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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881 who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

852 The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were
304 *tehe* (cut), *tehe te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau,* wood; *pi'a,* male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.

After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua*, where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tehe* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu)*, and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna*. The *tuhuna tehe*, or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a viihoa*, sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work. 852 304 [278]

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[8] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from 304 [881]

[8] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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583 through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848 or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582 applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [762] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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Secondary Mates

Secondary husbands and secondary wives were called *pekio*. *Pekio* came to a woman or a man only upon the mutual consent of both *ahana* and *vehine*. Male *pekio* were numerous in chiefs' households and were common in all families. On the other hand, it appears that female *pekio* were very rare even in chiefs' households. Garcia (14, p. 111) writes that he knew of only one example of polygamy. Stewart states (26, p. 317) that he had never heard of a man's having two wives, but that "for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit." I know, however, of a man on Hiva Oa who had three wives at the same time. There appear to have been two reasons for the more frequent plurality of husbands; first, the fact that men greatly outnumbered women and, secondly, that the chief purpose in the *pekio institution* was to obtain assistance in work. Assistant male workers were required and were of much more value in the Marquesas than females. The principal *pekio* in a chief's household was always known as *tahu ahi* (fire lighter or guardian). He attended to the fire and did the cooking for the chief and had the first right to the common wife when the true husband was absent. It was the universal rule in both chiefly and other families that *pekio* could cohabit with the wife only when the husband himself was absent. It is doubtful whether there is anything in Krusenstern's belief (16, p. 167) that the main function of the *pekio* was to guard a man's wife during his absence. In a chief's establishment all of the *pekio* lived in a separate house of their own near the dwelling of the chief. It will be seen (in the discussion of betrothal) that if a man or woman lived with another woman or man who had not been the *tuia* or affianced mate this person was called *pekio* even though he or she might be the only actual mate.

Melville and Stewart give interesting evidence as to how the *pekio* relationship sometimes came about. Melville says (23, p. 222):

> The girls are first wooed and won at a very tender age by some stripling in the household in which they reside. This, however, is a mere frolic of the affections, and no formal engagement is contracted. By the time this first love has a little subsided, a second suitor presents himself, of graver years, and carries both boy and girl away to his own habitation. This disinterested and generous-hearted fellow now weds the young couple—marrying damsel and lover at the same time—and all three thenceforth live together as harmoniously as so many turtles.

Stewart supports this as follows (26, p. 317):

> We have yet met with no instance, in any rank of society, of a male with two wives, but are informed that for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit. Some favourite in the father's household or retinue at an early period becomes the husband of the daughter, who still remains under the paternal roof till contracted

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595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat com-
595 plicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage
585 of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enata mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!——————————O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!——Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!——————May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!——O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

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763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated 765 in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned the chant called *kaheoko*. 764 765

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taho, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *heva* naked. 764

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following 533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna*, coral or lime; *tohu*, to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai*, water; *hahae*, to break; and *tupapa'u*, corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava*, or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu*, was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane*, spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie*, made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e vaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days. 766

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says: 766 786

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and sea-shells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the 766 [688]

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *hetu*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te hi'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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Treatment of Dead Bodies

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed. 764

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a*. As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe*. Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(uaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu*. After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says [784]

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764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with [824] coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *koupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-[293] shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* [775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

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During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead. 764

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor. 764 768

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva: 764 184

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*. 764

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

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764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu*, and was called *toki mana (toki*, adz, *mana*, power), or *toki tapu*. The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e*, creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puha as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were [53] elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of

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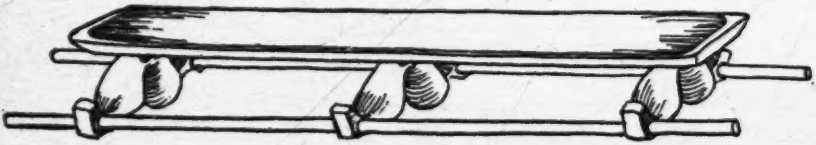
exactly the same form as those used for beating *popoi*. It rested on legs called *toko papa*, spreading from a central support lashed to the board. The form is shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 11, *a*). There was one pair of legs at each end of the board and another pair in the middle, so that the pairs of legs were at right angles to the body of the bier. The legs were carved with designs, and the feet with conventional human

764



a

b

[532]

FIGURE 11.—*a*. Portable bier (drawn from one pair of legs supplemented by description); *b*, bowl for carrying the head of a dead chief (After Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 48, No. 1).

figures. Poles for carrying the bier were lashed to the feet on either side. The bottom of the board was either carved or decorated with black or red ornamental sennit lashed over white bark cloth.

DISPOSAL OF BONES

The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up *(kokonatua)*, the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of *tapa*, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house. Melville (23, p. 225)

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764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b.*) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[778] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae).* It is striking that the two most

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sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 [778]

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu (pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu (ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

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764 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice
778 and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu*, being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on
778 Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the
184 same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u* (*vahi*, place; *tomia*, burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae*. On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae*. As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae*, the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u*, or platform for the dead, is a simple
778 small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

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gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vala*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it. 764 778

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery. [343]

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

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764 778 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae,* but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u, ahu, feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani *(ke'i,* pierce; *ani,* sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana (ikoa,* name; *kenana,* man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders *(kiva)* in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs *(ke'etu)* lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

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On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual. 764 778

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing [824]

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764 upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is im-
778 possible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred [824] groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of perform-
[562] ance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[8]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae*) is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[8]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

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are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting. in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

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rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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628 tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge
721 unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hang-
ing down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward
[302] the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and
[266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721
according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202]
trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into bat- [534]
tle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701
appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

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701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the
347 usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this
[552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description: 712 344

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi otvoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 292 714 [304]

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292 714 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha*, a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o,* full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[301] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai,* were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho).* A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o.* In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle." 292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war. 411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c*.) Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed: [824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeko*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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411 of ironwood: *matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,* lance: *maaeki,* lance of pandanus wood; *kohaa,* weapon of pandanus wood; *kaaeki,* wooden lance

[531]

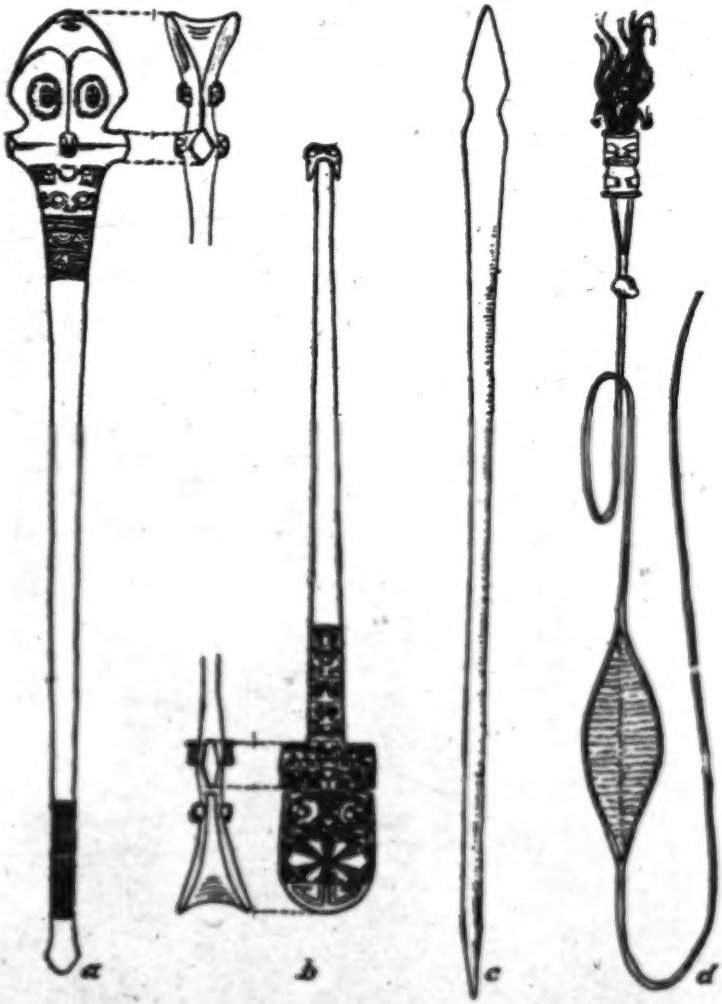

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

of *eki* bush; *epu,* kind of lance. The *miomiota* or *miopatu* was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

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war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's 411
description just given. The sling, *maka,* made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d);* it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake hexua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actual- 726
ly offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. [776]
On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati,* relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the [783]
sea. This made them *tapu,* removing any influences due to association
with womankind.

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of 537 fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata roi*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

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> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ka'au*) and left it there (9).

727

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[727] Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, [722] children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, "*Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka.*" The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth "*A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!*" (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, "*Aua!*" three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

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feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home. 727

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9). 726 784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani* 726 784

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726 (*va'a*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in
784 triumph. The *ko'ino heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-
726 hunting, was called *moe oe (moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te poe* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy
726 many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

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always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papua)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

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Treatment of Captives Taken in Raids

727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish.* Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu.* Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

Torture of Captives

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the

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water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *voi titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i*, to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke*, to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils. [727]

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw: [551] [714]

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka*
765 was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus-
[302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed,
266 could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal
602 god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices. 728

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent: [825]

> The last *heana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *heana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

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728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times [486] these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing.

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa, papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

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and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

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463 knowledge, one who was learned in many ways. There was no organized associations of *tuhuna*, such as that of the priestly orders in Hawaii.

Following is a list, not to be regarded as complete, however, of the different kinds of *tuhuna*:

TUHUNA HAKATU FA'E or TUHUKA ATU HA'E. Master housebuilder; the same as TUHUNA HAKATU PAEPAE, or TUHUKA UPEUPE PAEPAE, master platform builder.
" TEKAI KE'A. Stone cutter, one skilled in cutting stones for platforms, houses, sacred places, and feast places.
" UA MA. Digger of *ma* pits.
" PEHE. Professional skilled in making string figures and applying them in decoration such as ornamental sennit designs.
" HA'A TIKI TIKI. Skilled wood carver.
" KEANA MOENA. Skilled mat maker.
" TEKAI KE'A TUKI POPOI. Maker of *popoi* pounders.
" KO'OKA. Maker of *popoi* dishes.
" A'AKA PAHU. Drum maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI VAKA. Master canoe builder.
" TA'AI TIKI. Image maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI PAPA, or TUHUKA TAO Coffin maker.
" TITI OUOHO. Maker of hair ornaments.
" TA'AI TOKOTOKO PIO'O. Staff maker.
" TUTU TAPA, or TUTU KAHU. Skilled cloth maker.
" A'AKA TAHI'I. Fan maker.
" HANA PA'A KEA. Maker of tortoise-shell crowns.
" PU TAIANA. Maker of *pu taiana* ear ornaments.
" TEHE. He who cut the foreskin.
" PAINU, TUHUNA APAU or TUHUKA HAIKA. Doctor.
" NATI KAHA. One skilled in witchcraft.
" PATU TIKI. Master tattooer.
" AVA-IKA. Master fisher.
" UPENA. Master netmaker, the same as the TUHUNA AVA-IKA.
" HA'AKEKAI. One learned in legends.
" MATA TETAU. One learned in genealogies.
" PU'E. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *pu'e*.
" VAVANA. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *vavana*.
" O'ONO. Ceremonial priest skilled in the last four named branches of learning.
" NATO. He who composed *nato* chants. (Similarly with other kinds of chants: TUHUNA POPE, TUHUNA HARI, etc. See Chants.)

WAYS OF BECOMING A *TUHUNA*

There were two ways by which a man or a woman could become a *tuhuna*: first, by having the knowledge requisite passed on by a father or mother, uncle or aunt or other relative—what may be termed by inheritance or the normal and simplest form of apprenticeship; secondly, by employing a recognized professional as teacher or by being employed by such as an assistant. If an individual possessed the capacity for learning and could acquire the skill requisite for the work of a *tuhuna*, he gradually worked through a sort of informal apprenticeship. In the art of tat-

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tooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability 463
and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai*, acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna*. That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as pay- 463
ment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth [465]
thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and 565
skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono*, master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

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463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [787] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption. 461

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.) 284 322 386 [283]

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In 283 322 [801]

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283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

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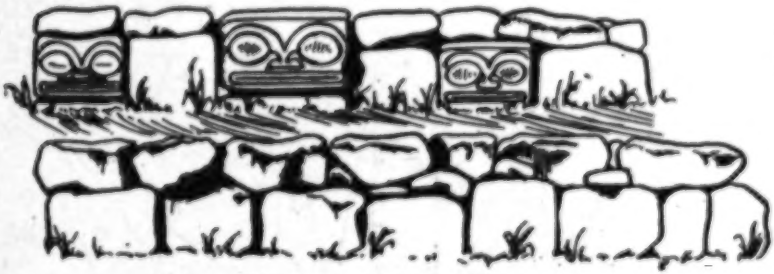
(*po'u ahau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532



[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

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324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of
[161] the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

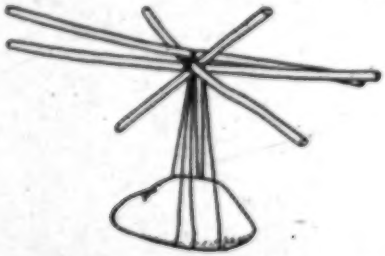

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta ahau* (*ta*, strike; *ahau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te haokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
[187] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid. 342 333

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch. 342 [531]

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ha'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (pane) closing the front of the house. 342 824

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342 uprights (*papa*) closing the front of the house. Just as the man who was going to build a new platform and house sent messengers (*ke'e'e*) to his various relatives and friends, summoning them to help and requiring them to bring the various articles such as stones, used in the construction—so the *pu'e* chant relates how messengers are sent to the personifications of the various elements used, summoning them to come and bring their contributions. When all the labor of construction and consecration of the new house was completed, the *ko'ina u'utina fa'e* (feast of entrance) was celebrated, releasing the new dwelling from *tapu* and freeing it for occupation.

THE HOUSE PLATFORM

House platforms (*paepae*) were rectangular, from five to ten feet high and of length and breadth to accommodate the house that surmounted it. Roughly the platform consisted of regular superposed lines of stream boulders (*kivu*) encasing a core of earth. On top there were two levels, a front lower level and a rear level about eighteen inches above the other on which the house itself stood, each occupying approximately half of the width of the surface. The upper level of some houses seen was faced with cut red stone blocks (*ke'etu*) which ran in line with the front edge of the house like a curbing, and behind which was inserted the front posts. The lower level in front (*paepae, upe*) of the house was usually open to the sky. Projecting stones were sometimes inserted into the front or side walls of the platform to serve as steps (*pi'ina*). The most common form of steps, however, consisted in a notched log. The cut red stone curbing of the upper section of some platforms was ornamented with high bas-reliefs of conventional human figures and geometric designs. Stone seats (*keho*) formed a part of some platforms, being made in two ways: either by using a long basalt column which was inserted at an angle and served as a back rest, or by carving out of soft red tufa, a seat with a sloping back. Melville (23, pp. 58-9) describes a house platform enclosed with a picket of canes that must have resembled a porch railing.

THE HOUSE

The details of the construction and a fuller study of house form will be found in Linton's report on the material culture. Briefly, the form of the native house, and its construction may be summed up by describing the general appearance, and the parts of the house. (See fig. 15.) The house was rectangular and stood on the elevated section at the rear of the platform running in the direction of the greatest length. The front (*ao*) was open in its lower section or else this space was closed with pickets of

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bamboo or hibiscus. Above this was a short front roof sloping from the horizontal joist, supported on short front posts, to the ridge pole. The ends of the house were closed with thatching, and the rear consisted of a single wall, sloping directly down from the ridge-pole to the rear of the *paepae* at a very steep angle, this wall being thatched also. The frame consisted of short front posts, supporting a joist to which the short front roof descended; two end posts that stood inside the end-thatching and supported the ridge-pole; the ridge-pole itself, rafters running from the front joist to the ridge-pole and from the ridge pole to the platform in the rear; horizontal rods attached to these rafters running the length of the house along

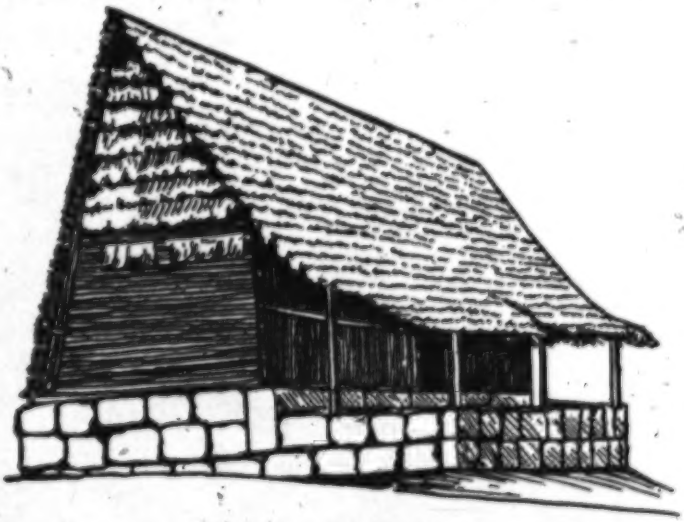

FIGURE 15.—A native house.

the back wall and under the front roofing to which the thatching mats were tied; and at the ends vertical rods, running from the ridge-pole to the ground, to which were attached horizontal rods on which the end thatching was bound.

The thatching (*uhi*) of the house consisted of mats of coconut leaves bound over the ridge pole and lashed to the horizontal rods passing beneath it; the short front roof and the long back wall were thatched usually with coconut leaf mats, though sometimes with pandanus or palmetto; the ends were most commonly thatched with breadfruit leaves strung on cord. If the front part of the house was closed there was a door between the two middle posts. Melville (23, p. 275) describes a slide door "composed

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342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae,* which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in
531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau,* accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e,* recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vuka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au.*

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e.*

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

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hair. The human hair was omitted from the decorations of fishing canoes. The crew and warriors who were to go on board were embellished with materials similar to those used in ornamenting the canoe itself and new paddles with small images carved at the upper end of the handle were made. 396

Certain details of canoe building at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, supplement the above account. Four hundred men were employed in the building of a certain canoe at Pua Ma'u, working under the direction of four *tuhuna*. The work was done where the tree was felled and where a decorated house was erected for the workmen. Workmen and *tuhuna* were fed by the chief, twenty men being employed in this work. The place was *tapu* to women and to strangers. Any intruder from another valley would be killed and eaten. "When the canoe was finished a great feast was held at the place of manufacture, the workmen's house being decorated with ferns and wild vines."

In the sacred chant called *oho au o Motuhaiki*, which is part of the *tona pou* chant (see Chants), and which was probably used in connection with canoe-building, are mentioned the stages in the construction of a canoe: finding the tree, trimming it, felling it, measuring and cutting out the proper length, and hollowing the hull; then building the shed for it, placing the body on two log supports in the house, thinning down the sides, polishing the body with crushed coral; then naming the various parts attached to the hull, side-boards, bow, stern, seats, etc. The first master canoe-maker was, traditionally, Motuhaiki, who noosed the sun, so that he might have sufficient time to finish his work.

Canoes, like everything else, were named. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that new canoes were named after old ones that were worn out. Not only was the canoe itself named, but every part, the bow-piece, stern-piece, sideboards, seats, bailers, paddles, and so on.

Launching

Just before a canoe was launched, the crew and warriors were assembled about it in the *oho au*, and the *pu'e* was again chanted. The vessel was then carried into the water with all its paddlers and warriors aboard, the canoe and its crew alike being ornamented. Soon after a new war canoe had been consecrated and launched, the chief who owned it sent it to raid an enemy bay and secure sacrifice victims. It was for this purpose that the canoe had been built, and its consecration was not regarded as complete until its *mana* had been thus demonstrated. A chief would sometimes send his warriors to get victims at the time of the building of the canoe to give it *mana*.

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396 The recitation of the *pu'e*, creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo*, the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

396 789 Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana*, power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

396 All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

Types of Canoes

501 As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having

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a rail around it. The supplies for a voyage were kept here and in the body of the canoe, and the people on board lived on the platform and below decks. According to a trustworthy Fatu Hiva informant, such a canoe would have two sails, the masts being stepped in the usual place in the forward end of each hull. War canoes and canoes for exploration—according to modern natives—were as much as sixty feet long. So far as I know, however, there is no record of a canoe of this size, although no limitation in the materials at the disposal of the native nor in his ability to utilize them would have prevented him from making canoes of this size or even larger. 501

Porter (24, p. 102) describes small temporary craft as follows:

> "They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

Materials for Canoes

Materials used most for canoe-making were *temanu, hutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and *mi'o*. The size of the canoe desired frequently determined the choice of a tree. The *temanu* was the largest of the available trees, and furnished the most durable wood. According to Linton breadfruit trees were used for smaller canoes. 824 396

Parts of a Canoe[6a]

The main parts of a canoe consisted of the hull, adzed out of a tree trunk; detachable bow and stern piece; sideboards lashed on the edges of the gunwale; and an outrigger. 501

The main body or hull (*vaka, tua, tekee*) of the canoe was made of a hollowed single tree trunk. The bow (*piha, au'au, kanihi, hopeta*), a separate piece, was usually upturned, but both Cook (6, p. 711) and Stewart (26, p. 219) describe horizontal bows. Linton aptly describes the stern (*mu'i, hope au'au*) as narrowing "rapidly to form the tail, which was a long projection like a thick plank with the edge up, rising from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees." (20.) The sideboards (*hue tana*) consisted of single hewn boards (*papa*) lashed (*humu*) to the gunwale of the canoe, but it is probable that the sideboards of some canoes were built up with several boards, for Porter (24, p. 79) described the sides as made of many pieces of the breadfruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibers of the outside shell of coconut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of

6a The terminology is from Dordillon's ms. and from Linton's and my own notes.

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501 bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the coconut shell also.

Over the seams between the sideboards and the hull, both inside and outside, were strips made of wood or bamboo (*teka, vaho, teka oto, ta'i, patua*). Caulking of the seams at this place and at the point of attachment of bow and stern-piece was done usually with coconut cord fiber (*kaha*), or with feathers (*hu'u manu*). Langsdorff (18, p. 173) describes caulking with moss over which was rubbed resin from the breadfruit tree. Bulk-

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[284]

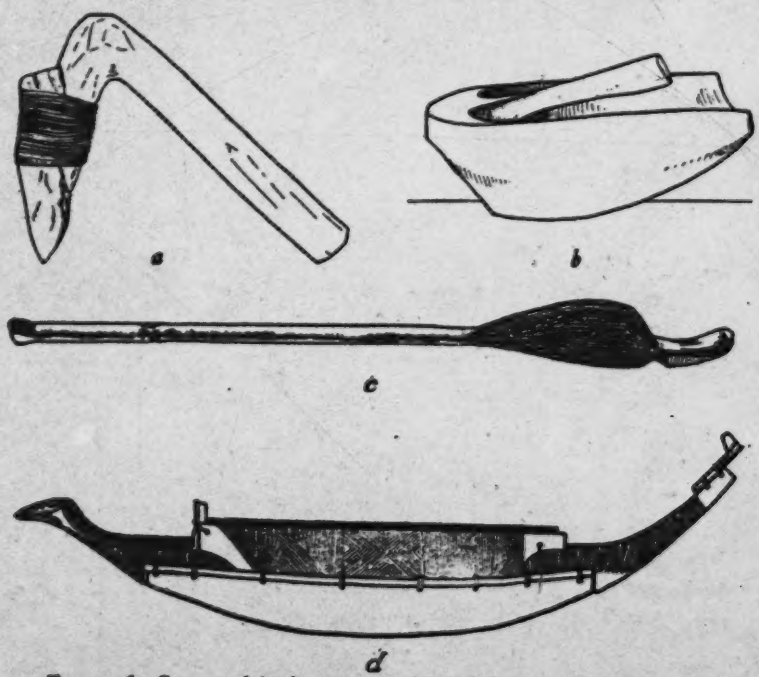

FIGURE 16.—Canoe and implements: *a*, adz; *b*, bailer; *c*, paddle; *d*, canoe.

heads in the body of the canoe are described by Porter. Seats (*papa tau*) for paddlers rested on an inner strip (*teka oto*) which covered the inboard seam between the sideboard and the hull. These strips were bound and held in place by sennit. The two rods (*kiato, hoa*) supporting the outrigger were usually fau poles; Marchand (22, p. 131) describes rods of bamboo. The supporting rods passed across the top of the canoe, being lashed to the top of each gunwale, or sideboard, by means of sennit that passed around the rod and through holes in the board. These lashings were ornamental

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and were called *teka*. The float (*ama*) of the outrigger (*ama*) was made of fau and was attached to the supporting rods by four or six small sticks (*ti'a ti'a*) which were inserted into holes on the outrigger float and bound on the supporting rods. The platform (*papua, hou'ua*) resting on the poles that held together a double canoe has been described. On all large single canoes used for fishing or for war there was at the stern an elevated platform (*papa'u*) on which the steersman stood. Stewart (26, pp. 211-20) describes "a high platform deeply fringed with the pendant leaves of a palm," on which the steersman stood on the stern of a canoe. Stewart states that in the bow of this canoe there was another platform made of small sticks covered with a mat on which was seated a man who was evidently a priest. 501

Sails (*ti'a, moena*) which were used on the smaller fishing craft and the large voyaging canoes were of the triangular, or lateen, type, and according to Linton were made of coconut leaf mats. It seems probable that pandanus mats were also used, particularly for voyages, on account of their greater durability. The mast was stepped in a hole (*puti'a*) in the bottom of the canoe and passed up through one of the forward seats (*pihao*).

The paddles (*hoe*) were made of rosewood. The handle ends were ornamented with a small *tiki* figure and the blades with designs similar to those used on bowls. The lower end of the paddle blade always terminated in a long rounded point. (See fig. 16, *c*.)

The bailers were made of *mi'o* or *temanu* wood and were "shaped like a sugar-scoop with the handle reversed—that is, projecting forward over the cavity" (20). (See fig. 16, *b*.)

Ornamentation of Canoes

The main decoration of canoes was by means of carving and ornamental lashing. Bow and stern pieces were carved with the ornamental adzed designs (*tiki*) used on house posts (See fig 16, *d*). Some modern informants say that tattooing designs were also applied on these parts. This is true at least of canoe models. I believe with Mr. Linton that this type of carving was not used on the large canoes of ancient times. Ornamental lashings (*pu'u-kaha*) the designs of which were taken from string figures, bound the supporting rods of the outrigger to the balancer and to the sideboards, and the sideboards to the hull, these lashings being made of sennit dyed red, yellow, and black. There was a conventional figure head, which was apparently always used at the forward end of the bow piece, consisting of a flattened conventionalized face. "There was a tendency to decorate the neck of the bow piece with figures carved in high relief or by the 501 531

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501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but
531 not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip
[825] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*ava-iha*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*haka mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei*, *Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *ahatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 287 824

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287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34),
[824] the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kivu*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

[412]

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [366] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is described as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

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line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained. 287

When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.

When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people inclines them to prefer the natural tint. [386]

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*hewu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.) 285

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika*, *ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[552]

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use. 226 778

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds. 226 776

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple. 226

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general 784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4). 226 784

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ika*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing 226 796

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226 796 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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by four canoes for deep-sea fishing and various types and sizes for different kinds of fishing, grading down from these large nets to very small ones for hand fishing used with or without a handle. Lines for making nets and for fishing with a hook were made either of coconut fiber plaited, of fau bark, or of a combination of the two. Fine cord for fish lines was made of the fibers of the pineapple leaf. Hooks were made of pearl shell and of human bone. Simple hooks and also the complex type were used for bonito, bamboo being used for the rods. For spearing fish there was a lance with a single point (*mata ve'o ika*), and a lance with many barbed points (*mata va'u*) (8). Porter (24, p. 113) describes both bone and wood points on fishing harpoons. 227

One of my best informed native co-workers insisted that fishing with rods (*te ika hi*), hooks, and lines (*te ika hahe*), or with spears (*te ika ve'o*) and torches was never practiced in ancient times. I am convinced, however, from the other evidence that hooks and lines and spears were used anciently. Porter describing the implements in use at the time of his visit, says: "Those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl." As to torch-light fishing, it is probable that this was dependent on safety. It would always have been too dangerous in certain bays, where the fishers would have been to obvious bait for enemy canoes seeking victims for sacrifice.

Snares were used for catching eels and shrimps, and fish traps were made of fau bark, but of what form is unknown. Fish were poisoned in rock pools by the sea and in the region of the rock shelves within the bays. So far as I know, fish ponds were never constructed—there were few places in the Marquesas where it would have been possible. Torches for night fishing were made of bamboo, of sugar cane, and of a reedlike grass (*kakao*) (15, p. 54). Fish in pools by the sea were sometimes killed with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts, or with sling stones. An unusual method of fishing consisted in swimming, drawing a hook and line in tow. For the private fishing small individual canoes were used, but for the deep-sea fishing there were special craft, large and small. Porter (24), p. 102) describes fishing canoes as follows: 227 501

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

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227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a*, *kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *ñ'o na aho*. For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This
286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena*. At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *atua-ika-nui*. There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena*.
[778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oho*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Ann'ys!]

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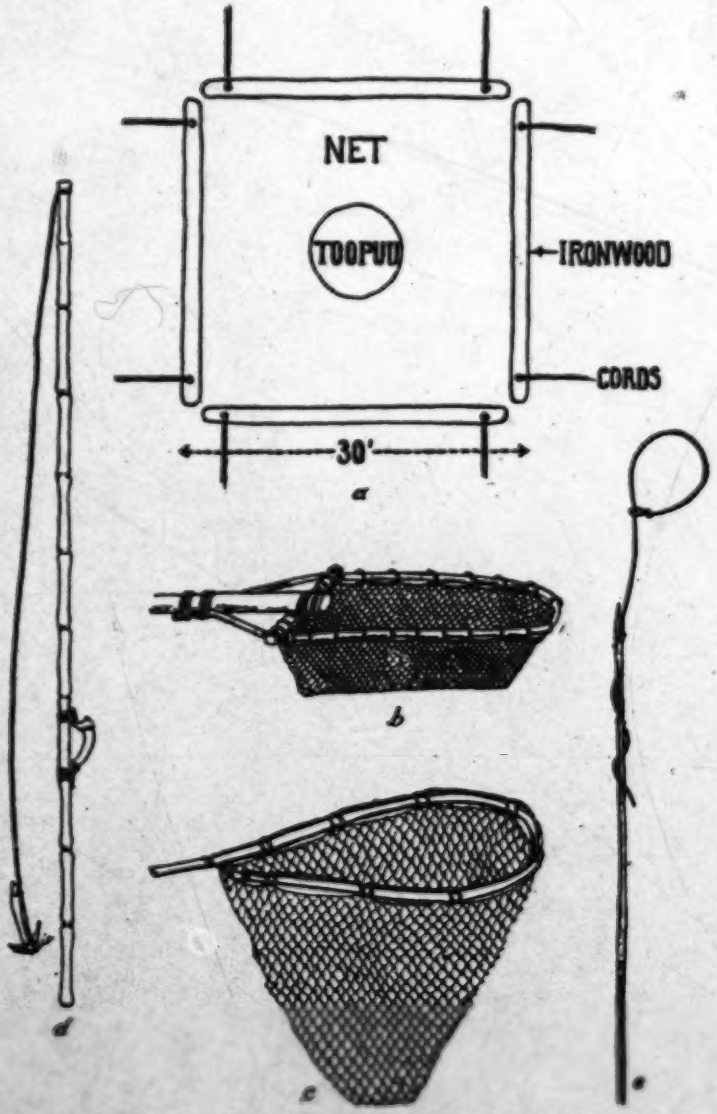

FIGURE 18—Fishing apparatus: *a*, deep sea net; *b*, pole net; *c*, hand net; *d*, bonito rod; *e*, snare.

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226 open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women 226 would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the 283 large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *fi'o*, which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

226 When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, *a*).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti*, to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho*, outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna*.

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *kuako*, was reserved for the women

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[1] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished . [776] [225]

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned. [252]

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[2]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle Fishing

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In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[1] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[2] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological references; the most important god addressed is Tuaana, god of the sea and fishing.

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225 Fenua depended upon the speed with which the necessary number were obtained. During the time of the absence of the turtle fishers, the young men and women of the village gathered the grass on which the turtles (*honu*) fed and carried it up to the turtle tank. The turtles were kept alive for some time, and their flesh was *tapu* to all except the chiefs and priests. Even by these it seems to have been eaten at special feasts and the *popoi* pounders used to prepare the *popoi* eaten with the turtle flesh were *tapu* for other work.

In catching fish for feasts a large, round net was used. It was handled in much the same way as the large, square net described from Atu Ona. For turtles a large net made of fiber from coconut spathes, not the husks, was used. This net, which was straight, was called *fifi*. It was weighted at the bottom, and spread not far from the rocks in a place where the turtles were known to be numerous. The fisher-*tuhuna* dived overboard and drove the turtles toward it. When they had become entangled, they were tied, underwater, with cords of hibiscus bark, brought up, and put in the canoes. Ten to twenty turtles would be captured in a day.

The following notes regarding turtle fishing, also from Pua Ma'u, supplement Linton's description.

Certain professionals, *tuhuna*, devoted themselves exclusively to turtle fishing. Turtles were caught sometimes with a hook and line as well as with a net. Before putting down their net or line, a chant of the kind, called *mauta'a*,[10] a spell to give power, was intoned.

After this spell the lines or net were dropped and a great catch would result. On their return, before they landed they chanted another short chant to Tana-oa, god of the wind and sea.

These turtle fishers had stone images (*tiki*) made in human form. It is said today that they would leave these in their house when they went for the fishing ground, and that when they arrived there and began operations they would see them sitting up on the hillside on the shore near them. It is a belief concerning fishermen's stone *tiki* at Atu Ona that when they used to be taken out in the canoe and thrown into the water to draw the fish they would be found, upon the return of the fishers, to have come back of their own accord to the sacred precinct.

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[10] The text with translation is subsequently to be published. The same mauta'a with slight changes in the words was used also in connection with the operation of incision of the foreskin of the male child, and at the funerary festivals. It refers to certain gods, the heavens and lightning, the genitals of the chief, and ends with the words, expressed with great force, "It is the turtle, Ugh!"

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KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net. 226

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiñii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiñii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills. 226 [286] [386]

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

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226 stone was let down immediately over the octopus; the stone would attract its attention, and it would feel above for it with its arms. When a hook had taken hold of an arm the octopus was brought out of its hole with a sharp pull. Octopus was eaten both fresh and dried.

SPEARING THE RAY

The large ray fish called *fafa'ua* (*haha'ua*) was speared through one wing. This disabled the creature in such a way that it exhausted itself in trying to get away with one able and one disabled wing. The manner of preserving the flesh of the ray and eating it when partly putrified is described under Preparation of Food.

PORPOISE HUNTING

225 The bay named Vaiehu, in the island of Ua Pou, was the most famous for porpoise (*pa'o-oa*) fishing. The porpoise teeth used on head-dresses and necklaces came entirely, so far as modern informants know, from Ua Pou. At Vaiehu, when porpoises were sighted, many men would go out to seaward of them in canoes carrying stones. The stones were clapped together under water and the frightened porpoises were thus gradually driven toward the rocky shore of the bay, until they would rush and leap up on the shores, striking their noses on the rocks and, according to accounts, bleeding to death. Those that did not die in this way were dispatched with knives.

BONITO AND KUAVENA FISHING

226 The bonito (*atu*) was caught with the special rod and pearl-shell hook shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 18, *a*). Dordillon's manuscript speaks of a line made of *fau* bark and used with four hooks.

Dordillon describes the catching at Taiohae of the *kuavena*, a small fish about two inches long with a large, hard head. The men who were going fishing were obliged to fast from sundown and guard themselves against being contaminated by contact with breadfruit paste, women, or excrement of animals or men. At about three A.M. they went to the entrance of the bay with torches, by the aid of which the fish were lured and drawn gradually to the rocks that border the sea. Here they were caught by means of small nets on the ends of poles. According to Père Siméon (7), the chief fisherman ate in the early morning preceding the expedition, and slept all day. In the evening his limbs were rubbed with pigs' dung and he was carried on a man's shoulders to the shore to insure his not touching any impurity. If he had no one to carry him, he went in the day time.

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CATCHING PAOKO AND FLYING FISH

Paoko, small fish found in water holes in the rocks by the sea, were shot with the bow (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*) by both men and boys. Boys sometimes used slings for killing fish in holes. The woods used for bows were *koku'u* (?), *tuava* (*Psidium pomiferum*), and *toa.* 226

To catch *ihe,* flying fish, men went out by canoe at night with torches and, paddling about, caught the fish by means of a pole-net especially made for the purpose (fig. 18, *b*). When the fish was seen on the surface the net was slapped quickly over it upside down and then given a quick twist. The present descendants of the first native Hawaiian missionaries say that the natives of the Marquesas were taught this method by their fathers (the Hawaiians). Flying fish were eaten and used as bait for larger fish.

CATCHING EELS

Freshwater eels (*koee*) were sometimes caught at night by the aid of torches, being lured near the stream bank by the light and then flipped out on the shore with a stick having a hook on the end. Another method of catching them (probably used also for salt water eels) was by means of a snare. One person held a stick with a snare on the end of it, the string of which passed up along the stick. The snare was held under water, open, the stick being held in one hand, the snare string in the other. Another person then lured the eel into the snare by means of bait of some kind held under water on the end of another stick, so as to draw the eel through line. At the present time the favorite baits used for fresh water eels are rotten eggs and goat or chicken flesh. A kind of fish called *maha* furnished the best bait for salt water eels (*puhi*).

CATCHING SHELLFISH

The large marine crawfish, the meat of which resembles that of a lobster, were sometimes caught with a hook and line, but usually by men who dived for them from the rocks.

Crabs (*kaitano, tostoe, tupa*) were sought in the rocks and on or near the shores at night by men and women carrying torches. They were caught with the hand.

Shrimps (*koua*) were fished for in the streams at night by torchlight or in the day time. They were caught by children with the hand or with the noose called *tona* (fig. 18, *e*) and were caught in larger quantities by women with small hand nets (*to'o* (fig. 18, *c*) or pieces of cloth. Shrimps were sometimes shot by boys with a small bow and slivers of bamboo.

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FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

226 192 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
Aho. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auena. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Hultoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioa, kaimitito, kaimititoa, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

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Keviti. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.
Kohe atu. Rod for bonito fishing.
Kohuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.
Koke'oka. Net to carry fish.
Kotu. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.
Kouneka. Hook.
Kuaheu. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.
Makae kou'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.
Mamai upena. Bottom of net.
Mata va'o ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.
Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.
Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.
Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.
Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.
Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.
Nanao. Small package of fish.
Noupo. Fishing in the night.
Oho au fi'e na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.
Oho au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.
Oho au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.
Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.
Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.
Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.
Pa. Bonito hook.
Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.
Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.
Pa-oa. Seine.
Pati. To chase fish into a net by making noise in the water. Also patitevo.
Pehi. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.
Peka. To fish with a line while swimming.
Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.
Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.
Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.
Pokae. Sinker on fish line.
Pokoe. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.
Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.
Puteki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.
Ta i te iha. To fish for the iha.
Ta i te upena. To make a net.
Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.
Ta'aka'a. Dart, harpoon.
Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.
Taiheka. Cords of a net.
Takau, or tanokau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.
Takikeka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koe'ka.

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226 Tata'a. Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
192 Te ika haha. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kehuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'o. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tiitii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tiveivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
Te'e. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
Te'e pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tena. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Teve'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the *mataka* (hammer-headed shark).
Upena iha. A small net for catching the kaoa, a small fish.
Upena kaoa or Upena iha. Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka huteki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputeki.
Vakaputeki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Veivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke*, a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley. 223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [423 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

Plants Cultivated

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

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241 Although bananas constituted a food of only secondary importance in the Marquesas, there were, according to Jardin (15, p. 49), twenty-six varieties that were diistinguished by the natives.

Sugar cane was planted in the vicinity of the houses. According to Jardin (15, p. 54) the natives distinguished seven varieties. The cane, according to this writer, was reserved for feast days when it was cut and carried in great bundles to the place of celebration and distributed among the assistants preparing the feast.

Kape (*Colocasia esculenta*) was cultivated to a slight extent. Kava (*Piper methysticum*) was planted and cultivated in patches. Krusenstern (16, p. 164) speaks of seeing plantations of *kava*. In some of the legends recorded, the *kava* plantations of chiefs are described as being far back in the valley. Such plantations were named. In recent times, *kava* has been grown mostly in the uplands, because at one time the French administration prohibited its use.

Ute (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) the bark of which was used for making cloth, was grown in picket enclosures near dwellings. It was planted for the new-born child in order to furnish him or her with the cloth necessary for the various rites to be performed and also in preparation for such festivals as those of tattooing or marriage. The stems were allowed to grow up to ten or twelve feet in height, all the shoots along the length of the stem being carefully removed in order that the bark might be as whole as possible (15, p. 48). According to Dordillon (9) the *ute* trees were allowed to grow to a height of eighteen or twenty feet. After attaining the desired height, the stems were cut down and the bark was prepared for the clothing making. (See Tapa Making.)

The staple food for the natives was made from the fruit of the breadfruit tree. Individuals owned trees in the vicinity of their houses and chiefs owned plantations of them. The planting of breadfruit trees was performed with great care, but as to ceremonial connected with it, I have no information. Young shoots had to be obtained from the earth near the base of the mother tree, and were handled with great care so as not to be bruised. A hole was then dug in the ground with the digging stick, the earth taken from it being broken up and softened. The hole was then lined with leaves, the young shoot was put in and soft earth filled in and trodden down around it. The top of the shoot was broken off, and the remaining stock was then wrapped in bark or leaves held with strips of bamboo tied in place to protect it from pigs; or else a small fence was built around it, the space between the fence and the plant being filled with leaves. Ten days after planting a shoot, the farmer would come to see if it were sprouting (9). Père Pierre (4) speaks of feasts connected with planting.

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The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

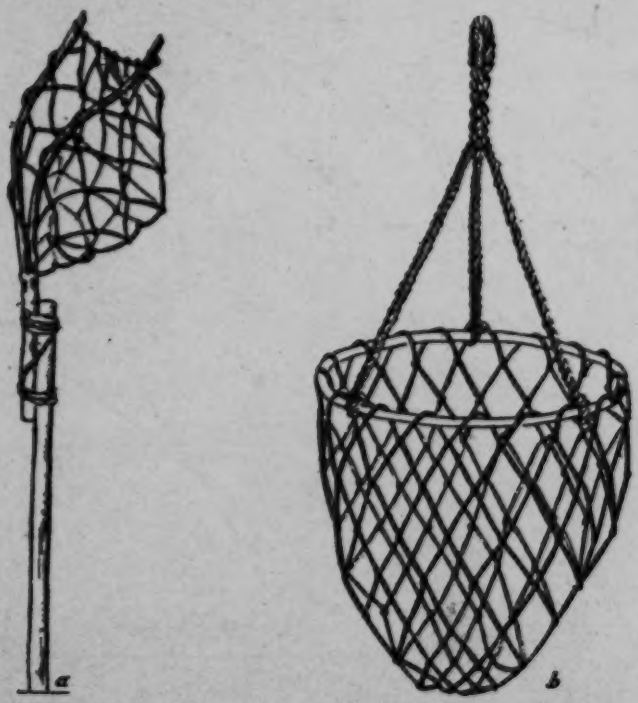

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*paiko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oko*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*mo*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

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241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pafiko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). [482] It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[12]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley 312 bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

[12] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1862 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

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general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

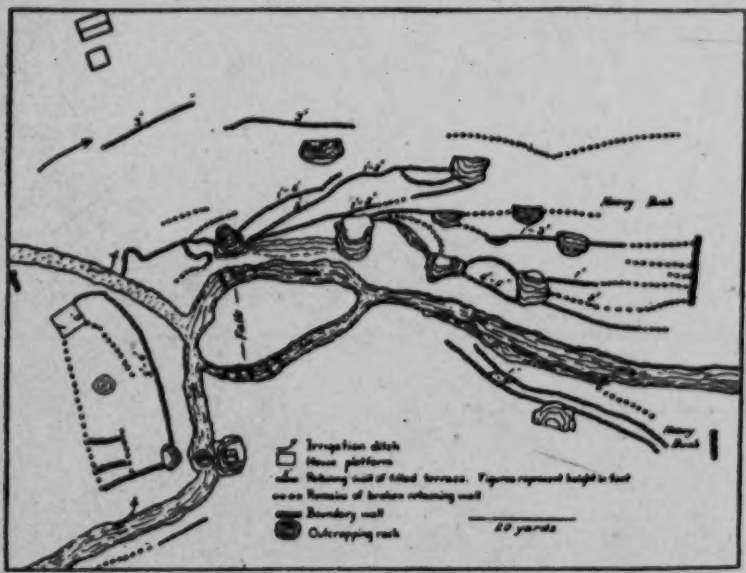

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

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241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[18]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

[18] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

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staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *hi'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

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251 When the fruit[a] is sufficiently tender,
252 the women peel it with the *pu kava*, a shell in which two sharp-edged
[412] holes have been filed, and lay it on a bed of fau leaves with a cover of leaves, to ripen further.

The next day, the flesh is so tender that it may be squeezed off the core with the hand. The cores are thrown away, the flesh is put into a temporary, shallow hole, lined with plaited coconut leaves and with banana leaves, or into a *hoa no te ma*, an above-ground basket of plaited coconut leaves attached to a circle of fau pegs driven into the earth (See Pl. v, *A*). Linton describes one of these in detail:

> These containers are made as follows: A number of small saplings are driven into the ground forming a circle four to six feet across. Inside these, mats woven from coconut fronds are placed in pairs so that the walls will be everywhere two or more mats thick. The midribs at the upper edges of the mats are attached to the saplings with strips of *fou* bark. Three tiers of mats are placed one above the other, giving the walls a height of about two feet. The bottom of the container is not covered Inside these mats, a thick layer of banana leaves is placed vertically, covering the floor and sides. The mat walls are called *puru*, the leaf lining *au meiko ameiko*.
>
> After the container has been filled with pieces of breadfruit, the ends of the leaves forming the inner lining are bent back so as to cover the top, and are weighted with large stones.

When the *mei* has been drained of some of its water in this temporary hole, and fermentation has started, it is transferred to the permanent silo, or *ma* pit.

For daily use, each family has its own *ma* hole. Pits were dug near the house with iron-wood sticks (*ko fenua*). Mr. Handy has seen one family *ma* pit, which was lined with stones; Krusenstern describes them as being paved with stones (16, p. 161); Dordillon gives the word *pakeko* or *pakeho*, to define a hole lined with masonry, in which to put fermented breadfruit; but the usual container seems to have had only earthen walls. High on the mountains, in ancient times, great tribal *ma* pits were dug for storage against famine. These tribal pits are no longer used, as a rule, though Mr. Handy has seen one at Hapa Toni, Tahu, Ata, containing *ma* a hundred years old, which is occasionally eaten at the present time. (See also 15, p. 47.)

Krusenstern also describes a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona valley on the way to Pua Ma'u, which is 15 feet deep on a side, and is at present 25 feet deep. It was formerly 15 feet deeper. The sides are of volcanic clay, with even, ornamental courses made with tools, running around in parallel rows, called *pauao*. The Ati-ku'a had five of these built on hill tops.

Linton says of these tribal pits:

> They are sometimes in or near the feast place, but are more often in the hills where they would be safe in case of attack. Some of them are of great size, the

[a] [i.e., breadfruit.—Analyst]

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largest seen being in Tai-pi, Nuku Hiva, where there is a circular pit fifteen to twenty feet across and at least thirty feet deep. Ordinary household pits average four feet in diameter and three feet in depth and will contain *ma* enough to last the family for a year. 251 252

The *ma* pits are always dug in clay soil [Dordillon (8) gives *tiemo*, to plaster a silo with clay] and are never stone lined, although one or two tiers of stone may be laid around the top to keep earth from falling in. Household pits are round, but some of the large tribal pits are square and the walls of the latter are very smoothly dressed. The walls of one large pit near Po Au, in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, show regular series of broad, shallow, horizontal grooves, as though an effort had been made at decoration. Natives insist that the watertight clay soil is necessary for the preservation of the *ma* and for this reason the pits sometimes seen in house platforms could not have been used for regular storage.

Linton describes the filling of a *ma* silo as follows:

The pits are first lined with dry banana leaves (Pl. v, *B*) and then given a second lining of green banana leaves protruding about two feet beyond the hole all around. (Pl. v, *C*). The *ma* is placed in the hole in bulk, being tramped down from time to time [with the bare feet of the men, until it becomes a solid cake]. After the bottom has been filled, a layer of small mats made of two *ti* leaves pinned together [in three places with bits of the midrib of coconut leaves (*koniko*)] is placed around the sides of the hole longitudinally (Pl. v, *D*). These mats are called *papa o ti*, and are made especially for this purpose. [*Ti* leaves do not rot as quickly as others and hence are always chosen.] As the filling of the hole continues, additional tiers of mats are laid, the lower edges of each succeeding layer being tucked under the upper edges of the layer below. The hole is filled heaping full, and the mound is covered with two or three rows of *papa o ti* laid horizontally (Pl. vi, *A*), some short pieces of banana leaf being put on as a cap piece. The ends of the banana leaves lining the hole are then bent back over the mound, and the whole is covered with a litter of dry banana leaves (Pl. vi, *B*). A layer of large stones is laid over the whole, completing the operation.

The *mei* now becomes *ma*, and it may be said to keep almost indefinitely, the natives considering it improved with age. True, the earth mingles with its substance, it becomes darker and sourer, the *ti* leaves and the outer crust of the *ma* rot; but it is kept in what is considered good condition by adding layers of fresh *mei* (*tii moto i te ma*—8) by digging out the center, throwing away the crust, and adding fresh *ti* leaves. *Ma tahito*, which is considered the best, is about ten years old and is dark brown in color. The *ma* on the different islands varies according to the species of breadfruit and the composition of the soil in which the trees are grown. Nuku Hiva *ma* has the reputation of being very dark and very sour, that of Ua Huka, of being white and not sour.

POPOI

Ma is never eaten plain as taken from the hole, but forms the base for *popoi ma* or *popoi mei*. *Popoi mei* is made during the season of abundance, but since the recipe for it includes *popoi ma*, it is better to treat both 252

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252 dishes here. The *ma*, almost like clay, is dug out of its hole, carried to the house in a bowl, and placed on the *hoaka* or long, wooden trough to be kneaded. If it is very old and hard, it must be softened with water. Indeed throughout the preparation of *popoi*, water as a lubricant is used so freely as to become an important ingredient. When it is kneaded into a soft dough, it is wrapped in small packages, enveloped in fau
954 leaves and tied with the bark. Today these packages are boiled in water
252 in kerosene cans or large iron pots, but it is the earth oven in which they
[415] were originally baked, that we should include in this description.

The average oven is a hole dug in the ground, about two feet deep, three feet wide, and four feet long. In the bottom of it is placed the firewood (*vehie*), and on top of this, stones deeply pitted, which do not burst with heat. Fire was made originally by rubbing a small stick along a groove in a larger stick. (See description under The Dwelling, The Cook House.) In this oven (*umu*) the stones are heated thoroughly, part of them then removed with a *kipo* (which is a kind of long-handled dipper made with a stick passed through a coconut shell), or with the *koka mei* (tongs of two sticks bound together with fau bark which, as its name indicates, is primarily designed to lift roasted *mei* from the fire.) A thin layer of earth is spread over the remaining stones, their heat tested by the bare foot of the cook; the packages of *ma* are put in on a criss-cross of green guava sticks or petioles of fau leaves, to keep them from burning; the remaining stones are heaped about the packages, and the whole is covered with fresh *mi'o* leaves and then overlaid with earth.

252 *Ma* is tested like cake, by thrusting a small stick into a package to see if the dough still adheres to the stick. When it does not, the *ma* is cooked. The packages (*koumu*, Hiva Oa, *vahima*, Nuku Hiva—8) are taken out of the oven and unwrapped; the *ma* is placed on the kneading trough and pounded into a smooth paste with the stone *popoi* pounder (*kea tuki popoi*). It is pounded when hot preferably, since fermentation follows quickly when it is pounded cold and the *ma* does not keep so well. After pounding, it is again wrapped in leaf packages and kept until needed. In time it collects maggots and must be washed in salt water before being eaten, but it keep this way for some time.

It is this *popoi ma* which is mixed with the fresh breadfruit to make *popoi mei*. The fresh breadfruit has been ripened with a green guava stick and is now roasted on a wood fire. The blackened and charred skin is peeled off, the core removed, and the flesh mixed with water and pounded on the board until quite soft. Then a hole is scooped in the middle of the white *mei*, the brown *ma* is taken from its package and put into it, the two are kneaded together, with the constant addition of water to make

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the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. 252
The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is [853]
made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily.

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions 264
for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 36*a*).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and 252
they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *mahiko* or *mei hupoku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

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252 satisfies hunger for so long a period that it was often eaten on long voyages (14, p. 142).

The preparation of the coconut milk for this and other dishes proceeds as follows: Coconut flesh is grated on a low wooden stool with a long neck on the end of which are iron teeth, but in ancient times a sharp shell was used instead. Moistened in water, the grated flesh is caught up in a *tauaka* and the milk squeezed out. The *tauaka* is an ingenious manufacture, an excelsior-like substance made by flattening the stalks of the reed called *mouku* between two sticks, and then shredding it under water, so as to wash out all the gluey sap. When it is balled up, it becomes a kind of coarse cloth, excellent for straining out the milk from the coconut flesh.

Melville's appreciative description of the whole process (23, p. 132) should be included here:

> There is one form, however, in which the fruit is occasionally served, that renders it a dish fit for a king. As soon as it is taken from the fire the exterior is removed, the core extracted, and the remaining part is placed in a sort of shallow stone mortar, and briskly worked with the pestle of the same substance. While one person is performing this operation, another takes a ripe coconut and breaking it in half, which they also do very cleverly, proceeds to grate the juicy meat into fine particles. This is done by means of a piece of mother-of-pearl shell, lashed firmly to the extreme end of a heavy stick, with its straight side accurately notched like a saw. The stick is sometimes a grotesquely-formed limb of a tree with three or four branches twisting from its body like so many shapeless legs, and sustaining it two or three feet from the ground.
>
> The native, first placing a calabash beneath the nose, as it were, of his curious-looking log-steed, for the purpose of receiving the grated fragments as they fall, mounts astride of it as if it were a hobby-horse, and twirling the inside of one of his hemispheres of coconut around the sharp teeth of the mother-of-pearl shell, the pure white meat falls in snowy showers into the receptacle provided. Having obtained a quantity sufficient for his purpose, he places it in a bag made of the net-like fibrous substance attached to all coconut trees, and compressing it over the breadfruit—which being now sufficiently pounded, is put into a wooden bowl,—extracts a thick, creamy milk. The delicious liquid soon bubbles round the fruit, and leaves it at last just peeping above its surface.
>
> This preparation is called "kokoo," and a most luscious preparation it is. The hobby-horse and the pestle and mortar were in great requisition during the time I remained in the house of Marbeye, and Kory-Kory had frequent occasion to show his skill in their use.

Makiko or ma pou.—Another dish that utilizes the fast ripening *mei* is *makiko* (northern name) or *ma pou* (southern name). At present, it is made in the following manner: The breadfruit (*mei*) is picked one day, ripening the next with the aid of a guava stick piercing it; peeled and cored the next day. The ripe flesh is then kneaded in a bowl with coconut milk, until of the consistency of soft dough, when it is wrapped in small packages in fau leaves and tied with a strip of the bark. The packages are baked for an hour in the usual way in the earth oven, when they are

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removed and eaten immediately. I am told that the truer native process of *makiko* is to ripen the breadfruit by digging a hole about two inches long in the fruit, where the stem has been knocked off, and filling it with the juice and pounded leaves of the *papa vahana* (*Phaseolus amoenus*). The breadfruit (*mei*) is left standing on end, so that the juice runs down the core and ripens the flesh. When it is thoroughly ripe, the skin may be peeled off with the fingers. After kneading the flesh and removing all the lumps, it is mixed with cooked *ma*. The whole is wrapped in *ti* leaves in long bundles and baked in the usual oven. *Makiko* is often fed to new-born children. 252

Feikai mei.—In the old days Marquesans seem not to have been very fond of sweets—nor indeed of any marked seasonings for that matter. The *feikai mei*, however, which they make today and have made for some time, utilizes the honey of bees and seems distinctly to take its place as a dessert, though the natives make a meal of it when they eat it. The milk is squeezed from the grated flesh of about forty coconuts and mixed with sufficient honey to turn the liquid a rich brown. Meanwhile, about thirty breadfruit have been roasted on the wood fire, peeled of their charred skins, and wrapped in fau leaves to keep them hot. Baskets of coconut leaves, about two and a half feet deep by a foot and a half in diameter, are plaited and lined with banana leaves, those of the *meiko mao'i* (one of the native bananas) being the best. It should be explained that these leaves are always laid across the hot coals for a short while to scorch and temper them, and after the midribs are shaved thin the leaves are as pliable as rubber. Into these baskets, layer by layer, is laid the flesh of the breadfruit, broken away from the hearts (which are of course thrown away), and gradually the mixture of coconut milk and honey is added until each basket is filled. A few taro, halved or quartered, are placed on top, and the whole is covered with a banana leaf tied tightly around the mouth of the basket. The baskets are placed in the oven and left for about six hours. When removed, the confection is hard, and covered with a coagulated sweet sauce. [263]

Feikai vaihopu.—Slightly different is the making of the *feikai vaihopu*, also a confection of the *mei* picking time—there are local variations of method in Nuku Hiva. After the breadfruit has been picked and left three days, until the skin can be stripped off with the fingers, the flesh is put in *fau* bark (*apoa*) to ripen, the gluey sap of the bark penetrating the flesh and coloring it a beautiful brown. When soft and ripe it is mixed with coconut milk, and put in square-meshed nets made of green fau bark. These are about two feet deep and a foot and half in diameter and are lined with banana leaves. When they are full, they are pulled up at the

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252 mouth with strips of the fau bark and are hung on green poles across a trench in the ground, three or four feet deep and sometimes long enough to accommodate twenty nets of *feikai*. For many hours large fire-wood has been burning in the trench, and there is now a hot bed of stones in the bottom. These are covered with green sticks, leaves, and a layer of earth. Across the trench are placed the poles with their burden of nets hanging just so as to escape the covered stones. The *feikai vuihopu* is steamed all night under a cover of leaves and earth and bark. When it is taken out, the coconut is all absorbed, except for a coating of sweet, curdled sauce called *kahikahi*. *Feikai* will keep for days in an unopened basket, but must be eaten at once when opened. In Atu Ona, this *feikai* is called *feikai mei po'a*. Mr. Linton watched the process there and described it as follows (in words and pictures):

Making *feikai* is an elaborate process requiring six days as a minimum. In pre-preparing it, small breadfruit, although apparently not of any special species, are pierced at the stem end with a bamboo, the fragment being broken off in the hole. These pierced breadfruit are then placed in special containers made by removing the bark from a fau log about eight inches in diameter, allowing it to keep its original form. These bark troughs are then lined with fern and the breadfruit laid in them in a single line, (Pl. VI, *C*) the bark being bent back and tied with numerous strings in such a way as to form a closed tube(Pl. VI, *D*). The breadfruits are left in this tube for four days, by the expiration of which time they have become so soft that they are easily peeled and the pulp can be separated from the core with the fingers.

In the meanwhile, several holes about eighteen inches in diameter and a foot deep, have been dug, and these are now lined with a layer of fau leaves. Within the fau leaves, four *ti* (*Cordyline australis*) leaves, tied in pairs by the tip, are laid so that they form a cross, and over these, three or four sections from the center of banana leaves. The banana leaves are wilted before use, to give greater flexibility, and a piece of the midrib about five inches long is left protruding at either end. The successive linings of the hole provide a bucket-like container, and in this is placed the pulp of three or four breadfruit, depending on their size, and about a quart of water. To this is then added sweet juice made by grating and squeezing the kernels of sprouted coconuts and a little coconut meat (Pl. VII, *A*). The ends of the *ti* and banana leaves are then brought up together and tied with a long strip of fau bark, whose ends are twisted together above the hole (Pl. VII, *B*) and attached by means of the rope to a second similar bundle, the pair being hung on a pole supported some distance above the ground (Pl. VII, *C*). Occasionally, a single pair of *ti* leaves is used instead of the four, and there are individual differences in the tying, that enable the owners to identify their bundles in the large oven.

[394] The bundles are cooked in an unusually elaborate earth oven. These ovens are generally used in common by several families, all of whom assist in their construction. The largest seen was over ten feet in diameter and about three feet in depth, and would hold one hundred bundle of *feikai*. The oven is filled with a mixture of large stones and logs, and a fire kept going for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time the boulders are red-hot. The stones and the embers are then raked out, and the oven is lined with an even layer of hot stones, which are covered with a layer of moist earth about three inches thick. A number of peeled *fau* logs six to eight inches in diameter, are then laid across the depression, and the bundles, in pairs, are hung across these so that their weight is partly supported by them (Pl. VII, *D*). Immediately above the logs a single layer of unpeeled fau poles, about an

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inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours. 252

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *hivu* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus edulis*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth. 853 252

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the breadfruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies. 252 862

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DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kao'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves. though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea [263] water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with [222] *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

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I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings 252
of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas.

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku*, but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower, smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large [251]
bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women.

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa*. The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uka*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a [846]
midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is [251]
sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E ika mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some-

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252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

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sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

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252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation —boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio,* which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tia*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi.* Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi.* Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi.* The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'aku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

[251] *Bananas.*—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Sometimes they are preserved by drying. Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

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The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles [*ama*]. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time they are taken out perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour. 252

Certain other fruits, besides bananas, were eaten raw: a very juicy, sweet apple called *kehia* (*Eugenia jambosa*); a native pineapple (*fa'a noka*); the *katiu*, a kind of melon; the *maii* (*Terminalia* sp.), the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*), and *Papaya carica*, which is also called *vi* by the natives. The papaya was also cooked. Uncut and unpeeled, it was wrapped in *fau* leaves, and left for two hours in the earth oven, after which it was peeled and mashed in a bowl with coconut milk.

There is no doubt that the constantly feared famine days often came to the Marquesas, when the great *ma* holes on the mountains were opened and their contents partitioned among the families; when *ma* was made of abortive breadfruit, even of their skins and cores which were ordinarily thrown away; when *fau* leaves and the roots of the tree-fern (*tukuu*) were baked in the oven; when wild yams (*puauhi*) were given a quick five-minute roasting in dry leaves on hot coals; when *ti* roots were baked for a long time in an oven with a very hot fire of large wood, then peeled, and chewed for the juice, which is rich and thick like maple syrup; when the kernels in the pandanus made into a paste (15, p. 51) and the small fruits of the fern *pu'u manini* or *moina* were eaten. 252 261

But sooner or later the *tou motua* (eldest breadfruit children)—the first fruits—appeared again; another bread fruit season opened, and the rotation of cookery started again.

ADDITIONAL CULINARY TERMS

Some of the terms relating to food, given by Dordillon (8) may be suggestive: *iaia*, little balls of *ma* not well ground; *kaeo*, to cut breadfruit and extract the heart; *kereuu*, *popoi* not diluted with water, not ready to eat; *ko*, to knead breadfruit with the hand; *mei kotoa*, breadfruit dried by the sun; *oomu*, cooked many times; *nahi*, small package of leaves; *pope*, package of coarse *ma*; *pihueu*, to salt meat to preserve it; *pokii*, small package in leaves; *puihi*, dish of native chestnuts; *taahu*, cooked on one side only; *tihuru i tihuu*, to salt meat; *tikohi*, to take out the stones from a hot oven to put in the *ma*; *tiohu*, wrapped in leaves; *tiumu*, small pack- 252

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252 age of *ma; tipo*, to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma*, to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *touevu*, small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoo*, to put coconut milk on *popoi*.

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava*, being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak [266] in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would 272
follow. A person under the influence of the drink[1] was very highly sensi-
tive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought [776]
to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by
noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava*
drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's [755]
stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest.
It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of [753]
the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill
effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short
period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of
chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formal-
ity connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity 527
whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of
ko'ina are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of
the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for
the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of im-
portance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of
manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work
was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and
social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amuse-
ment, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants.
But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or
elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most
part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences
that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they cele-
brated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a
whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several
classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land;
those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage,
tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were
made by different families in honor of those who had died some time be-
fore; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately asso-
ciated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[1] [i.e., Kava.—Analyst]

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527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a [796] part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

527 728 > The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates. 527 728

THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe. 527 349

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

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527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles
forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père
349 Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity
476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

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place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore. 527 476

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small. 527

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 527 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hei titi. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).
Hutaha. Licentious fete.
Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavapua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

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527 **Mau hei titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the feto (*tuahaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

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certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunono*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

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585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fañ tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fañ me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that 586] there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

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the second crop, called *kato'o* or *ki'ihi*, might be used for *popoi* for this feast. When the pigs and the *feikai mei pa'a* (*feikai*, grease; *mei pa'a*, ripe breadfruit) had been prepared in the special house, the final preparations for the feast were made. The food was wrapped up in little parcels and distributed everywhere, hung up in the tops of trees, hidden all about, inside, under, and on top of the sleeping house. All the valuable of the family were taken out and secreted, as everything was demolished in the scramble for the food that was to follow. All the time the work of preparing the food was proceeding, the women of the boy's family chanted their genealogies (*hahi*). There were no *tapu* connected with the work. As many as ten great ovens would be made, half the food prepared being for the workers. Offerings of food, called *hai hei*, were also sent to the future son-in-law from the valley of the girl.

The *ko'ina hunona* was then celebrated. All the people from Ta'a Oa set out in advance of the family of the girl. They and the Atu Ona people raided the house of the boy where the food was concealed—in searching for the food they demolished everything.

The family of the girl then arrived bringing gifts, consisting of ornaments, and were followed by the girl, who came with her parents and *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). As they approached the house of the boy's father, the maternal uncles and paternal aunts (*pahupahu*) carried the girl. They bore a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of *hiapo* (sacred cloth made of banyan bark, reddish brown in color) on their heads. An uncle preceded with the girl on his shoulders, the others following behind, carrying on their heads the long *hiapo*. Those carrying the girl and her *hiapo*[14] were met by the maternal uncles and paternal aunts of the boy carrying him and his long loin cloth in the same way. The two parties exchanged the boy and the girl. Each party then walked under the loin cloth carried by the other. Both parties then made a circuit, in procession, while the genealogies of both families were chanted. This completed the formalities of marriage. Other festivities (*ko'ina hunona*) followed, however, which repeated the same rite.

Six months or so later the paternal aunts of the boy would make a second *ko'ina hunona* for the boy, at which exactly the same ritual was gone through. It took place at the house of the richest sister, the others helping. Each *ko'ina hunona* for the boy was reciprocated by one for the girl by her parents, when everything was done in just the same way, except that the preparations were made by the girl's relatives at her father's house and the boy's family brought the gifts. The boy's family must,

[14] It was explained that this was white cloth. The use of the term *hiapo* here is probably incorrect; it should be *ute*. *Hiapo* is sometimes loosely applied to loin cloths in general.

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ho'ius* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take [576] canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married or this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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cried three times in a high voice, *"Tatapa i te puaka"* (We call on you for a pig). The householder would reply three times, similarly in a high voice, *"A hahi i te puaka"* (Chant your genealogy for the pig). The seeker then replied, *"E toe puaka tu'u tupuna, e"* (Enough pig for my ancestor). The pig or pigs were then delivered. A *tapu* called *fau'oa* reigned for the families collecting pigs while this was going on—this *tapu* allowed no eating nor smoking. 765

When a descendant of the dead man had obtained three or four pigs, they were taken to the ceremonial priest at the feast place and the *tapu* was lifted. The pigs were fattened, and a season of plenty was awaited before the *ko'ina* was announced. All the people in the valley aided in procuring wood for cooking. A special house (*oho au*), open at the sides, was built beside the feast place for the preparation of food. One festival would be given in honor of the spirits of several dead men at the same time, and the relatives of all united in sharing the support of the workers. The pigs were dressed, *popoi, poke,* and other foods were prepared. (See Preparation of Food.) The preparations lasted about a week, during which time all those engaged in the work were *tapu*. The last day of preparation, which preceded the actual celebration, marked the ending of the *tapu* and was called *takoui*. On this day, the great *tuhuna* (master professionals) of all kinds arrived. Ovens, each of which held twenty to thirty hogs, were fired and filled.

Just before daybreak on the day of the feast, a loud drumming announced its opening, and the old men began to sing the chant called *nato* at the feast place, continuing until the provisions were all on the dance area and the people were all assembled. People from other valleys came, bringing pigs and other provisions. The pigs were laid in rows on banana leaves on the dance floor—a row for each spirit—by men girt only with a loin cloth. The drums began to beat with the beginning of the *nato* and continued all day long. Old women, relatives of the deceased, chanted (*nahi*) in pairs all day long the genealogy of the land and of their families. (See Genealogies.) One woman would chant the names of the men, another of the women, thus:

> O Nuku, h-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Nuku, for sure)
> O Mea ta oe vehi-i-i-i-ne, (Mea is your woman)
> O Pepane, ho-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Pepane, for sure) . . .

The professionals (*tahuna*) stood on a sacred platform, the men on another or part of one reserved for them, and the women and children were elsewhere by themselves. After the *nato* chant and before the carving of the pigs, chants called *uhahi* were sung. (See Sacred Chants.) The pigs were then cut up, whole pigs or parts being distributed to all those at

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765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[535] [88]

> . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [534]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *teuuru* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [291] [565]

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. 769 776

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9). [184] [386] [292]

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals." [292] [302] 887 [786]

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty. [302]

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika voihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each
526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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796 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while
266 at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results.
[261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims.
[272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type
266 of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while
415 it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

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TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

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Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou,* post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka.* (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obliga-
431 tion of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
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> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
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> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Ena tu u taika i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went
to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the
787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of
the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was
784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no
778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under
[421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one
[822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and
had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have
834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with
184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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793 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

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THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono,* chants) or *tuhuka o'oko.* To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e,* constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana, pu'e, tona pou,* etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono.* No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e, tona pou,* and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna.* Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono,* a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called *tuputu*, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting *tuhuna* were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the *tuhuna o'ono* lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono* and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoho*) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

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793 formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspira-
766 tional priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono,* like that of the *tau'a,* was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

793 Temple assistants, called *moa, taputoho,* or *u'u,* were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa,* saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place. 778

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukau*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa: 778 346

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

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778 the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with bread-
fruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with pal-
346 metto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were orna-
346 ments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of
825 height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki,* made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a,* were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu.* It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him. 778 346 825

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre. 778 776

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu,* the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends. 778 778 212

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778 An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what
346 rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukou*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'U AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *uvana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

778 The *ananuu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *ananuu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *ananuu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

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At each corner of the low wall a number of long, slender bamboos were erected, tied together at short intervals in a square form of bands of white cloth, while within, surrounding a bier covered with white, were a number of cones six or eight feet high in the form of the braided leaf of the coconut, confined at the top by bands of white cloth, the ends of which hung down in long pennants. 778

In Wilson's account (30, p. 526), "a sort of escutcheon" is described within a sepulchral house of a chief. "Again the side of another house, three other escutcheons are placed."

CEREMONIAL APPURTENANCES

Koufau were peeled *fau* stakes wrapped in white cloth and ornamented with plaited coconut leaves. These served as signs of *tapu*, marking off restricted areas during the times of the performance of ceremonial. What are evidently *koufau* are described by Garcia (14, p. 59). He speaks of an altar surrounded by long bundles of white stakes from which floated bits of vari-colored cloth. Melville describes similar signs of *tapu* around the restricted area on a feast place at the time of a festival (23, p. 198). *Koufau* are mentioned by Krusenstern in the following description (16, p. 127):

In the outer circle were some statues carved in wood, intended to represent the human figure, and evidently the coarse work of some unskilful artist; near to these statues were some pillars wrapt up in cocoa-leaves and a white cotton stuff. We were curious to learn what was the intention of them; but could obtain no answers to our inquiries, than that they were tahbu.—Near the morai was the priest's house, whom, however, we did not find there. Every family has its separate morai: the one we visited belonged to the priests.

Kopiripiri or *opinipini* (cf, *opini* on the *fa'e tukau*) was the term applied to the coconut leaves that embellished the *fau* stakes used as *tapu* symbols and the posts of sacred structures bedecked on the occasion of rites. Dordillon (8) gives as the meaning of the word *opini*, a sign of peace. The use of the coconut leaf as a symbol of peace is described under War. The coconut leaf appears to have been a symbol of sacredness that was used in a number of ways on ceremonial occasions: to decorate the sacred houses, *tapu* markers, and war canoes; as a headdress and body covering for *tuhuna* and others when occupied with ceremonial; and as a peace sign. The fact that a coconut leaf was used as the ceremonial dress of *tuhuna* justifies the conclusion that its use in decoration was probably primarily ceremonial rather than aesthetic. [824]

It is common today to find about the remains of some sacred places a great number of conch shells. It is probable that these were used along with drums in ceremonial, as was common in other groups, in announcing periods of tapu. Whether drums were used in the sacred precincts not

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778 attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

[826] Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

778 The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—
532 chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conven-
7 tions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

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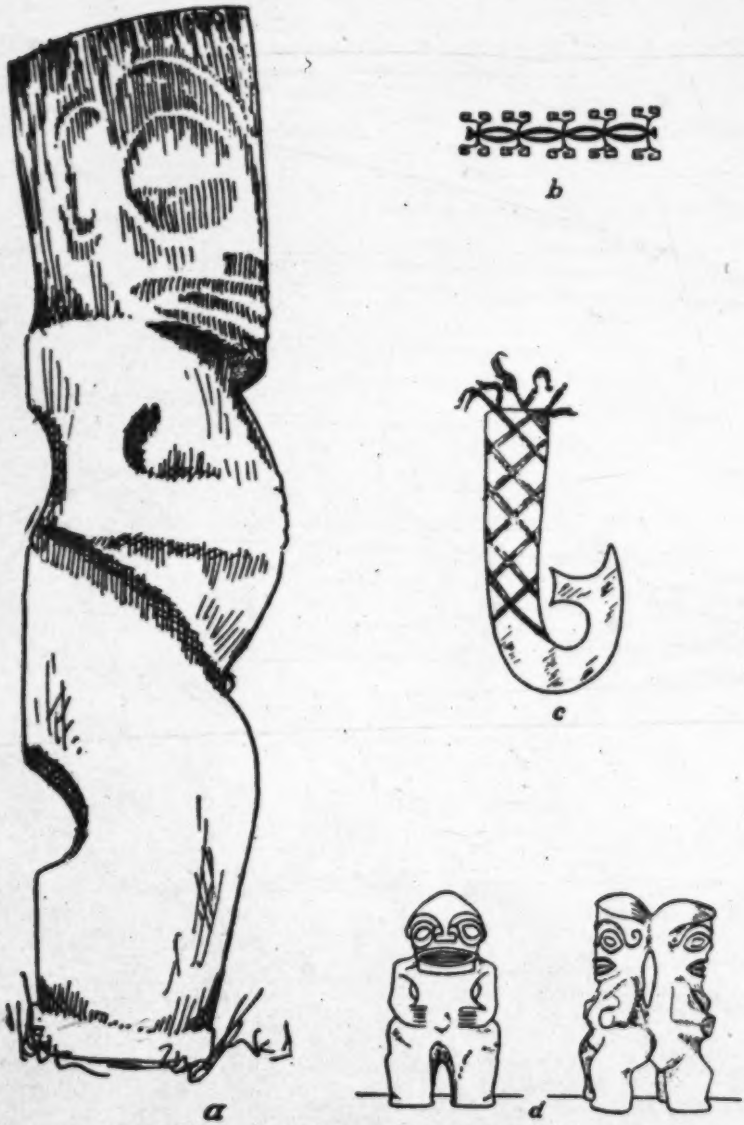

FIGURE 22.—Sacred objects: *a*, an image carved of wood (tiki); *b*, *tova* design; *c*, hook, called *tova*, for suspending human sacrifices; *d*, miniature stone images (tiki).

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778 532

est platform. In addition to these large permanent figures were miniature stone images (*tiki*), either single human figures or double figures (fig. 22, *d*) carved out of one piece, back to back. In order to insure success these were taken to the sacred place and there presented as votive offerings by those initiating some undertaking. By whom images were made, when, and with what rites is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were special carvers; images, like the house in the precincts, were probably made from time to time, as they were needed in rites. Images were girded with loin cloths. That these loin cloths for the gods were ceremonially made is indicated by the following translation from the manuscript of Dordillon (9): "The old *tuhuka* [probably ceremonial priest], who beat the *hami* [loin cloth] for Paiau, Tohotika, and Tamaputona [names of gods] might eat only in the evening." It was probably the loin cloth of the image that Stewart describes as being elevated while an invocation was pronounced (26, p. 275).

It is instructive to note the impressions of early visitors as to the appearance and arrangement of images in sacred places. Stewart (26, p. 267) describes figures as standing inside of the houses:

> The temples do not differ from the larger inhabited houses, except that they are always open in front. All we saw contained three images, one at each end opposite and facing each other, and one in the middle against the thatch behind.

The following description by Porter (24, p. 111) would indicate that sometimes the images stood in the open:

> In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoanut, and *toa* trees . . . and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among such a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the breadfruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model.

Such images as remain today, of course, stand on their platforms in the open and it is practically impossible to tell whether they had structures over them or not.

Garcia (14, p. 58) describes images of all sizes scattered about in a temple that he visited. In the middle of the place occupied by the images was an enormous stone figure roughly carved, about it a number of other figures, all of human form except one which represented a bird. (At Pua Ma'u there is an enormous stone image, apparently of a turtle.) About these were scattered the remains of offerings. Whether portable images

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or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51): 778 532

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used. 778

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places. [782]

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant- 782

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[782] ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho*, stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192]

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or **paepae tahua.** Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehushu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods. 782

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims. 782 784 [302] [789]

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries: 782

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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782 Coconut oil was poured over the head of the victim and on it was put a flat stone to which was attached a coconut fiber thread ending in three rings. The ceremonial priest sat down after the completion of his chant and the chorus of old men continued. A stone ax was put on the head of the victim and all the people clapped their hands. Finally a coconut was put on the victim's head and the juice of another was poured over it. Then a piece of casuarina was placed at the victim's side. The rite ended with the recitation of the names of the first victims who had been taken in ancient times for sacrifices. These rites continued seven days, the inspirational priest (*tau'a*, male or female), the ceremonial priest (*tuhuka o'oko*), the temple assistants (*moa*), and the old men of the choir (*tuhuka*) being the only persons present.

During the time of performance of such rites all those participating took the name Ati Tu, meaning family of Tu, the god of warriors. All were consecrated to the rite and could have no contact with women or outsiders. During the whole time the ceremonial priest lived in his peaked house while the others lived in other houses within the sacred precincts. After the chant consecrating the victims had been recited over the sacrifices the bodies were drawn up in the trees and left suspended there. At the end of the rite the temple assistants cut the bodies down and threw them into a charnel pit. Then other temple assistants plaited coconut leaves (*ha'a komini ia*) and hung them in the trees to indicate the completion of the rite. These signs were called *tava heaka*.

An example of the chant consecrating the victim was obtained by Dordillon (9) from a former ceremonial priest of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This chant is subsequently to be published. At certain points during the chant, according to Père Siméon (7), the body was elevated on the pole on which it was carried by two assistants. At a later point it was thrown on the ground again, after which if the victim were not dead he was killed by being strangled with a strip of fau bark. At a later point in the chant the ceremonial priest mounted a small square stone platform, holding in his hand a fishing line, on the end of which was a large hook (*tava*) (see fig. 22, *c*), which he put in the mouth of the victim—in the chant the victim is spoken of as a fish. Victims were suspended by means of such hooks in the trees of the sacred precincts. There is a Nuku Hiva legend which recounts how Tohetika let down a hook from the sky to secure a human victim. It is certain that the practice of suspending the victims in the trees of the sacred precincts on a large hook was connected with the conception of which this story in an indication. In this story and in that of Tikituao the eyes of the victims are said to have been eaten by the gods with their *kava*. Here again, the story explains the actual

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practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

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782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

> *E N . . . a tuku mai te ahi (ua)* (N . . grant us rain).
> *Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hono i te mei* (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a uene mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vovana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonofiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

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characters. Some of these names occur in the genealogies recounting the descent of man, others do not. (See Genealogy.) 776

Atea was the progenitor of all natives with Atanua as wife. With other female elements, or beings, as wives, he was likewise the progenitor of all animate and inanimate things. (See Genealogy.) His name never occurs in legends or in chants other than those of creation. He appears never to have been appealed to or propitiated with offerings. Atea represented a concept, rather than a god. An anlysis of the word furnishes some light with regard to the concept. Atea in the Marquesas corresponds to Wakea in Hawaii and Vatea in the Cook group. The "A" in *Atea* corresponds therefore, to Maori and Hawaiian "*wa*," Tahitian and Samoan "*va*," which have meanings in all these groups signifying space in one sense or another. *Atea* in Tahiti means widespread. *Tea* in the Marquesas means "white," "clear" (referring to water, for instance). *Atea* in the Marquesas should probably, therefore, be translated "white, or clear, space." The word for high noon was *o-atea-nui* (*o*, is; *nui*, great), which may be translated as "the time when *atea*, clear space, is great, or greatest." *Atea* may therefore be defined as the native name for the concept of clear space as a fructifying principle or force in generative creation.

Tu is a legendary character and the patron of war. His name does not appear in the genealogies.

Ono, as far as I have been able to discover, was of no importance in the actual worship—at least not under this name. A long legend recounts his exploits. According to this story, he defeated the god Tohetika, whose spirit thereupon became identified with his. Tohetika was worshipped throughout the group.

Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in the genealogies. The sacred adz is associated with his name. The concepts of a male principle and light belong to Atea rather than to Tane here, though Tane was regarded as a "light" god in the sense that he was believed to have had light skin and hair and to have been the ancestor of the white race.

Tana-oa is mentioned elsewhere as god of the wind and sea and patron of fishing. Tiki is famous in legend as a trickster—according to one legend, he was ancestor of men through union with a heap of sand which he piled up on the seashore (Hina-mata-one). Pupuke and Manatu were patrons of the sacred chants. Pupuke was also god of the inspirational priest's house at Pua Ma'u. Tonofiti, who thrust apart the "level above" and the "level beneath," became a god of the underworld. Of the others of the "original gods," little is known except that their names appear in the sacred chants.

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DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

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Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

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Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

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priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. 776
On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu.

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the [753]
goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy.

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

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[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

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776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

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scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i. 774

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way. 774 791

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living: 775

The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in embalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

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775 sighting along his arm. The ghosts of living persons look exactly like them, but cannot speak, and seem to be unable to injure other persons. The ghosts of Europeans as well as natives are frequently seen.

Mouhane was the term applied to the spirit of a woman whose husband or son was at war or on a fishing expedition (9). Such spirits were supposed to aid the enterprise. (See Fishing.)

Actual physical death resulted upon the departure of the breath (*menavu*) by way of the mouth. Absence of the soul (*uhane*) would produce, first, sickness, and then with the departure of the breath, death. On Ua Pou the mouth of a sick person was sometimes stopped to prevent death. At Pua Ma'u, the natives apparently believed that sometime after death the *menavu* finally left the body, later than the *kuhane*.

While *menavu* is to be translated as "breath," for the native it carries with it more than the sense of physical breath. It seems better, on account of the additional spiritual significance, to translate it "breath of life." A rite designed to strengthen the new-born child was described as being *na te menavu* (for the breath) of the child. Again, one of the chants intoned after a death was explained to me to be *na te menavu* (literally, for the breath; figuratively, for strengthening) of the dead person's spirit, which was about to depart.

JOURNEY OF THE SPIRIT TO THE SPIRIT WORLD

The spirit took its departure from the body at death by way of the mouth, being thought to leave some persons before physical death, others after. In Pua Ma'u it was said that the spirit went on its journey in the form of a dragon fly. Offerings—a pig's head and *kava*—were always put with the dead body in order to give its spirit means to gain admittance to the lower region. There were dangers from malicious demons (*vehine hae*, or *pepeke ou mei*), which were supposed to tear the spirit to pieces if they could come upon it. A dog was hung up near a dead body to chase away the evil spirits, and a pig was put under the legs of the corpse to furnish food for the demons while the spirit made its journey in safety.

According to the natives of Hiva Oa, spirits of all their dead went to the next world by way of the precipice at the western extremity of that island, named Kiukiu. It was believed that souls of the dead on Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Tahu Ata returned to Hiva Oa and likewise took their departure at this point. Spirits were thought to leap from the precipice at Kiukiu, to land on a rock called Hi'ia, which turned with them and precipitated them into the sea. On Ua Huna, it was said that souls took their departure via Tetiutiu, the western point of the island (perhaps on their way to Hiva Oa). Tetiutiu is so suggestive of Kiukiu that it seems

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hoe* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'oma*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

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The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing. 772 776 [184]

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

Fanaua

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits. 776

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or 778 [766] [776]

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778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts [843] as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

> The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.
>
> *Fanaua* seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

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scendants and would repel attacks upon them by *fanaua* of less power. For example, the father of X——'s wife has become a *fanaua* and protects her from others. Such *fanaua* can be used to injure women outside the family.

Personal *fanaua* seem to have been more numerous than those of the preceding class. According to informants a *fanaua* of this type would roam over the group watching the women until he found one to his fancy. He would then attach himself to her "like a man in love," but would not injure her in any way. At her bidding he would attack other women and kill them. Y—— controlled a very powerful *fanaua* of this sort from Pua Ma'u.

Fanaua controlled by the dead were those who had killed some one. When a woman had been killed by a *fanaua* she seems to have exercised a control over it and was able to send it to kill other women. It was on this account that offerings were made at her tomb.

Fanaua were exclusively controlled by women, and could only attack women. When they attacked, they first bit[16] the head of the victim, then entered the body and caused it to swell up as if the woman were pregnant. From the time that they entered the woman her own personality was displaced and the *fanaua* spoke with her voice.

When a woman was thought to be attacked by a *fanaua*, her relatives chewed up *noni* leaves and put them in her ears and nose, asking, "Who are you?" This often had to be repeated many times, but finally the *fanaua* would speak and say: "I am so-and-so," giving his name and the name of the woman who had sent him. Offerings were then made to his family that he might be appeased. In some families a relative of the sick woman attacked and killed the sender of the *fanaua*. The proceedings where the *fanaua* was sent by a dead person could not be learned. The sender seems not to have been able to recall the *fanaua* even when she wished to.

One of the commonest uses of the *fanaua* was against personally imposed *tapu*. An example was given as follows: A chief might *tapu* for himself the land of a person of less power. If the wife of the real owner of the land had a *fanaua*, she would send it to attack the chief's wife. The *fanaua*, speaking through the lips of the chief's wife, would tell the chief to remove the *tapu* from the land. If he refused to do so, his wife would die.

In the belief of the control of a *fanaua* by the soul of the person killed by it, there seems to have been some idea of an attachment between the soul and the *fanaua* that was unpleasant to the departed spirit and could only be ended by indicating to the *fanaua* a new victim. This point could not be made clear. The belief in *fanaua* is still strong, and the natives dislike to speak of them.

A few additional notes were obtained from the woman referred to above as X—'s wife. If her fother had died of *fanaua*, the spirit of the *fanaua* was always regarded as being associated with her in such a way that any other women who stepped over her mat would be afflicted by the spirit. No one knew what became of the woman's own spirit when she was in a state of possession by a *fanaua*. Such possession was always temporary. If a woman were with child at the time when a *fanaua* took possession of her, she would die with the child in her. But common possession by the *fanaua* spirit for a woman not pregnant was not considered

[16] I am inclined to believe that this biting of the head is due to a misinterpretation of a pantomimic representation on the part of the informant of the way in which a spirit was thought to enter the open mouth of the person of whom it is taking possession.

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776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

Vehine Hae

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke cu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of [513] *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae,* appearing only at night. *Vehine hae,* seen always with the head and eyes turned

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skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground. 776

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted. 784 778

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

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784 posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her
778 head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

784 Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred.
778 Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head
826 of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

784 Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special
778 coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a [822]
result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the [201] work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

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such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity. 784 778

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives. [783]

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

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784 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman em-
778 bodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 *Tapu,* partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to
784 certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua,* the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

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member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind; by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

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753 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *uci*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been 158
an hereditary affliction.

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness 756
and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who 791
made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person.

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If some- 755
one were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sick- 787
ness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery.

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

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755 for there is nothing in the description so given by Père Pierre to indicate
787 that the god in this case was supposed to enter the body of the *tau'a*. It has already been pointed out that ventriloquism was used in connection with the possession of the inspirational priest by tribal gods.

Dordillon (9) gives another description of this phenomenon called *etua topa*. An inspirational priest was called to a sick man's house. He summoned his god to come. When he had come, the practitioner asked, "Are you the god?" The god replied, *"Io, io, io, io."* (Dordillon explains that the noise was similar to that made at times by a fowl. The practitioner asked, "Are you angry?" The same reply came, *"Io, io, io, io."* The priest then asked, "Will the sick man die?" *"Vi, vi, vi, vi,"* came the reply of the god. The practitioner repeated his question. The god then replied, *"Vii, vii, vii, vii,"* which was interpreted to mean that the man would die. The god, asked when, replied that it would be the next day.

Another account by the same writer describes a similar rite as follows: The practitioner came in the evening. Songs were sung, and the lights then extinguished. The god descended and said, *"Ve, ve, ve, ve,* here is the fish on the land, it is Na-iki" (the name of the tribe). When the god had fallen upon the mat, the practitioner said, "Let your friend go free." "We shall go together," replied the god, "he will die."

According to Père Siméon (7) the ceremony of causing the god to fall began with the singing of the chant called the *mumu*. If it was desired to have a number of gods fall, one went to the house of the *tau'a* carrying the extremity of a coconut leaf called *kopiti*.

What was called *etua amo*, described by Père Jean (19), is evidently another trick of such practitioners. The god who came to possess the *tau'a* was thought to carry him and his mat out of the house in which he was seated, by way of the ridge-pole, without disturbing the thatch.

There is now living in Nuku Hiva a woman who is a practitioner of this kind, whom I was unfortunately unable to induce to work for me or to discuss these matters in any way, for the reason that she had been in trouble with government authorities for having supposedly caused a death by a curse. It would appear that this woman works as a diviner by means of trance rather than by possession. She is said to discern the cause of illness and the outcome of it, to find lost articles, and so on. Dordillon gives the following words, meaning to be in a state of trance: *ahue te menava, kukina o te ate, kukukina, kukuina, pueueu, pupukina, touha.*

Medico-Magical Remedies

755 Medicines were prepared and administered by *tuhuna fainu* (*fainu*, potion or medium). There was a rule that a native doctor could take

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but one patient at a time. If a doctor stumbled when he was on his way to procure the materials used in making his medicine, he must turn back and start all over again. The hands of a doctor were *tapu* during the time that he was treating a patient, and he could not feed himself with them. Little is remembered today of the manner of professional practice, although natives still make use of some of their old remedies, most of them, however, like the rest of their culture, having been forgotten. Massage appears to have been little practised, though rheumatism was treated by rubbing with scented coconut oil. I understand that a great number of native remedies are recorded in a manuscript left by Père Pierre. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of examining this manuscript, which will, I hope, some day be published, as it would furnish students with what is certainly a far more complete study of native remedies than could possibly be made today. 755

A potion called *makiikaeva*, which seems to have been used to restore health or life to an invalid (*fainu no te menava*), was made up as follows: Two old coconuts were grated and squeezed, the inner bark of a *fau* tree bearing red flowers (*hau toto*) was mashed, three stalks of sugar-cane were pounded, five taro roots were grated and seven *noni* fruits were mashed. The potion pressed from this mixture was drunk without heating (9). 755 278

After a woman had given birth to a child, she ate a kind of fish called *koukape* with *tiaa*, hot breadfruit paste. A magical concept seems clearly to be the basis of this remedy, for *koukape* also means a membrane in the interior of the intestinal cavity (mesentery).

When a woman's breasts (*u*) were inflamed (*hehe*), the doctor applied to them three or four leaves of the *noni* and cut these in various places with a strip of bamboo, being careful not to touch the breasts (4).

When a person had bad eyes, the practitioner rolled a piece of cloth in a hollow pipe, at one end of which he held a light. The person whose eyes were afflicted looked through the roll of cloth at the light for healing.

Pueva appears to be a name that was applied on Nuku Hiva to various maladies of infants, supposed to result from the mother's having eaten or handled something harmful to the child during the period of her pregnanacy. The symptoms of *pueva* are described as manifesting themselves in anything from sores and itchings to noises in breathing. The remedy for such an affliction consisted in the mother's burning the article, or a part of the article, that was thought to have been the medium of the evil influence, and putting the ashes on the baby's tongue. In order to safeguard her coming child, a woman, therefore, saved a bit of everything that she ate during the whole time of her pregnancy. If, after its birth, the child developed *pueva*, these materials were at hand to be burned. If

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755 278 she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita,* which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime-juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau,* and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua,* the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleedng did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

752 278 The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

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To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4). 751 831

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa. 754 752 755

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods). 755

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa,* by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a,* who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

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[755 escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the [776 woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an 372] old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the

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leaves. A fire was lighted near the ditch (over the sick person?). It is 755
said that if the sick person showed signs of fear or agitation [apparently indicating the departure of the spirit], it was a sign that he would get well. But if no such signs were exhibited, the person would die. This curative method was used for the insane as well as for those afflicted with physical maladies.

The rite called *tataoho* or *tataua* was performed as follows. The sick man was laid on his back on the ground. He was covered over his entire length with a banana leaf, then a coconut leaf, and on top of that a sheet of cloth. The man's mother placed herself at his head, a sister at his feet, and others at his sides. An aunt, or a sister-in-law, or some other female relative discarded her clothes and jumped up and down seven times on top of the sick person. While this was going on, an inspirational priest, standing on one side, chanted. The priest then rapped seven times on the sick person with the top of the *ti* plant. If the same signs were observed in this rite as those described above—that is, if the sick person was agitated—he was considered as cured; if not, he would die.

A similar rite was sometimes performed near the place where the family relieved themselves. In this ceremony the relatives danced entirely naked around the sick person. The *tau'a* chanted the same chant and beat on the sick person seven times with the *ti* plant (*muku ti, Cordyline terminalis*). This rite was known by the same name as that just described above and was usually performed in the evening.

Another rite of the same nature, called *tomitomi*, is described by Père Pierre (4). The sick person was placed in a ditch and covered with a mat, pandanus leaves, and banyan bark cloth. Relatives (doubtless females) entirely naked, then jumped seven times over the ditch, in order to frighten away the evil spirit (*haa iika te etua*). If the patient showed fright, he would be cured; otherwise he would die.

According to Père Pierre (4), mats, girdles, the private parts of females, men's loin cloths, and the cloth from which they were made, and even pandanus leaves, because from these mats were made, were regarded as profane, insulting, or distasteful to gods, and evil spirits. When an unknown disease appeared, or when there was an epidemic, the [751]
people often suspended at the door of their houses a mat or a girdle or pandanus leaves, believing that these would drive away any evil spirits that attempted to enter. Another protective measure against such spirits consisted in surrounding the house with briers.

Some sickness, supposed to be caused by the absence of a sick person's spirit, was treated by a *tau'a* in this manner: he ordered a small shed to be built and put in it *popoi* and *poke* (See Preparation of Food); enter-

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 763 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mounu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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dug in which the "bait" was buried, and the ashes and earth were thereupon heaped on top of it. It is said that the earth around the hole and above it remained hot on account of the spell, which was recited during the process. This heat was supposed to cause heat or fever in the person, on whom the spell was inflicted. The manner of working in Nuku Hiva was different, and was based on the principle of binding rather than that of burning. The bait was bound in a package of coconut fiber and buried. I have not heard of this method in Hiva Oa, nor have I heard of the use of fire in Nuku Hiva. 754

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, a *tukuka nani kaha* would never divulge his secrets, not even to his own son just before he died. On Hiva Oa I was told, however, that one who desired to learn the practice could go to a *tuhuna nati kaha* for instruction. The person who desired to have this power must kill his or her father, mother, or sister (whether by a spell or by physical means is unknown). The body was then put in a coffin and taken to a sacred place (*me'ae*). There, offerings and prayers were made to it by the person performing the rite, in order to increase the power (*mana*) of the spirit. Thereafter, the spirit of the deceased relative became the familiar of the sorcerer. (See the discussion of familiar spirits and *fanaua*, under Spirits.)

THE PRACTICE OF SORCERY

Père Pierre (4) describes the practice of sorcery in Nuku Hiva as follows. When the bait (*momo*) had been secured, it was wrapped in leaves of the *noni* with leaves of the *mi'o*, and certain evil smelling plants, and the whole was wrapped in the husk of the coconut and tied tightly either with sennit or crushed reed stems. This was then buried, with the accompanying recitation of a spell. During the whole time that the *tuhuna* was performing his rite, he must be naked; he danced around the hole into which he had put the *kaha;* he hugged the trees, invoking certain deities to cause the death of the victim. Père Pierre (4) writes that the bait was regarded as representing the soul or spirit of the victim.

The same writer also describes the method (on what island he does not say) of digging a hole in the earth, lighting a fire in it, throwing in some evil smelling plants, and, on top of all, the bait. The *tuhuna* then danced around the hole reciting the same incantation as was used in the other rite described above. This manner of practice was called *taotao te kaha* (*tao*, to bake).

According to a description of the practice on Nuku Hiva given to Krusenstern (16, p, 174), the bait was mixed with a powder, put in a spe-

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754 cially woven bag, and buried. Langsdorff (18, p. 155) furnishes us with an exceedingly interesting description:

> For this purpose [killing by means of a spell] a preparation is required, called here a kacha, the composing of which is one of the most important secrets among them. The person who would fabricate one, must first wash his whole body perfectly clean; for three days he must not eat, he must not drink much, and must have no intercourse with the female sex. All the time he is preparing the kacha he must live in a taboo-place, that is to say, a morai or popoi-taboo house. The kacha itself is a little purse or bag made with the threads of cocoa-nuts and other threads woven together, in which the skin of a fresh-killed lizard, various sorts of plants, a little stone of a particular form, a small piece of bamboo-cane, and a number of other things, are tied up together. But the principal thing is to seek out some one among the enemies of the man they would afflict with illness, and procure from him some of his hair, the remains of something he has been eating, and some earth on which he has spit or made water, with a little piece of the cloth that he wraps round his waist; without these ingredients the kacha would have no effect.
>
> Three of these enchanted bags are commonly made: when ready they must be well perfumed, and buried separately in the ground, in some remote spot.

According to Père Siméon (7), the bait was sometimes tied to a stone and thrown into the sea with a curse. When this was done, there was no possibility of relieving the spell nor of saving the victim.

To kill a man by the rite of *tiha ipu*, the *tau'a* employed went upon a sacred place (*ahu*). A drum was beaten—apparently to attract the spirit of the victim. The victim's spirit (*kuhane*) was then supposed to be caught by the *tau'a* between two half coconut shells, and these, being held together, were then crushed with stone—it was thought that the crushing and destruction of the spirit of the man was accomplished by this, and the victim was expected to die in a few days (19).

Spells for Revenge

When a man had been taken as a revenge victim, a female relative sometimes performed the rite called *naue*. Taking off her clothes she rubbed her body with red earth and ashes, put on an apron-like arrangement of leaves, and placed hibiscus flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) in her hair. Then, taking with her breadfruit paste and *noni* fruits, she went to the place where the murderer of her relative lived. As she approached, she threw about bits of the cooked breadfruit paste and the *noni*, saying, "There are *feikai* and *poke* [see Preparation of Food] . . . carry them to your friend." Thereupon, it is said, two ghosts would appear, those of the killer and of his victim. The woman then danced about, striking her body with her hands. If the spirit of the killer came first, it was a sign that the murderer would be taken for a victim or that he would die; if the spirit of the dead man preceded, these results would not follow. The spirit of the dead man was supposed to be recognized

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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *utuna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

> Around, around, O Oieke,
> I am turning, O Oieke,
> Take your man, O Oieke,
> The man born of the land, O Oieke,
> Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

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thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described. 754 685 [231]

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it. 754

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.) 789 578

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4). [762]

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war 291

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291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments
301 made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces
302 and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. 11, *E.*)
[552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *ñ'iñ'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave*, *tove'o*, or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with the tail on one side of the body instead of behind. 291

WOMEN'S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka'eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu'eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko'oi, taka pu,* and *piti'i ko'oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka'eu* as "a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees." On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being "drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs." *Eu'eu pipi* or *eu'eu ku'uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka'ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu'eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa'aha eu'eu* (8).

Noku, or *no'u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka'eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any articificial support, and after use it was buried. 841

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka'ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or 291

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291 *kahu papaki* (8). The *kahu utu* was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The *kahu ko'o ko'o* was a full robe of white (*ute*) cloth made of a sheet of *tapa* eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the *kahu ku'a*, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The *kahu ku'a* is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The *kahu ma'o*, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the *kahu hiapo* is uncertain.

The *kahu hiapo* was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ōno*) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*) at Pua Ma'u was the *kahu kohito*, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the *kahu koua'ehi*, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by *tuhuna* on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called *pavahina*, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as *ouoho* (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. *Pavahina* (or *pava u*) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, *a*). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

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flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the 301
effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a [237]
large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho, papatu ouoho, tope pu*, or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders.

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and head- 292
dress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs.

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea, tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e haha* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

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292 The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, *e*)
237 headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and bark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a*, which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a*. One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei, peue taki ei, or peue koio* (fig. 23, *b*) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*)
292 would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, *d*) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'u I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a*, but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka*. Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka*, or *hei pa'ape'a*.

The *ta'avaha*, sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this 292
headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress).

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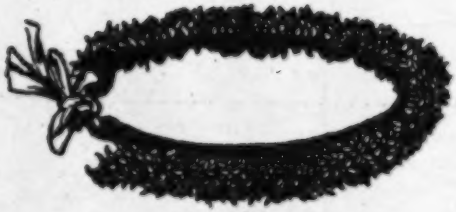

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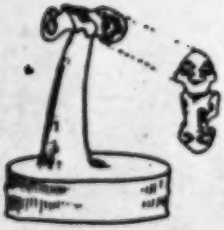

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hakahai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*toinna*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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292 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takiko, uuka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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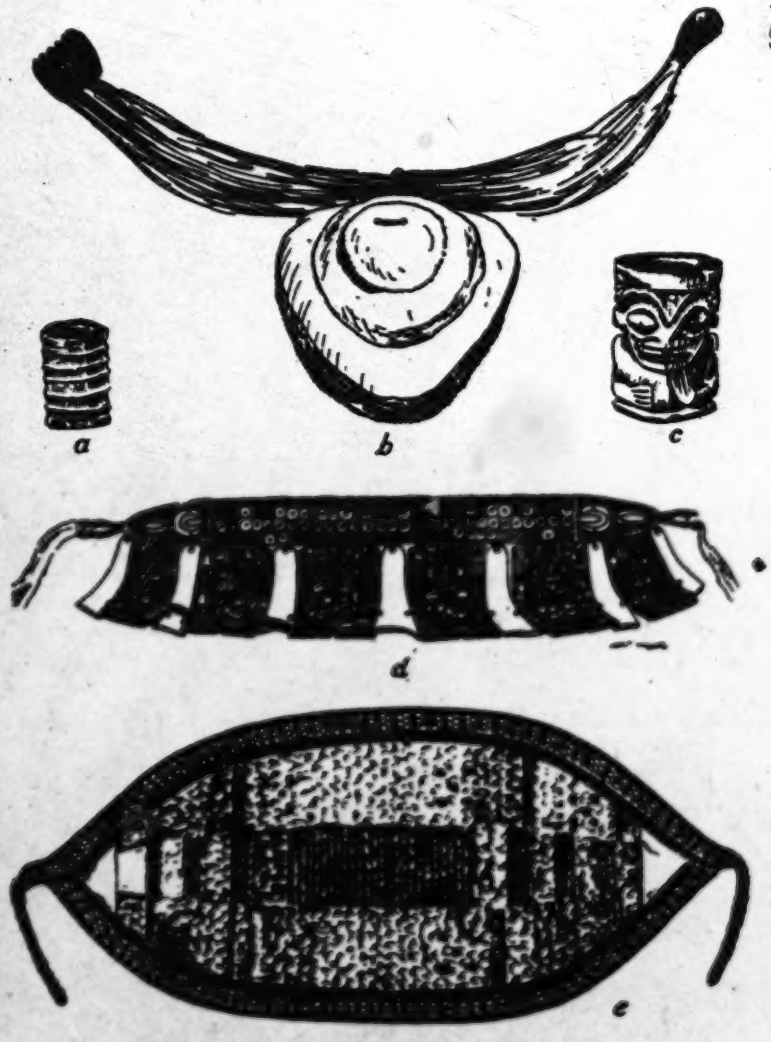

FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pa'e kea*); *e*, feather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pa'e ka'e*).

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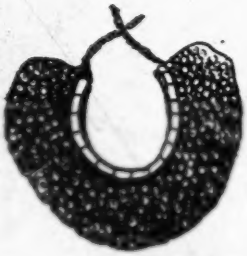

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pavahina*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *taatiko* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 129, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei ha'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouaho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*te'o te'o pia'o*).

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held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301

Small ornaments (*taiana, taiata, pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina, tuha maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e*, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

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Hei fa'a ha'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ka'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collors were the favorite garlands of *ka'ioi*.
Hei fa'a haka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the pua *Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitata. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei etima. Mint family.
Hei etia. A small green cucurbit.
Hei piroa. The blossoms of the *piroa*.
Hei meia, (?)

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301 **Hei kakapa. (?)**
Hei kenini pa'a. ***Physalis peruvania.***
192 **Hei nane. (?)**
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Stegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vai-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[88] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

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Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 220). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e hoa* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putau*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e hoa*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana*, *havara*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu*, *pahe'u*, and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know,

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302 combs were not used in ancient times. Dordillon (8) gives the following terms which supplement our information regarding modes of arranging the hair: *Ouoho tuetue, ouoho tukeevo,* and *ouoho tuke* meant hair fixed stiffly; *piama,* a head shaved in the form of a tonsure; *piveve,* to cut the hair in the form of a circle in front; *toua'e i te pa'e,* to let the hair down in front; *ponane,* hair simply tucked up without fastening; *koti'oti'o i te ouoho,* to cut the hair like a ladder [?]; *pa'e oioi,* a coiffure saturated with scented oil; *pohatae,* beard, or side whiskers; and *topetu,* a tuft of hair on a shaved head. The following should also be added: *ohovii,* curl of hair; *ouoho kaaputu,* curled hair (= *koputu ouoho, ouoho taputuputu, ouoho takaha*); and *poriri,* curl of hair on top the head (= *tapuaki*). Bleaching or dyeing of the hair was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never practiced in the Marquesas.

ANOINTING, STAINING, AND PAINTING OF THE BODY

302 824 Bleaching of the skin was the universal practice of women and *ka'ioi* youths before festivals. This was accomplished in part by seclusion and avoidance of the sun but also by anointing the body with juices extracted from the leaves of the *kokuu* tree (?) or of the *papa* vine (*Phaseolus amoenus*). After such application during seven or eight days of seclusion the skin would be bleached white. The normal color returned immediately upon exposure to the sun. Women protected themselves from the sun with robes and leaf shades. According to Jardin (15, p. 41), *niou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) leaves were pounded and used by women for skin bleaching. The root of *ena* (*Curcuma longa,* or amomum) some of it raw and some baked, was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make the body ointment or stain called *ena* or *eka.* The raw *ena,* covering the whole body, was the distinguishing mark of the youthful libertines called *ka'ioi* and of women at festivals. It was frequently smeared only on the face. The stain made from the baked root (*ena moa*) was forbidden to women everywhere and to all commoners on Ua Pou.

Pani was perfumed coconut oil, used for anointing the head and body, rubbing dead bodies, and for polishing wood and stone carvings. The oil was extracted from the coconut meat in two ways: by one method the milk was squeezed from coconut gratings, put in a vessel, and the oil separated out by putting hot stones in the bowl; or gratings of coconut meat were put in large vessels and exposed to the sun, which caused the oil to run out from the meat. Sweet-smelling flowers cut in small pieces and powdered sandal wood were added to the oil until they had soaked it all up. This mixture was then exposed to the sun for three or four

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days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu*, which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe*, an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena*, fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu*. 302 824

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138). [834]

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ho'ova*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pouhina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *hihi*. Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go. 293

The fans (*taki'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna*. The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *koke pe'a*, according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tato* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

[532]

FIGURE 26.—FANS: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *te'euka*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. 291 292

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume. 301 291 292

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress: 291 292

The *Tahuatas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a cocoanut leaf [the *pa'e hewa'ohi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *haho hewa'ohi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248).

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *eabe* [*haho*], and

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291 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece
292 of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
[301] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
[301] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

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SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mʼo* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [562]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

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526 inches high, were made of hard-packed earth at either end of the course. It was on these that the spears were glanced. There were two sides (*keke*) of five men each. Each man had his own lance. All gathered at one *uma* and alternately threw their lances. The man whose spear went farthest on the first throw was called *keua*, the winner of the second was *fakia*, of the third *maiero*, of the fourth *fitu e vau*, and of the fifth and last throw *uarike*. After the first throw, the contestants went along the course, recovered their lances, and then threw the second round from the *uma* at the other end of the course—and so on throughout, changing ends at each throw. The side that won the majority of throws won the game and received applause of the spectators. It is said that skilled players could throw a lance more than two hundred yards.

There were two ways of throwing the lance. Sometimes it was merely held in the hand and glanced on the mound with a sideways motion of the arm. But frequently a cord was used, much greater distance being attained by throwing in this way. A cord (*aho*) four or five feet long was doubled and the ends were tied together. The knot was placed against the shaft of the lance midway between its ends, the doubled cord being then passed around the shaft and back over itself next the knot, (forming a loop around the shaft) and carried up along the shaft toward the forward end, so that as long as it was held taut the shaft was held in the loop. One finger was inserted in the doubled cord, while the rest of the fingers grasped the shaft. When the lance was thrown, the cord served to swing the reed forward until the shaft was released by the cord's being drawn up from the knot.

SHAM BATTLES

541 *Kaokao, pehihua,* or *kahuka* was a sham battle, in which opposing sides of men from different valleys threw chestnuts (*iki*), young coconuts (*ehi*), young breadfruit (*mei*), candlenuts (*ama*), and even small stones (*kiva*), at each other. The opposing sides stood about fifty paces apart and had alternate turns at throwing. Each man had three chances at hitting any member of the opposing side, and only one man threw at a time. Men were severely wounded and sometimes killed in the game. The game continued until one side was so depleted by casualties that it had to give in. All the while they played, those who were being thrown at leapt and danced about, taunting the thrower and crying "*kaokao*" when a speeding missile would miss its mark. It is said that women sometimes played the game with oranges or limes.

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BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport. 526

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170): 526 481

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

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526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

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rately a little farther on. Children competed with each other in trying to recite the greatest number of words while the breath was held. Dordillon gives the following terms which his translations indicate were names of children's games: *matapo*, blind man's buff (introduced, according to informants); *matito*, a game consisting of throwing a ball so that it fell in a small circle (said to be introduced); *mauevo* and *pohuto ku'a*, jumping rope; *neo*, hide and seek; *kou*, a game which consisted in trying to guess in which hand an object was hidden, also called *koi*. String figures were made for amusement by women and children as well as for practical use in furnishing designs for ornamental lashings.

OTHER GAMES[11]

Kai Patu

Kai patu, a guessing game for men, women, and children, was played with a piece of bark cloth rolled into a small pellet between the right thumb and index finger. Somewhat as in our play of "Which hand is it in?", the endeavor of an opponent was to guess under which finger the player had concealed the pellet.

There were three methods of transferring the pellet from its resting place between the right thumb and index finger to the other hand, and an opponent was allowed four guesses for each method before the player proceed to the next method of transfer. The player won the game when he was able to deceive his opponent twelve successive times. The first method of transfer consisted in entering the right thumb and index (the pellet between them) into a circle formed by the left thumb and index held tip to tip, and snapping the circle through the right digits in such a manner as sometimes to leave the tapa pellet between the left digits, sometimes to retain it in the right. Efficacy was added to the sleight-of-hand by blowing upon the fingers as the transfer was accomplished.

The second method of transfer consisted in spreading the left hand, palm-down, upon the lap and snapping the right thumb and index finger (the pellet between them) from under each of the left-hand digits, so as to leave the bit of cloth under one of them or retain it where it was. The third method consisted in snapping the right thumb and index finger between the palm of the left hand and each digit, so as to leave the pellet between a finger and the palm of the left hand.

If the opponent were wrong in the first of his four guesses allowed for a method of transfer, the player cried, *"Keua"*; if wrong the second time, *"Fakia"*; if the third, *"Maieno"*; if the fourth, *"Fitu e vau ua rike."*

[11] The game of *kai patu*, the genealogical game, and the string figures were recorded and are here described by Willowdean C. Handy.

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524 These terms are the same as those used in the game of *teka*, with the exception of the fourth, which combines the fourth and fifth of *teka*. It seems probable that either my informant or I was mistaken as to the number of guesses allowed for each step and that there were really five. Whenever the opponent guessed right, no word was said, but the pellet was passed to him and he became the hider.

A Genealogical Game

Pei was a mother's game invented to teach children their genealogies and give the mothers a chance to boast of the number of their offspring. It was customary for mothers to bring their children to the feast place (*taha ko'ina*), there to vie with one another in this good-humored competition. Using two candlenuts as juggling balls, or sometimes two balls made of fau leaves bound with pandanus strips, each mother, in rhythm with the tossing of these balls, chanted the following *pei* (the names here used are typical possibilities—each player inserted the names of her own children).

CHANT	EXPLANATION
Muamua Teiki	Teiki, first-born,
Teiki, Ani	Teiki, then Ani (second-born)
Ani, Hotu	Ani, then Hotu (third-born)
Hotu, Poha	Hotu, then Poha (fourth-born), etc.
Uapao	Complete
Tatou mei oto	We from inside
To tatou kui	Our mother,
Kui aha?	What mother?
Kui haatepeiu	Mother a chiefess
Motua aha?	What father?
Motua hakaiki	Father a chief
E vii, e vii	Roll, roll,
Ta tatou pei	Your *pei* (balls)
I tai o Ahuau	To the sea Ahuau (name of the sea by Atu Ona, Hiva Oa)
Ui mai na tupuna	The grandparents ask,
"N'ai tenei pei?"	"Whose *pei* is this?"
"Na matou."	"Ours."
"N'ai otou?"	"Whose are you?"
"Na Peke."	"Peke's" (the father's name)
"Na Peke?"	"Peke's?"
"Na Moho"	"Moho's" (the father's father's name)
"Na Moho?"	"Moho's?"
"Na Tutu"	"Tutu's" (the great-grandfather's)
"Na Tutu?"	"Tutu's?" etc.
Haa to ii	Apparently meaningless refrain
Haa to aa	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai tua	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai feani	Apparently meaningless refrain
Feani tiiti	Apparently meaningless refrain

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Feani taata	Apparently meaningless refrain
Ui mai na vehine me iuna	The women on high ask,
Uoa, Oupoto,	Uoa, Oupoto,
Ou to Katekahi atu tua	Katekahi (names of three ancestresses far back)
Ua vo tuu pei-e	?
Ua vo tuu	?

According to another informant, only the name of the first-born was used, and the chant was repeated for each of the other children.

String Figures [18]

Pehe, string figures (cat's cradles) made on the hands, are a favorite pastime today of women and children and even of men; but formerly they were of more significance than their present use as amusement would indicate. In the old days there were *tuhuna pehe,* who originated string figures and used them as patterns for lashings for canoes, coffins, houses, adzes, and other things. The sacred chant called *"oho au o Motuhaiki"* (see Chants), which was recited for the sacred first-born, contains a reference to a string figure called *na humu o Tana-oa,* which was evidently the pattern for binding the child's sacred adz:

> "Put it on the handle
> Fix it well on the crooked *mi'o* stick
> Bind it with black and red sennit spun of fine fiber
> Bind it with the binding of Tana-oa (*humu o Tana-oa*)."

Mr. Linton was told the story of Aka, who went to the island of "Kaukau o meia," where he made cord out of the fiber of the banana tree and learned the *pehe* (string figures). It is possible that the patterns were made of such fiber before being copied in coconut fiber (*puu kaha*) for lashings.

String figures in the Marquesas are varied in technique of making and in the form of pattern evolved. Some are made in the usual method by interweaving, exchanging, and dropping loops upon the fingers and a final extension upon both hands; some are woven on the fingers of one hand, which act as pegs; some are made by twisting the cord around the hand, arm, or foot in a manner apparently complicated, but the figure unravels at a touch; and some are played by two persons, who interweave their loops.

The figures evolved fall into several types: those resulting in a single fixed pattern; those growing into more and more complicated figures from a single start; those dissolving into a series of simpler figures; those continuing endlessly in a cycle of changes; those which slide back

[18] Detailed descriptions of the processes of making about thirty Marquesan string figures have been obtained and drawings of the figures have been made.

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524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upoupo* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

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The performers in the part we witnessed, were a young chief eighteen or twenty years old at one end of the arena, and two boys of eight or ten at the corners of the other. The music, if such it can be called, was that of four drums on each side of the inner pavement, and the voices and loud clapping of hands of about one hundred and fifty singers, seated on the upper platform with the chiefs and warriors. . . . .

The drums stand upright on the ground before the performer, and are beaten with the hand only, in rapid strokes of the fingers joined together, while the ball rests on the edge. . . . .

The dance commenced by a slow beating on the drums, following by graceful movements of the hands, arms, and feet of the dancers in a similar time, but increasing quickly with the rapidity of the beat, to a display of great activity. The singers joined in upon the first motions of the dancers, these last also taking a part, sometimes in solos, and sometimes in duet, followed by responses from the orchestra or grand choruses by the whole. . . . .

The dance ceased at the end of twenty or thirty minutes, and a company of young females, forty or fifty in number, seated on an adjoining and elevated platform, began singing, in the dull and monotonous repetitions of the same intonations of voice characterizing all their songs, accompanied by a loud and simultaneous clapping of the hands, brought together in a manner to produce a very peculiar sound. An inquiry into the meaning of this, made us acquainted with the occasion of the present celebration.

The learning of a new set of songs had been enjoined some months previous on these girls, and they were placed under certain restrictions of the tabu till it should be accomplished. This had now been done, and the dance was held in commemoration of it. It was only of a common kind, and not of sufficient interest to attract the great multitude that often assemble, as we are told, at some of the more distinguished.

The most common and most popular dance appears to have been that which was called *haka pahaka*. According to Dordillon (8) this was done by men only, and this statement is confirmed by modern informants. The characteristic feature of this dance was that it was performed by the dancer on one foot, the other foot and both arms being extended. One informant describes seeing a performance of the *haka pahaka*, which was danced by four men and two women. The women were inside a circle formed by the men. This description would suggest that the raised and extended foot rested on the leg of the man next, as in some of the dances of Micronesia, but whether this was done in the Marquesas or not I did not ascertain. All other informants have led me to believe that individuals danced alone on one foot in the way described—in other words that it was always a solo dance.

At Pua Ma'u the natives said that in this dance one man would challenge another, each trying to catch his opponent by the head as he danced about on one leg. The favorite shift was that of dodging under the arm of one's opponent. If a dancer could catch the head of his opponent and upset him the other man was defeated. The inhabitants of Pua Ma'u say that this dance was brought to this bay from the island

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535 of Ua Pou. The people of Ua Pou speak of it as a dance in which the chief particularly showed off his splendor at festivals. On the feast place of Hakahau is a large column of basalt, about five feet high and square on top, upon which the chief used to mount to perform the *haka pahaka*, with arms extended and one leg raised sideways while all his people admired him.

The *haka pahaka* accompanied various songs, having no particular musical accompaniment of its own. One informant stated that it was danced with the long feather ornaments called *kihi* (see Personal Adornment) on the fingers, but other information makes me think he was in error. A Nuku Hiva man described the *pahaka* as being performed by a group of men dancing on one foot around a number of women who stood inside, while drums, hand-clapping (*papaki*), clapping the hand against the cavity formed by holding the elbow against the side of the body (*hako*), and the singing of the chant called *uta*, furnished the accompaniment. The women in the middle are said to have danced with their arms raised in the air and with hands quivering. Different groups of accompanists beat the drums, clapped, made the *hoko*, and sang. The informant who gave the account said that this dance was also called specifically the *hu'a*.

On Ua Pou the *hu'a* was described by an old woman who had seen the dance in her youth. It was done by two men, each of whom wore feather or beard ornaments (*kihi*) on all four fingers of each hand. One man was seated, while the other stood with arms extended, one foot resting on the other's knee.

The *haka koke*, or *hakakokekoke*, was a very active dance done by both men and women, the main feature of which seems to have been the crossing of the feet in the dance (*koke* means to cross the feet). One motion of the dance was described to me as consisting in standing on one foot with arms extended and leaning over half sideways and half backwards until the long feathers of the headdress of the dancer touched the ground. This was the test of an accomplished dancer.

The dance described by Marchand (22, p. 137) in which men carried on an accompaniment by clapping one hand on the opposite crooked elbow (*hoko*), and clapping the hands one against the other while "a single dancer executes some movement with the legs, crossing one over the other without changing his place" was apparently the *haka kokekoke*.

The *haka manumanu* (*manu*, bird) was performed by young girls at the *ko'ina tuhi ue* (see Festivals: Tattooing). The girls are described as standing stationary and making motions with the arms and hands imitative of birds flying. For this dance the feather ornaments called

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kiki were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.) 535

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu*, *tutaehavereu*, [192] dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites.

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called "*Ka'oha nui*," which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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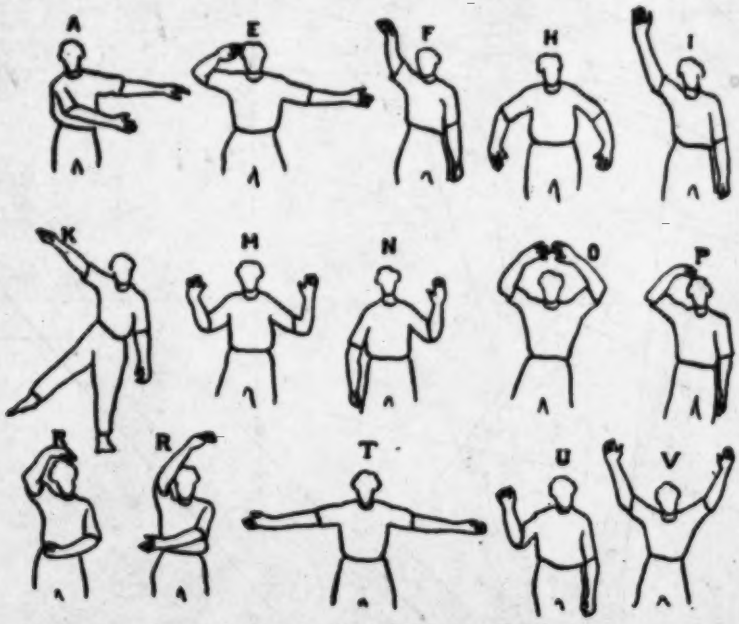

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with
[534] two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

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introductory drumming one man among the dancers cries out in a high rapid monotone the announcement of the dance. With the last word of this announcement the dancers begin. In some *tapriata*, there is a repetition of this cry at different points through the dance. Caillot (3, pls. XLVII, XLIX, L, LI, LII) gives pictures of *tapriata* in the Marquesas.

HOKI TROUPES

Hoki were visiting parties of singers and dancers who went from valley to valley and sometimes from island to island, giving their performances, and seeking gifts in return. According to native informants both on Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, this custom, strongly suggesting the *arioi* of Tahiti, was not ancient but grew up in both sections of the group after French occupation. It seems that the custom could not have been introduced from Tahiti, for all activities of the *arioi* on that island ceased years before French occupation in the Marquesas. A *hoki* party in the Marquesas would be made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, or young people, but included also married people. I am by no means convinced, however, that the *hoki* was not a revival of an ancient custom of this kind, coming as the result of the cessation of native warfare after the French control had established itself, and of the consequent safety of such parties in going from valley to valley. The description of *hoki* troupes in the legends of Ono and Tupa, both certainly ancient, is very strong evidence that the institution was an ancient one in the Marquesas. In times which preceded the protohistoric period, during which wars of revenge were running riot throughout the islands, it is probable that the people of the group or sections of the group were more unified, and that traveling dancing troupes resembling the *arioi* of Tahiti would have been able to go about in safety.

Hoki was actually the name of the type of song that was composed and sung by these troupes and is said to be the ancient term for *vari*. (See Chants.) On Hiva Oa it is said that the *hoki* originated as a means of supporting parties visiting in a valley at the time of a festival. There seems to have been no particular season or time when these troupes went about. The people who constituted the party were called *po'i hoki*—any group of men and women, numbering usually about forty, could organize themselves into a *hoki*. A song (*hoki*) was composed for them. The song was laudatory and was arranged so that the names of different persons could be inserted in it when it was sung in their honor. Some *hoki* were made up solely of names arranged and sung rhythmically. When the *hoki* troupe had composed, practiced, and learned their song they would start off for another island or another valley. Both men and

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Both men and women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

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Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *tokotoko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

534 Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f.*) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

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Very large drums (*pahu anaana, hoho te pepe*) were used on the dance area at the great festivals, being placed on the ground-level of the paved space next to a platform on which the beaters stood. It is said that the base sometimes rested on a pile of brush, which gave the great instrument a deeper sound. Smaller drums (*tutu*), beaten on the floor of the dance area, accompanied the great ones, the large ones being beaten in a slow rhythm, the small ones more rapidly. Melville describes (23, p. 198) the way in which one drummer would relieve the other without allowing the rhythm to be interrupted. The accompaniment of the drum consisted not only in the beating (*pahu patu*) of the head, but in tapping or slapping the sides (*pahu titii*) of the body. *Umi* or *pahu peiei* or *teve* (8) were drums smaller than the *tutu*, used also to accompany chants. 534

MOUTH FLUTE

The bamboo mouth flute was called *ki* on Hiva Oa and *pu hakahau* on Ua Pou. Such flutes had from three to five holes. One with five holes was obtained from Ua Pou—but it was said that no more than four holes were ever used in playing. The end of the bamboo that was inserted in the mouth was left closed by the natural joint of the stem. Just beyond this joint a sliver about an inch and a half long was cut, being left attached to the bamboo pipe at its extremity. Under this end, where the sliver was attached, a human hair was inserted so that the sliver was elevated very slightly. The lips being placed beyond this point of attachment, the sliver served as a vibrating reed producing the tone of the instrument when the breath was caused to pass it very gently. The tone of the *pu hakahau* is very soft and subdued. It was a man's instrument. Its use with the songs called *eu'u* is described in connection with these songs. (See Honorific Chants.) A mouth flute of the same type (see fig. 29, *b*), with three holes, was called *vivo* on Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) gives as other names of mouth flutes *ivitahi, i'a pianamai, i'a pi veuveu.*

NOSE FLUTE

The nose flute (*ki kohe puru, pu ihu*) was made of a larger bamboo than the mouth flute and emitted a less plaintive tone. The bamboo was closed at one end as is described above, and near this end was burned a hole. The flute being held projecting to one side, one nostril was placed over this hole while the other was closed with a finger of the hand that supported the flute at its lower end. The fingers of the other hand played on the several holes that were burned in the pipe near the farther extremity. Both men and women played on this instrument, but it was

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534 particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is
said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk
534 through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night
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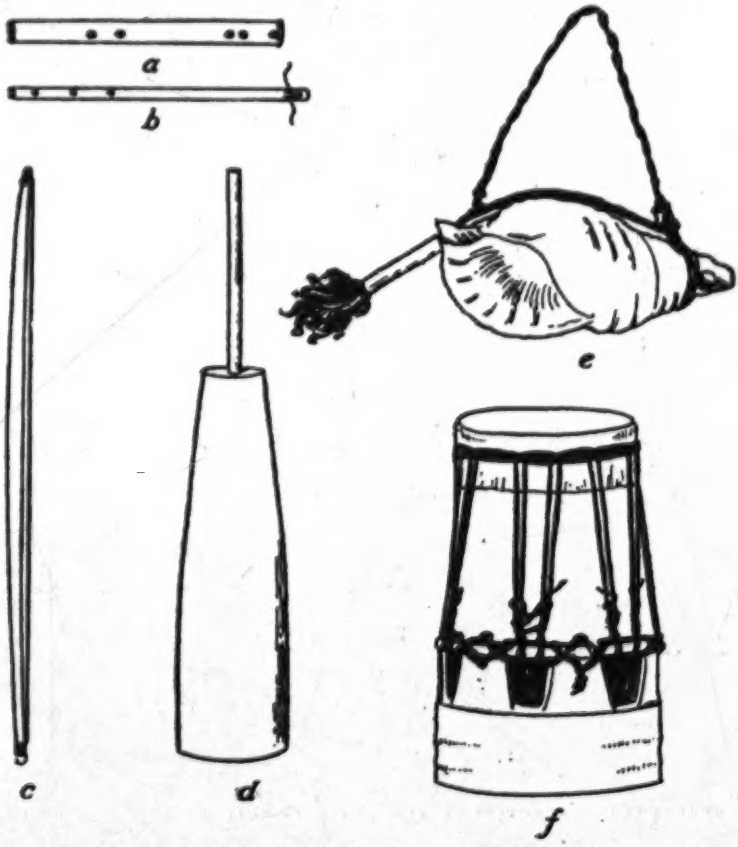

FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were "talked to" in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander's most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

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OTHER SMALL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The xylophone (*pahu kouhau*) used on Nuku Hiva consisted of two small sticks, serving as supports, to which were attached ten cross pieces of *fau* wood of different *lengths*. Two small sticks held in the hands served for tapping the cross pieces. How or when the xylophone was played was not ascertained. The ten cross pieces would indicate a range of ten notes or intervals (not necessarily whole tones, of course—four notes is the greatest range of any chant recorded. Garcia (p. 188) speaks of "a kind of harmonica . . . composed of two or three pieces of dry wood, which they place across their knees and which they strike rhythmically with a little stick." 534

A native jew's harp (*tita'a koke*), which appears to be indigenous, was made with a flat piece of bamboo in one end of which a slit had been cut. Over this slit a sliver of bamboo was held with the fingers as the instrument was being played, held pressed against the lips with one hand while the fingers of the other strummed the sliver.

The conch shell (*putona*) served as a trumpet for the chiefs and priests. With it the chief summoned his warriors and his workers, announced his arrival in a canoe, the birth of a male heir, or the like. The priests made use of the conch at the temple in the same way. Strings of red and of white bark cloth and of sennit cord were attached to the trumpets to carry them, and human hair decorated them. The mouthpiece consisted of a candlenut through which a hole had been made, glued with breadfruit sap on the hole or on the apex of the shell; or a longer mouthpiece of bamboo was attached with sennit cords. It is said that the conch shell (Putona) was the wife of the shark (Mano). These trumpets were *tapu*. (See fig. 29, *e*.) According to Marchand (22, p. 138) nearly the same sound as that produced by the conch shell was obtained in another instrument described as a piece of bamboo to which was fastened another smaller piece of bamboo at an acute angle.

Another type of trumpet was made of a hollowed piece of wood about two feet long and eight inches in diameter narrowing to a small hole at one end, to which was attached a large bamboo a foot or more long that served as a mouth piece. This trumpet was used in canoes. (See fig. 29, *d*.)

The musical bow (*utete*) was played by women. It was made of *mi'o* wood and was from a yard to a yard and a half long. It had only one small cord of plaited sennit, which was attached to the extremities of the bow through holes—the spring of the bow held the string taut. One end of the instrument was held in the mouth, the other end, extending out to the side, being held by the left hand. The string was plucked with the right hand. (See fig. 29, *c*.)

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CHANTING

533 Most of the chanting was done in groups, sometimes mixed, or sometimes entirely of one or the other sex—in other words, the native's chanting, like everything else he did, was communal. The only individual singing of which I know, aside from occasional solo parts by leaders of group singing, was the chanting of personal spells and that done by the ceremonial priest upon those occasions when he intoned the sacred chants alone. Stewart (26, p. 235) speaks of solos and duets in a way, however, which indicates that they were merely incidental in the choral singing.

To what extent part singing, or harmonization, as distinguished from singing in unison, was developed is uncertain. It is hoped that more information on this subject may be obtained in the future. I feel sure, however, that there was in intentional harmonization of a rudimentary type in one of the songs that was recorded. (See Chants.)

In the native system three voices are distinguished: *a'o*, deep; *vavena*, medium; and *mauna*, high. Registers between these are designated descriptively as *mauna o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice; and *mauna a'e*, very high. There were these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Every chant had its established pitch, which was determined by the mood. Thus the *pu'e*, or chant of the creation of the land, was intoned *i a'o oa*, in very deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* for the young maiden was sung in a high register. This furnishes one of many indications of artistic sensibility that are to be found in the native music.

Pitch was one of the three elements by means of which variety appropriate to the mood of the chant was attained. The other two elements were melody and rhythm. It is striking that among the songs, the melodies of which were recorded, the one that exhibits the most melodic range and expression is the *pipine*, a song tribute to a young girl, the whole spirit of which is light and graceful; while the chant which shows the most marked dynamic effect, combined with the least melodic expression—being intoned all on one note—is the *pehi*, composed and sung in honor of a young man, a song the very essence of which is its virility and directness. The creation chant already mentioned was intoned in a very deep bass entirely on two tones, but is characterized particularly by very strong, steady rhythm with sustained notes and pauses. Like all chanting and recitative, the rhythm is not fixed but accommodates itself to the words of the chant. Councilor Tilesius, who was with Krusenstern, described certain chants that he heard. Tilesius is quoted by Langsdorf (18, p. 164) as follows:

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The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks. 533

Garcia (14, pp. 64-65) testifies to the impressiveness of such chants in these words:

The most serious member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed or which he composes at the moment. It often consists in only two or three words repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or thee vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert, but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a fete of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The fact that the *pehi* was sung entirely on one note has already been mentioned. The greatest range that was found for any one song was a major fourth. The entervals of the native music cannot be recorded on the European scale, since we find not only whole and half but also a quarter and three-quarter tone intervals in some songs. The minor third seems to be a favorite interval. Characteristic of some songs is a long trailing descent of the voice at the end of the song. Further notes on the nature of melodies recorded and mode of singing will be found in the description of particular chants.[10]

The great choral chants were usually accompanied by drums, both large and small. Many were, however, sung with no drum beating. Hand clapping furnished a second element of accompaniment. Of this there were two kinds distinguished: *pu*, clapping with hollowed palms, giving a deep sound; and *papaki*, clapping with flattened palms. A sound called *poko*, more hollow and louder than that given by striking together the hollowed palms, was produced by holding the left arm crooked against the body and striking upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body with the right hand hollowed. One type of song, *komumu*, was accompanied always by the tapping of small sticks, and another (the *ru'u*) was sung sometimes to the playing of the flute. Many chants were sung with no accompaniment whatever.

[10] A translation of the text of these chants with a study of the melodies is in preparation.

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538 In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. II, *F*), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna*, still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama*, came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna*, Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana*. It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana*. (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

538 796 Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e*, were known as *ko'ina vavana*, *ko'ina pu'e*. For the rite two special houses

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were erected, one in which the *vovona* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vovona*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vovona* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vovona*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

538 869

When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead. 538 869 [202]

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vovana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vovana* chanted. [778]

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*). 346 538 869

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai. [84]

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a koha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the [823]

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346 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called
538 *ahu* (pile or mound).

869 The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu,
823 consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

346 The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with
538 which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been
869 made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vavana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tibi*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te hoohoe*). He also took a small fish called *pae'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *he'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te hopito manava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (29, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic meaning down of "the path of death" and the creation of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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THE CREATION CHANTS

The Pu'e

539 The chants will be discussed in the order in which they were recited in the rites described above. The most important were the *pu'e* and the *vavana*. Every tribe had its own rendition of these sacred chants. First in the rites in which both were chanted came the *pu'e no One u'i*. *Pu'e* means to grow, *one*, means sand, *u'i* signifies dark color. *One* has many other epithets besides *u'i*, as *One-tapu* (sacred *One*), *One-toto*, (blood-red *One*). According to my informants in Pua Ma'u the teaching of this was restricted to boys. One part of it—the first section—however, is labeled specifically, "for a girl," and other parts are marked, "for boy and girl." It recounted the impregnation of One-u'i (said by my informants to mean red-earth or dark-sand) by Atea, the subsequent growth of ancient lands, and the growth of trees. In the second section, recited for a boy only, Atea is urged to impregnate One-u'i and thereby to cause the birth of a number of kinds of trees the wood of which was associated with masculine activities—for example, casuarina, *temanu*, and the sacred banyan, the first being used for weapons, the second for war and fishing canoes, and the bark of the last named for the sacred loin cloth of the male first-born. The third section of the *pu'e no One-u'i* was recited for a girl child. In it Atea is called upon to impregnate One-u'i to bring about the birth of certain kinds of growing things used for beautifying women—the pandanus, seeds of which were used for necklaces, the *tia'e* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*), and various other mountain bushes and plants. After this the names of the mothers of various other kinds of trees are mentioned. (Compare with this the genealogy of trees, under Genealogy.)

Another and longer *pu'e no One-u'i* was secured from an Atu Ona informant, Ha-apuane (Pl. II, *A*), who had learned it from his wife's uncle, a *tuhuna o'ono*. The conceptions upon which this chant is based are just the same as those of the Pua Ma'u chant, but the form and content is quite different. This chant was for the consecration of a new house, rather than for a boy or girl. The comparison of the two makes it evident that the first section of these chants represents a constant element that was recited for all occasions, while the latter part was varied according to the purpose of the recitation.

Pu'e were recited for many purposes other than the consecration of a child—for example, in connection with adoption, the building and consecration of new houses or canoes, fishing expeditions, and such like. The first section, which was constant, recounts the basic stages of the

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growth of the world; subsequent sections, which were appended to this, are made up of elements apposite to the matter in hand. Thus in the *pu'e* for the boy and girl from Pua Ma'u the later sections have to do with the birth of trees and other things that furnish the materials required for the practical and aesthetic use of the boy and girl. The *pu'e* from Atu Ona begins with the marriage of great root stocks (*to'o* and *aka*) at the foundation of things, later bringing in Atea and One-u'i. After this first part, relating to creation in its earlier stages, the mothers of various kinds of materials, such as wood, stone, or earth, used in house construction, are called upon to furnish their share toward the building of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea and ancestress of all men. 539

Toward the end of the Atu Ona *pu'e* various kinds of fish in the sea are mentioned as women (wives of Atea?.) As there seems no possible connection here with house building, I am inclined to think that this was a section used in connection with the fishing rites. My informant knew nothing about the significance of this part.

When used in connection with industry the *pu'e* was chanted by the ceremonial priest alone. In the family rites it appears to have been chanted by a priest or old man alone. But at the festivals it was intoned by old men (*tuhuna*) in a very deep voice, the chorus accompanying their singing with hand clapping. Four great drums (*pahu onaona*) and many small ones (*tutu*) accompanied the singers. The melody of the Atu Ona chant, which is subsequently to be published, is entirely on two notes, the interval between them being a tone and a quarter. There are changes of time in different sections, and the rhythm is irregular, accommodating itself to the words. The most marked characteristic of the melody is the way in which the last two notes ending each line are sustained. 539 533

A few excerpts from one of the *pu'e* are given below. The *pu'e na One-u'i* from Atu Ona begins in a deep bass in a very slow rhythm, accompanied by drums and hand clapping: 539

Tuia		oa	te	to'o	e
Were united long ago the root-stocks, ah!					
Auea	e,	e		to'o	o te fenua
Ah,	yes, they are root-stocks of the land.				

So it proceeds with repetition of all but the last phrase of the first line, "root-stock (*to'o*) of the land," for which is substituted, "root (*aka*) of the land," "firmness (*mau*) of the land," "masters (*hei*) of the land," and "bond (*pona*) of the land."

The chant then proceeds with a more rapid rhythm:

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Tuia te fatu nananana
United (mated) the attachments, quickly—quickly!

Tumu o te fenua
Source of the land.

O te ui Atea
Is the question [of] Atea [Atea asks],

"One-ui, e!
One-ui (Dark-Sand), oh!

Pehea te to'o o te fenua?"
How the root-stocks (slow growth) of the land?

Peau One-ui,
Says One-ui,

"Ena e i a'o
There — down below

Fenua me ahi take
Country with fire bottom

Aina mea o nuku
Land thing is very deep

Fenua me neke iho, e
Country with out-growing-this way, ah!

Aina me neke ae"
Land with spreading-that way.

(Translation)

United were the attachments
In the earth's foundation.
Atea asks,
"O One-ui (Dark-sand, or Red-soil),
After what manner was the growth of the root-stocks
of the land?"
One-ui replies,
"There is down below,
A region with a firey bottom
A land very deep down,
A country spreading this way and that."

Afterwards follow many verses made up of references to growth of the land repeated with many meaningless rhythmical phrases, such as:

He to'o, he to'o, hakahauhau
The growing, the growing, (to cause to rise)

E to'o ta One-ui, hakahauhau
It is the growing of One-ui. . . . . .

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. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Hakahauhau, ino[20] te to'o a One-ui, hakahauhau
. . . . . (?) the growing of One-ui, ...

After almost interminable repetition on this theme comes the account of the sending of messengers to the personification of materials to be used in a new house:

Keee tahito Tapana nei, e ui
Came as a in ancient Tapana this way, is question
messenger times

Ui e'a oa, ui e'a poto
Question there long, question there short

"I tikina mai au ia oe,
Have come up here I to you,

Te tama o Hopu,
The child of (mother of soil)

Ehee taua i tai
To go we two towards the sea

Moia oe mea hoahoa fa'e o Atanua"
In order that you thing earth leveling house of Atanua.
the platform

(Translation)

Anciently Tapana came this way as a messenger,
Questoned long and questioned short,
"I have come up hither to you,
The child of Hopu, Mother-of-soil,
Let us go down shoreward together,
So that you may fill and level the platform of Atanua's house."

Then recur the repeated rhythmical phrases, combined with references to the growth (*to'o*), before the next material is summoned in another verse. (See Housebuilding.)

On Ua Pou the *pu'e* was called *koua'ehi*. The *tuhuna* who chanted it held a flower or branch of the coconut tree (*koua'ehi*) in his hand as he chanted (*tapatapa*). The chant was used for the same purposes as in Hiva Oa—namely, for consecrating children, new houses, canoes, and so on.

Next after the chanting of the *pu'e* for the boy at Pua Ma'u, followed several other sacred chants which had to do with the erection

[20] *Ino* is probably *i uma o*, on top of.

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539 of the boy's sacred staging, the making of his adz and of the canoe that was to be made with adz.

The Tona-Pou Chant

The first of these chants was called simply *tona pou,* which when translated seems to mean simply "his post." This chant was for the sacred house elevated on a staging (*fata'a, tona pou*) for the boy. The object of the chant is evidently to free the structure from evil influences and to bring the good influences potent to aid in the rite. What connection the chant may have with the post outside the house, on which the spirits of ancient priests came to rest, is not apparent. I infer that the *fata'a* consecrated at this rite was that which would in future serve the boy as his *tapu* eating house and store house. (See The Family.)

The chant following this was called *tona pou no Pohu.* In the first part of it the forehead, eyes, mouth, and other features of the youth are mentioned—with what significance I was unable to ascertain. The rest of the chant has to do with house furnishings and the altar with its decoration. A short chant called *oho-au no ihi* follows, recounting the catching of certain fish, doubtless those used in connection with the rite.

539 Lastly comes a longer and most interesting chant, called *oho-au no*
396 *Motuaiki* (work-house of Motuhaiki). Motuhaiki was an ancient master canoe builder. The first part of this chant describes the making of the rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun when he desired to have more time to finish his work. Then Motuhaiki and Hope'outo'i, another canoe maker and patron of carpentry, are referred to in connection with the making of the new adz for the boy, the piece of stone from which the adz was made being a chip off the block (*fatu*) described above, which is also mentioned. The chant describes the stages of making the adz head and lashing it to its handle. Then it proceeds to the successive stages of the manufacture of the canoe and its parts. This section of the chant was undoubtedly that which followed the recitation of the *pu'e* when that chant was used in connection with canoe making.

539 After this part, which has reference to canoe making, there follow others having to do with the making of a loin cloth, robe, headdress, and necklace for the boy (evidently those worn ceremonially in connection with the rite); then a section descriptive of the building of a temporary shelter (*oho-au*) for the boy to sleep in, the erection of fau poles (*koufau*) as a sign of the *tapu;* the erection of a shrine; and lastly, the preparation of food, the eating of which completed the boy's rite.

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The Vavana Chant

These sacred chants were intoned by the men in the boy's sacred house in the afternoon. In the night after a feast the men went into the *fa'e papa* and continued with the women, chanting the *vavana*. The *vavana* was intoned in a slow rhythm accompanied by clapping of the hands. The words recapitulate the conception, birth, growth, and so on of the child, linking these with the mythical birth of the gods from the level above (*papa una*) and the level below (*papa a'o*). (See Genealogy.) In subsequent sections the chants refers to the making of ornaments, weapons,, and utensils for the child, to his canoe, to his sacred house, and to various practices such as bathing, making cloth, etc., connected with it, and so on, connecting all with mythological references to gods and ancient lands. In parts various gods are summoned to assist in the rite. The chant is very long, containing more then ten thousand words. There is much repetition of phrases—some of them meaningless, somewhat like refrains, as described in the *pu'e*. Throughout there is a mingling of narrative referring to incidents connected with the child, mythological references, and these meaningless phrases. A few excerpts from the Pua Ma'u *vavana* follow.

The *vavana* begins:

E hau e, i e'a e; e take to papa una,
(Meaningless) is bottom of level above

E hau e, i e'a e; e tohu'i to papa a'o.
(Meaningless) is overturning of level below.

(Translation)

Above is the bottom of the level above;
Below, the turning movement of the level below.

The next verse continues:

U to'o a, u tuia
Are held —, are mated

U vavana mai to u take
Are held fast to this time of me depths
in memory

U pipi'i, u momoa
Are approaching, are sleeping together.

They take hold, are mated
Conception firm-held in my depths
They approach, they sleep together.

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539 And so on, mentioning the stages of impregnation, conception, gestation, labor, delivery, and so on, of the female and child.

The reference to the level above and the level below is repeated. Then:

E take fanau tama, e
Oh basic depths bearing child, ah!

O Atea mai, to u tama
Is Atea come, of me child,

O Tane mai, he teina
Is Tane come, the younger brother,

Is Tonofiti, o Moepo
Is Tonofiti, is Moepo.

(Translation)

O child-bearing depths!
Atea comes—my child,
Tane, the younger, comes forth
And Tonofiti, Moepo, etc.

And so on, with the names of the other "original gods" who emerged from between the level above and the level below.

In the Lawson manuscript is a very free translation of a *vavana* chant. This, so far as detail goes, is patently untrustworthy, but it is evident that it is an actual translation of a genuine *vavana* from another valley on Hiva Oa. It is of interest because it shows that this *vavana* was composed on the same general plan as was that discussed above. Lawson's translation is just close enough to the literal to prove that the content of the chant was practical the same.

What is called *Te Vanana na Tana-oa*, which Fornander published in his Polynesian Race (II, vol. I, pp. 214, ff.), I feel to be certainly a fictitious fabrication of a European mind. I suppose it to have come to Fornander from Lawson, who, it appears, must have known (through correspondence, no doubt) of Fornander's ideas regarding the Hawaiian Kanaloa as a "fallen angel." This so-called *vanana* is built around the idea of Atea as a "God of Light" and Tanaoa as a "Prince of Darkness" who was cast out. The chant is as follows:

Born is his (Atea's) first son, his princely son.
O the great prince, oh, the sacred superior,
O the princely son, first born of divine power!

O the son, equal with the father and with Ono ("Spirit")
Joined are they three in the same power,
The Father, Ono, and the Son.

These English lines are a literal translation of the Marquesan lines which accompany them. It is obvious to one acquainted with the idiom

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vovona* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way. 539

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vovona* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-ou no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation. 539 789

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vovona* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vovona* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vovona*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference. 539 852

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vovona* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that if is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 852 [178] The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung [533] slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 539 852

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahoe-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'onu* and the *fiuhu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*. 539 764

The *kakeoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*). 539 765 [533]

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families 539

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539 from generation to generation, the names being changed to apply upon different occasions. They were chanted at the time of the death of a relative and at the memorial festivals. Immediately after a death, when relatives were coming to the house to pay their respects, each would chant his *uta*. These sacred *uta* were sung by choruses at the memorial festivals, the singers being seated and accompanying their chanting with hand clapping, but with no body motion. It was very unfortunate that I was unable to find anyone who knew the melody of an *uta*, although texts of this type of song were more easily obtained than any other. Great festivals spoken of as *uta nui* were apparently the same as the memorial feasts. At such feasts the *uta* were accompanied by three small drums (*umi or putu*), three great drums (*pahu me'ae*), and three *pahu pepe'e* (?).

539 556 The composition and singing of the simpler laudatory *uta* was described as follows by an informant at Atu Ona. *Uta* and *rari* were prepared and sung together on these occasions. According to this informant the *uta* was in honor of old people and the *rari* in honor of young girls. When it had been decided to have a combined *ko'ina rari* and *ko'ina uta*, the maternal uncles of the girl for whom the *rari* was to be composed sought out youths and had them to build a house (*oho-au*) in which the song would be rehearsed. This house was made near the dwelling of the girl and was a small shed open in front. The youths who collected the materials and erected the house were fed by the family for whom they worked. This was their only payment. Work could be done on the house only at night. The *oho-au rari* was not *tapu*. The *tuhuna* who was employed to compose and teach the *uta* and *rari* did his work of composing at home and used the *oho-au* merely for rehearsing his choruses, the *uta* being taught to a group of old men and women, and the *rari* to a group of youths and maids. Doubtless it was the same group of male *ka'ioi* who erected the *oho-au* that sang in the chorus. Both the *rari* and the *uta* were in honor of the girl. When the songs had been well learned in the *oho-au* a feast was celebrated on the tribal feast place, the feast being to "show the *oho-au* (sacred house) of the girl," that is, exhibit the house and songs that had been prepared in her honor. A long time was necessary for the preparation of food for the feast. All comers had to bring their contributions. First the genealogy or genealogies of the family or families who were honoring their daughters were chanted; next the *uta* were sung by the old people; and lastly, the *rari* were intoned by the groups of youths and maidens. There was no dancing. The festival ended with a feast. Such a feast was celebrated in honor of a girl at some time after her adolescence, but was not directly connected with this event in her life.

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The Nato Chant

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The *nato* was a type of song composed by *tuhuna nato* upon the occasion of great festivals. Informants differ as to whether or not this chant was *tapu*. The fact that it was used at such sacred festivals as the *ko'ina tupapa'u* and that it was sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) would indicate that it was sacred. On the other hand the words and content of the example obtained in no way suggest any sacred significance. It is said that the first *nato*, after which all subsequent ones have been modeled, was composed in the valley of Vevau long ago by a great *tuhuna* named Taitihu. *Nato*, of which a number would be sung at a single fête, were learned in advance by the choir of old men (*tuhuna*) who intoned them, and were sung at the opening of the festival. The examples I have simply recounts a story evidently based on incidents that occurred in connection with some festival. Drums accompanied the chant, and the old men clapped as they sang. The melody is unusual in that there are three changes in tempo in different parts of the chant. The whole chant was intoned on only two notes except for quavers and the last line. A quaver preceding a descent to the note next below is characteristic of the melody. The last line was sung or cried in a very high voice with a sudden trailing descent on the final syllable of each of the last three words.

War Chants

The *ha'iha'i-heana* was the sacred chant that was intoned by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifice was offered at the tribal temple. The chant couples mythical reference with details of the securing and sacrificing of the human victim.

According to Père Pierre (4) two chants called *puko toua* and *pa'e vii toua* were sung before war. What was the nature of these is unknown. A chant called *kouaka*, sung at the sacred place as a part of the pre-war rites, is described in connection with war. (See War.) It does not appear that warriors sang or chanted as they entered battle.

HONORIFIC CHANTS

The Rari and Ru'u Chants

Almost the only type of genuine Marquesan song that is sung today by the natives is that known in the southern section of the group as the *rari* and *wawi*, in the northern as *ru'u*. These were sung for amusement by young men and women together. They were composed by *tuhuna* in preparation for feasts and festivals, working in a special house built for the purpose; and, like other chants, they were taught to the singers

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539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

533 There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that
539 was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows
[516] on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

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reason: the *pu kakakau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of 539
the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by [534]
two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women [202]
in the *ku'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and 539
women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other [521]
words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding 539
to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*oho-* 576
au) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first [533]
line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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539 A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

539 The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a
576 youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bring-
[201] ing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *kaka pakaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au putu-tihi*) and that *putu* were

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing. 539 576

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. 533 The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone 539 to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most 576 interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

539 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the
576 *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

539 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung
534 at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

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ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer. 539

Chants as Spells

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its reciter *mauta'a*, was said to have been used also in connection with the operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals. 539 789 [225]

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue*, to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tataoho*. (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau*. Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u,	eia u,	eia u,	o Kena.
Here am I,	here am I,	here I,	Kena.

Ai oa,	te tau toiki!		
Ah,	the boys!		

A kau!	Amai i	una	o na	vaka nei.
Swim!	Come on	to	the	canoe.

Miscellaneous Chants

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

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539 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give
efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in
789 surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vakahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

539 The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a
matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used
578 in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*ua hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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most of these are generic terms and not merely names of single songs or chants, since Dordillon translates them usually as "kinds of chants." 539

The list is as follows:

Avaavaua, hakaoho, hariki, behevaihi, hetau, hinatu, hioo, hiperue, ihituki, katuma, kihiouoho, kioe, mahau or mahau'u, mahitete or mahiatete, mahomaho, makemaka, maku or ma'u, mauaheretie, nuhe, ori, otu, pikitahi, pona'u, pa'o'e, papakitahi, papo, pube kava, pariran, paro, patipati, patupatu, pehete, pipiko, potu, puatahii toua, punaiana, putuaka, puko, hono, pututahi, ririauran, taatita, taho, tahotahoki, tahoki, tahotahoko, tiritauteva, titiei, tuihope, tukihoe.

GENEALOGIES

All the genealogies that are available today are written. I believe no living native knows by heart more than a small number of the later names of his genealogy. In this report only one selected genealogy is given—one that appears to be the best and most trustworthy of those obtained. Others will be published subsequently, after they have been more carefully studied, and compared with others that it is hoped will be forthcoming. In the example given here, it will be seen that Atea and Atanua appear some distance down in the list. Genealogies usually start with these names, these two being regarded as, respectively, progenitor and progenitress of the native people. Modern natives, in explaining the matter, say that Atea and Atanua are like Adam and Eve. That statement is not correct, however, for Atea and Atanua were distinctly deities rather than human beings, and there is nothing to indicate that they are conceived of as having ever inhabited the islands as beings in human form. The genealogy given may be divided into sections as follows: (1) concepts of creation (Nos. 1-53, (2) personified concepts or deities (?) (Nos. 54-60), (3) ancient lands (Nos. 61-63), (4) gods (Nos. 64-108), (5) men (Nos. 109-144). Nos. 75-115 represent a period of legendary heroes and gods. 539 173

CHANTING OF GENEALOGIES

The most important use of genealogies was in some of the family rites. At marriage festivals and at funerary festivals the genealogy was chanted from the beginning. Family genealogies, either in part or from beginning to end, were chanted in the rites of adoption and in connection with the ceremonial chanting of the *vovana* and *pu'e* by family groups. At certain other rites, such as that which initiated the first-born into his

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[a] Examples of most of the chants described above were obtained in the native dialect, and the melodies of a few were recorded. The following are subsequently to be published: native texts with translation and melody—*pu'e, ohabi, nato, pepe, rori, ru'u, tapo'a, pipino, putu,* and *pehi;* native texts with translation—*tona-pou, cho-au no Motuhaihi, vovana, ti'e mato, fanfano, aumoho, hakaoho, mouava tupapa'u, puna toha, voi hahoe, tupapa'u, tai, ha'anu, hoku, ata, haihai hoana, puko toua, pa'e uri toua, hoaoha, vini, pu'u hoha, mouta'a, ta'a, au, hoatapa, vahoho, a'i, hapa.*

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

[887]

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

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An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toomui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	'kaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

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MALE	FEMALE
Akaoa (Long Root)	Akapoto (Short Root)
Akahuhu	Akaane
Tetinitiniotetoo (The Myridas of Roots)	Temanomanootetoo (The Countless Number of Roots)
Teafeafeotetoo (The Great Length of the Roots)	Tepiimaiotetoo (The Upward Climbing of the Roots)
Tetoopuutia	Tetookokeani (The Useless Root)
Aitetomataetekoie	Tetuhiotokuietekoie
Aiteotikoe memaoane	Titootetoo te Akateaka ihato
Ouia	Toikia
Tepukupuku (The Swelling)	Tetonatona (The Very Agreeable)
Teuhitua (The Back Covering)	Teuhiao (The Front-covering)
Mani	Hapeu
Tehakahua (The Beginning, the Turning-about)	Tehakafenua (The Land-making)
Teninuninu	Kekeeinau
Tetake (The Foundation)	Ahitake (The Fire-Bottom)
Enata iuna	Makaio
Tetake	Haanaenuu
Enata iuna	Hakahotu
Titake	Huoi
Tetie	Tekomanu
Tekomanu	Tepaona
Temu	Hia
Tehau	Moeioto
	Moeivaho
	Anaekea
	Anapiimai
Piimaimeitahi	Papaioona
Tepapau	Tepapahau
Tepapahuia ete tau vave	Tepapakeeaki
Tepapatieikua	Tekuamoehau
Fifiti	Takina
Mapii	Tuatuaea
Tuiuta	Heiei
Tuitetohoa	Ito
Tupuhauhau	Hakaoa
Tuitai	Tepaekuaotane
Haamauaito	Ito
Tetaipupuna (The Sea-sweet-like-sugar-cane)	Tetaifeiai (The Sea-sweet-like-*fei'ai*)
Teakuhua	Teakupapa
Tefanafanatea	Tepapaiuna
Uakeku	Tepapaiao
Tohaki	Hinatumaomao
(Tetaki)	
Fetoki	Hinahakatohuaani
Tepapauna (The Level Above)	Tepapaao (The Level Beneath)
Vatea (Clear Space)	Atanua
Tepo (The Night)	Mahito
Kuupenu	Teme'ama (The Moon)
Teata (The Reflection)	Nanaii
Teao (The Breath)	Animea
Tenuhi	Uutau

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MALE	FEMALE
539 Voke	Hanivaa
Vevau [a land]	Havaii [a land]
173 Fiti [a land]	Tonatapu [a land]
Fititapu [a land]	Tehau [a land]
Teua (The Rain)	Tetai (The Sea)
Tepai (The Wetness)	Kaukau (The Washing)
Paiaimu (The Drinking Wetness)	Uavai (Water hole)
Tepu (The Conch Shell)	Koata (Venus Shell)
Tefaa (The Pandanus)	Hoohena (Strong Running)
Tetiu (The North Wind)	Temetani (The Wind)
Tefatu I (The Master, The Rock)	Toupii
Tefatu II	Teea
Tefatu III	Teoi
Tefatu IV	Hukia
Tefatu V	Hinataumiha
Tiki [legendary character]	Kahuone (Pile of Sand)
Tikitapu	Hinaua
Aneane	Tumukee
U	Aniani
Tanaoa [legendary character, a god]	Mutuei
Kootumu	Fatuaho
Tehito	Maanau
Hoi	Uehine
Hoitupu	Hoihoe
Hoikua	Hoimea
Hoimapekau	Na Hoiamua etanaoa
Tepua	Papaheani
Iakau	Teuaheetoitoi
Koopana	Ouhutukatokato
Havini	Matativo
Hoitanaoa	Teatuotu
Hoiavaiki	Nukuepa
Matauapuna	Toitata
Punauumui	Meheua
Punahohonu	Ahuoho
Punafaakua	Tumuii
Punavetea	Fitiei
Punavete	Akamei
Punatea	Tapuaimui
Punatefae	Tepuhimeotò
Tupahee	Naonao
Tupavaka	Huihena
Tupahaataniitepu	Paanuimea
Tupatanitetee	Hotie
Temaituitu	Temaitutee
Maituataanaifenua	
Punatope	Oata
Punatutu	Haiko
Tupaoaiafai	Puhumomo
Naku [legendary character, a first settler]	Uiaei
Hotu	Moiakau
Oko [legendary character]	Innvaa

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MALE	FEMALE
Mosta [legendary character, a tribal name]	Niniano [Legendary character]
Tiu [legendary character, a tribe]	Mofitu
Fekei	Maoninua
Tuoa	Hotaei
Mohuta [A tribal name on Hiva Oa]	Vaiatanuu
Mese	Atua
Kahumano	Tanihua
Ahunia	Tiufaa
Tatini	Teepana
Toumata	Tehueo
Nohea	Kaukau
Timoka	Tapuahu
Tuakina	Papeoho
Tepiu	Piinoa
Tiufeaa	Tuhiua
Motootoofenua	Puutini
Teaninuinei	Tiutaha
Kouaehitini	Takeoho
Taupo [A subtribe in Vevau]	Teheva
Tepaapaa	Maotai
Kopaaninatea	Hivapu
Fatukua	Titopu
Kuaiteoho [A subtribe in Vevau]	Honuani
Puatautau	Honutoia
Fatukua	Naeaefitu
Hamihiao	Tiamate
Ututete	Tipeeipuoho
Tekohuotaupo	Natapuotiu
Feuapoenui	Piuiatohetika
Piuhenua	Tuhitaiuta
Vahitete	Temeiu
Tohupotona	Tauahokaani
Ioane [Now living]	Emere [died 1921]

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GENEALOGY OF NATURE

The descent of various growing things, and other elements of nature, from Atea is shown in the following list. As is shown here, each stone, plant or animal, had its particular mother, and was fathered by Atea (Vatea).

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Te'a (Rock)
	Heteuatoto	Te'etu (Red tufa)
	Huumania	Tiva (Beach boulder)
	Uuhoa	Ehi (Coconut)
	Momea	Mei (Breadfruit)
	Pihaei	Ihi (Chestnut)
	Paemo	Fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
	Uamamaenoa	Tohe (Bamboo)
	Maetoitoi	Tuaivi (Mountain)

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FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Metie (Grass)
	Tuotuoo	Kakàho (Reed)
	Tiitiinehu	Tahuna (The seabeach)
	Hopu	Heepo (*Epo:* Soil?)
	Tiipahanoo	Ama (Candlenut)
	Hemua	Huatei (?)
	Hinstetepu	Pua (*Carissa grandis*)
		Tiae (*Gardenia tahitiensis*)
	Hinaooifatu	Hefaa (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)
	Veavea	Tatiu (Cucumis)
	Tohine	Faahoa (Pineapple)
	Tetuhitetano	Mae
	Uinae	Moho (an unidentified plant)
	Teputuohei	Tava
	Tiimaa	Puaa (Pig)
		Vahane (*Corypha umbraculifera*)
		Tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)
		Tavaiti
		Enetae
		Hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*)
		Eva (*Cerebra manghas*)
		Topini (*o kopiti*, a kind of tree)
		Tokuu (Indian lilac)
		Toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*)

GENEALOGY OF MOONS

This list shows the descent of the moons (months) from Atea, by different mothers.

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Upuoo	Takuua (August)
		Mahina (September)
		Avea (October)
		Oaoumamu (November)
	Pukeoo (a star)	Ehua (December)
		Ve'o (January)
		Uaoa (February)
		Mehau (March)
	Tekuteku	Pohe (April)
		Makaiki (May)
		Napea (June)
		Tuhuamatakeo (July)

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TIME RECKONING

It is very difficult to formulate any account of the calendar in the Marquesas. Such information as is at hand from literary sources is very conflicting, and I failed to find a single modern native who had any reliable knowledge of the seasons. The reason for this is obvious; it was the priests and mastercraftsmen only who knew of these matters, and the last of them has long been dead. Lawson says in his manuscript: "The fishermen and the priests are the principal ones who keep the run of the days of the month and distinguish between twenty-nine and thirty days in the different months." 805

Day and night were divided and named in the following manner: *moa topu* (*topu* cock) was about midnight or one o'clock in the morning when the first cock crew; *ma'u o'io'i* (tomorrow-shade), when the third cock crew, about two-thirty; *tato hoata te ma'ama* (the light is near breaking) just before dawn, about three-thirty; *kehukehu*, dawn; *tu nui* (sun standing up), when the sun was quarter-way up, about eight to nine in the morning; *o atea nui*, noon; *evaeva tea*, when the sun was just above the mountains (*mea tato te kapua*); *ahiahi*, just after sunset, when fires (*ahi*) were lighted; *makehukehu*, dusk, before real night set in; *mamata vehine hae* (eyes of *vehine hae* or ogress), about eight o'clock in the evening.

Twenty-nine or thirty nights (*po*) made up one moon (*me'ama* or *mahina*). In the lists of the names of the days and nights (see Table 1) it will be observed that there are more variant terms for the sixteenth night than for any other. A Hiva Oa informant gave an explanation of this as follows: *Akau, maue*, and *moie* (another term used for the sixteenth night, not given in the list) all refer to the male procreative organ. *Hotu* or *honu* meant to agitate or stretch. The significance of the use of these figurative terms for the night of the full moon is obvious. It was on the nights when the moon was brightest that the *ka'ioi* circulated most freely. In connection with planting it was pointed out that the natives believed that what was planted in the ground at the time of the full moon would grow best. It is evident that there was here an association of ideas based on the native conceptions of the mode of generation in nature. Whether the following remarks about fishing, made by my informant upon this occasion are directly or only indirectly relevant to the same conceptions is uncertain. The informant explained that the night of the full moon was the least favorable for fishing, and that anyone who went fishing on that night was subject to the taunt *"E ue te avena"* (Your catch will be, or is, a penis). 805 821

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON[24]

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
1. O Tumui	Tu L	O Maamamaama
2. O Tuhava	Maheama tutahi L	O Totohe
3. O Tuhaka	Tuhaahoata D K Hoata P Maheama vavena L	O Pakiikii
4. O Maheama tuatahi	Maheama tahi D K P Maheama tuhakapau L	O Ua noa
5. O Maheama vaveka	Koekoe tutahi L	O Puke noa
6. O Maheama hakapao	Koekoe tuvavena L	O Pukeoo
7. O Koekoe tuatahi	Koekoe tutahi D Koekoe tahi K P Koekoe tuhakapau L	O Maunoa
8. O Koekoe vaveka	Hai L	O Taunoa
9. O Koekoe hakapao	Una L	O Tata mai
10. O Ai	Mahau L	O Heke noa
11. O Huna	Hua L	O Pua mai
12. O Mahau	Mahao D Mehau K P Tua L	O Taha noa
13. O Ua	Hua D Otu-nui L	O Haako
14. O Atua	Otu mauii L	O Patavai
15. O Tumui	Hohotu nui D Hotumui K P Otu L	O Mahinahina
16. O Mahuto	Honu nui, Honu maakau D Hotu maue, Maue K Hotu akau P Neva L	O Tihenoa
17. O Tuu	Metohe L	O Huamai
18. O Akau	Aniva D K P Hakahau L	O Taumai
19. O Motohi	Akau D Metohi K P Koekoe tahi L	O Mamae
20. O Tohiau	Akau K P Koekoe vavena L	O Kakenoa
21. O Taukume	Koekoe tahi D K P Koekoe pau L	O Tavatava
22. O Kumea	Koekoe vavena D K P Vehe L	O Keekee
23. O Eea	Koekoe haapao D K P Tane L	O Ona noa

[24] Note: The basic list of nights and days in the first and third columns is from the Dordillon MS. (9). The variant terms for nights are from various sources indicated as follows: Dordillon's Dictionary (D), the Kehela MS., Hiva Oa (K), Proiho (P) (a Fatu Hiva informant), and the Lawson MSL. written on Ua Huka.

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

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NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24. O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva [D] [P] Tanaoa tahi [K] Hee hee ia [L]	O Pukepuke
25. O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati [D] Tanaoa tahi [P] Taukume [L]	O Puke noa
26. O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka [D] Tanaoa vavena [P] Ku mea [L]	O Tahataha
27. O Vehi	Tane [K] Tanaoa haapao [P] Tana hau vaka [L]	O Hatihati
28. O Tane	Moui [K] Tana hau vehi [L]	O Maunoa
29. O Mouikeo	Ononui [D] [K] [P] Numui [L]	O Tau noa
30. O Oko mate	Nu mata [L]	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order. [184]

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Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tou*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua*, *mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONARY (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1. Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2. Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3. Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4. Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5. Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6. Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7. Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8. Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9. Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10. Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11. Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12. Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.		Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

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Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[35] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[36]

1. Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2. Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3. Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4. Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

[35] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, meaino te tai*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[36] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

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NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea, katoe,* or *komui.* Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea.*

Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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moon named *uoa* was so called because it was in that month that there was usually most rain. With regard to all these matters regarding rainy seasons, breadfruits harvests, and so on, the reader is referred to the report on the Marquesas by the botanist[27] of the Bishop Museum. The time of greatest plenty of fish seems to have corresponded more or less with that of the great breadfruit crop; fish were most plentiful at Atu Ona (on the south coast of Hivo Oa) in December (*ovea*), in Haka Hau (on the north coast of Ua Pou but in the lee of Nuku Hiva) in January (*veo*).

NAMES OF STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS

(From Dordillon's Dictionary (8)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Ao'amanu	Haamekau
Atinaha	Heipua
Atutahi	Iti
Ave'a, Aveka	Manu kaki oa (Great Bear)
Ehuo	Matahetu
Matauana	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Mahau	Mahaka
Manapu-upu'ute ahiahi (Venus)	Mahake tutue honu
Nape'a	Me'e (Corvus)
Pohe	Natuihohoe
Pu'ukaha	Titihohoe
Pukeo'o	Tuhua
Puaka	Tuitui hohoe (Orion)
Tahiipua	Ua'oa
Takeo	
Takuua	
Tape'a	
Tauna'a	
Tuna	
Tuuatea	
Uanui	
Ve'o	

(From the Lawson MS.)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Hee-ti (Aldebaran)	Te-umu
Pao-toa (Aquila)	Kana
Hai (Antares)	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Hua (Jupiter)	Na-poka
Hu-aua	Pohii
Ha-vae-a	Hatu-tahi (Fomalhaut)
Maena eke aia	Na-pai-ka (Aries)
Te-huii	Hetu-nui (Venus)
	Hetu-ao (Morning star)
Te-tuii	Hetu ahiahi (Evening star)
Moana tu-tu a ono	

[27] Forest B. Brown, the results of whose botanical researches in the Marquesas have not as yet been prepared for publication.

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GLOSSARY OF MARQUESAN NATIVE TERMS

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In this glossary and throughout the text the terms used are those of the southern section of the island group unless otherwise indicated. If the term differs in the northern section, the variant is printed in parenthesis following the term of the southern dialect.

A. Day.
Ahana. Husband, male.
Aha. Cord.
Ahui (kahui). Prohibition placed on land, sea, or foods.
Akau. Wood.
Ama. 1. The candlenut tree and its nut. 2. The torch made of the kernels of the nut.
Ama. A carrying pole.
Ava-ika. Fishing.
Ehi. The coconut. Tumu ehi, the coconut tree.
Ehua. Year.
Eita, teita. Herbiage, weeds, foliage.
Ena (eka). The turmeric plant. 2. Curcumin.
Enata (enana, kenana). Native, native people. Syn. mao'i.
Etua, atua. God, spirit.
Fa'e (ha'e). Dwelling house.
Fa'e tukau or tu'a. Inspirational priest's house.
Fa'e tumau. Cooking house, kitchen.
Faimu, haika. Medicine.
Fanaua (hanaua). Female demons.
Fata'a. Sacred store house.
Fata. Food post.
Fau (hau). A tree related to the Hawaiian hau.
Fenua. Land.
Fetu. Star.
Ha'akekai (tekae). Legend.
Ha'a-te-pe-'iu (haka-te-pe'iu). Chiefess.
Haina. Utensils, furniture.
Haka. Dance.
Haka-iki. Chief, first-born son.
Hami. Loin cloth.
Hana (haka). 1. Work. 2. Bay.
Heana (heaka). Revenge or sacrifice victim captured in war.
Hei. Necklace or crown.
Hiapo. A young tree of the fig family (Ficus prolixa) the bark of which was used to make the red-brown sacred cloth. (The old tree was called aoa.)
Hoe. A paddle.
Heki. Troupe of dancers and singers.
Honi. To rub noses, to kiss.
Hua'a (huaka). Relative, fellow tribesman.
Hue. Gourd or any closed container.
Ihi. 1. A tree (Inocarpus edulis). 2. The nut of the tree.
Ika. Fish.
Ima. Arm, hand.
Inai. Any flesh accompanying the pepoi pudding made of breadfruit.
Inea. Name e inea, to be namesakes.
Ipu (kipu). A small container, a bowl.
Ka'aval. Valley.

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104 Ka'eu. Woman's waist cloth.
Kahu. Cloth, robe.
192 Kaikai. Food.
Ka'iei. Youthful libertines.
Kanahu or kanau'u. South wind.*
Kanau'u tokaea. Southwest wind.
Kanau'u tustoka. Southeast wind.
Kava. 1. A shrub (Piper methysticum). 2. A drink made from the root.
Ke'a. Rock
Ke'etu. A squared block of cut tufa or coral.
Keho. A basalt column planted in the ground to serve as a back rest, a carved stone seat.
Keta. Basket or bag.
Keu. Game, play.
Kiva. Smooth beach pebble or boulder.
Koha. Bamboo, knife.
Ko'ina (ko'ika). Feast or festival.
Koufau. Poles or sticks or fau with bark peeled off. Used ceremonially.
Ma. Fermented breadfruit paste.
Ma'ama. Month in the northern section.
Mahina. Moon, month in the southern section.
Mana. Power, skill.
Mata. Eyes, face.
Mata. Genealogy.
Mata tetau. Recitation of genealogy.
Mate. Sickness, death.
Mata-ei-nana. Tribe, people.
Matau. A fishhook.
Me'ae. Tomb, temple, sacred place.
Mei. Breadfruit.
Me'ia. Serene, clear, not tabu.
Mi'o. A tree (Thespesia populnea).
Moa. Temple assistant.
Moena (moeka). Mat.
Motu. Island.
Nati, kaha (nani kaha). Sorcery.
Noni. A tree. (Morinda citrifolia.)
Oho au. A special structure erected for some work.
O'ono (o'oko). Chants.
Ouoho. 1. Head hair. 2. Ornaments made of hair.
Pa'a. Headdress.
Paepae. Stone platform.
Pahu. Drum.
Pani. Perfumed coconut oil.
Papa. Board, flat rock, coffin.
Papua. Enclosed place, platform, garden patch, stockade.
Patiutiu. Northeast wind.
Patu tiki. Tattoo.
Pekia. Secondary husband or wife.
Po. Night, darkness.
Pu. Conch shell, musical instrument.

* The names of winds are from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and from the Lawson Ms. Lawson writes that the natives had thirty-two names for winds, but that when he was in the Marquesas (1867) they remembered only a few. It is probable that most of the other names were those of kinds of winds (such as, gusts causing ripples near the shore, etc.), as is the case with names of winds in Hawaii and Tahiti.

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Pu'a. Flower.
Puna. 1. Coral. 2. Source, origin, spring.
Pu'u kaha. Sneak.
Taetae. Personal possessions, ornaments, clothing.
Tafai. To feed or to adopt.
Taha ka'ina (ka'ika). Festival place.
Tahi'i. A fan.
Tama. 1. Child. 2. Subject of a chief.
Tanu. To plant.
Ta'o. Taro.
Tapa. Bark cloth.
Tapu. Sacred, prohibited.
Tatihi. Doctoring, surgery, medicine.
Tau'a. Inspirational priest.
Toke. Incision of the foreskin.
Temanu. A tree. (Calophyllum inophyllum.)
Ti. A shrub (Cordyline terminalis).
Tiki. Idol, image, representation, design.
Tino. Body.
Tiu. North wind.
Tiu tokoso. Northwest wind.
Toa. Ironwood tree (Casuarina equisetifolia).
Tohua. Paved dance place.
To'i (tohi). Adz.
Tokai. Place where women dying in childbirth were buried.
Tokoso. West wind.
Toua. War.
Tou'a. Rope.
Tuaivi. Mountain.
Tuatona. East wind.
Tuhuna (tuhuka). Professional, director, expert.
Tuhuna nui. Master of crafts and learning.
Tuhuna o'one (tuhuka o'oka). Ceremonial priest and bard.
Tumu. Tree.
Tupapa'u (tupapaku). Corpse.
Uapu, a'anui. Road, path, trail.
Uhane (kuhane). Ghost, spirit, soul.
Upena (upeka). Fishing net.
Upa'o (upeka). Head.
Uta. Paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from the bark of which was made the fine white cloth used for dress and ceremonial purposes.
U'u. War club.
Vae. Leg, foot.
Vai. Fresh water, stream.
Vaka. Canoe.
Vahine. Woman, wife.
Vehine hae. Ghost, demon, ogress.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 A. Looking west into Taha Uka, Atu Ona (Vevao), and Ta'a Oa, probably the
346 center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.
417 B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua
291 Pou.
312 C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.
D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.
F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 A. Puke uete Haapuani, a *taheua uai* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona,
291 Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him
304 standing beside the stone image of Taka-ti at Pua Ma'a. Full blooded.
B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.
C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)
D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the less native type. Pure blooded.
E. Hoomo of Pua Ma'a, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.
F. Tahia-ti'a-ka'e of Pua Ma'a, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *pese ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.
G. Proiko of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.
H. Mauu-pehe of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.
I. Tavahi-takao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.
J. Tauika Tauka of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
K. Tehemo of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.
L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
M. Pensperm, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand
532 designs.

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304 532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

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A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

251 252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

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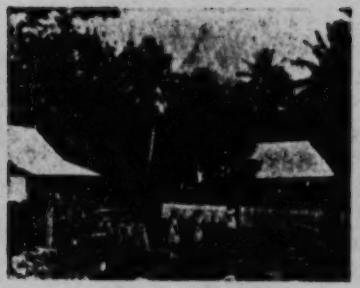
A



B

C

D

E

F

[End Plate 1]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

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A B C D E F G H I J K L

MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

PEABODY P. BISHOP MUSEUM

[End Plate 2]

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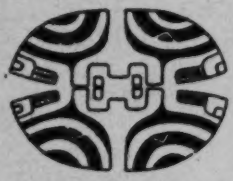

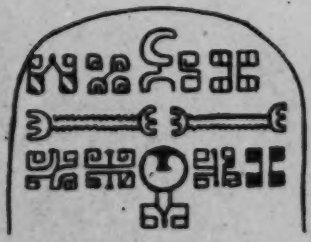

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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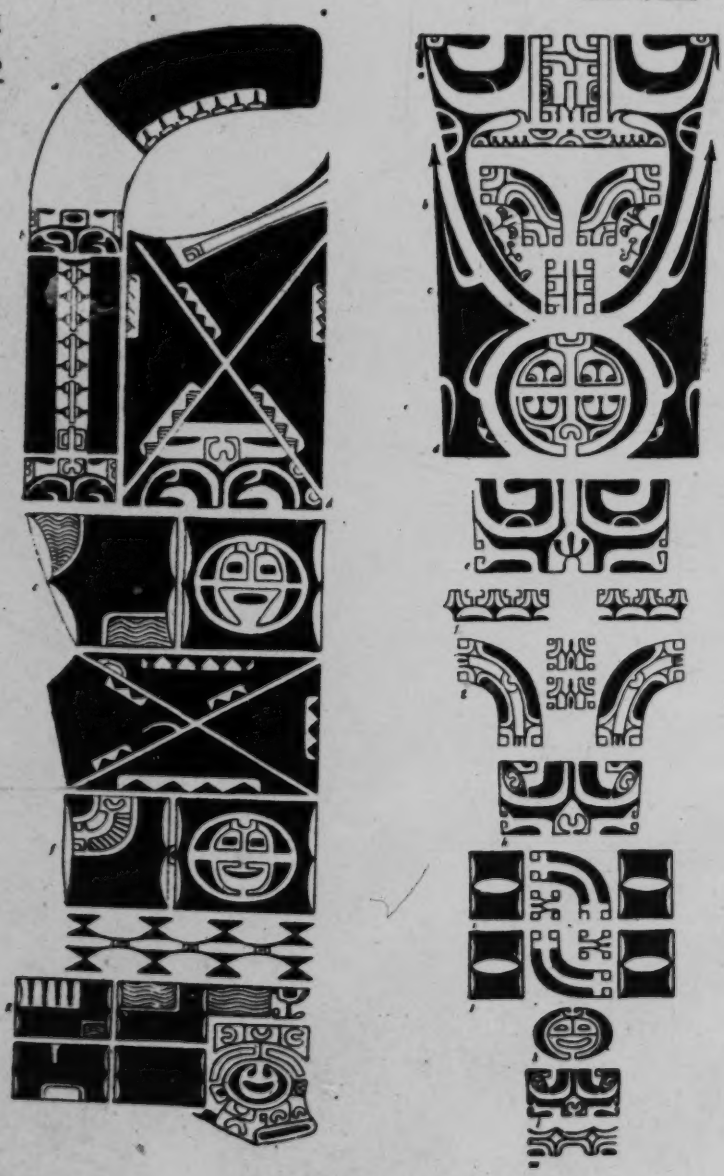

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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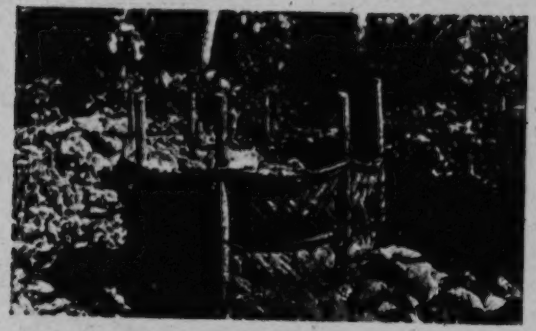

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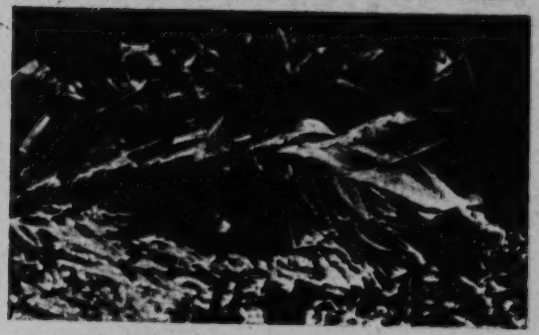

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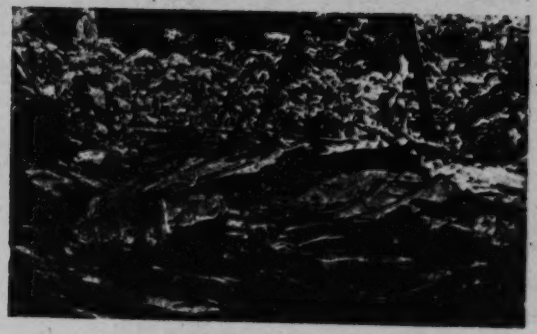

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THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 5]

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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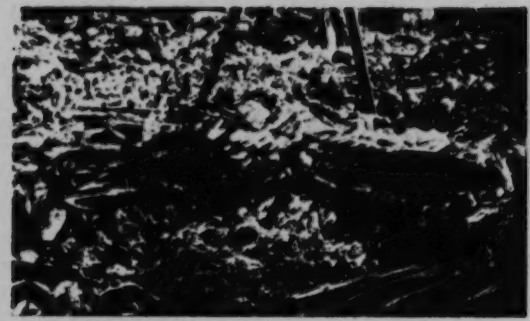

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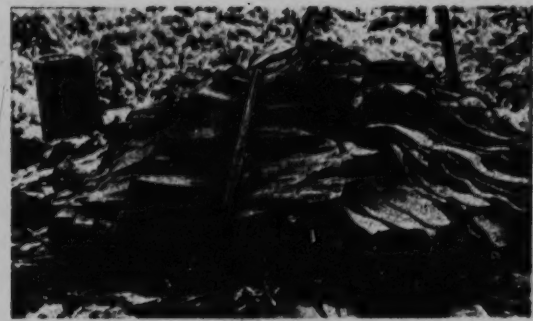

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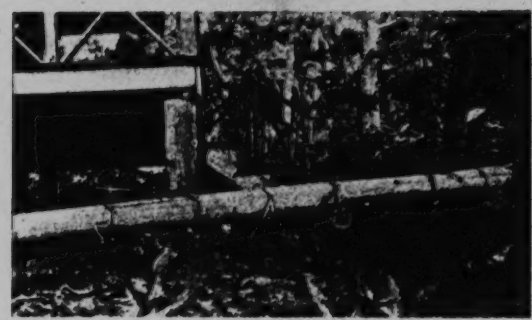

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THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKEI MEI PA'A.
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 6]

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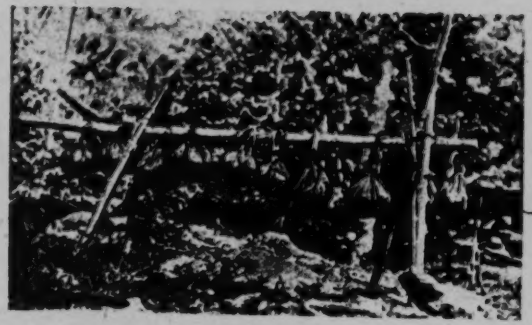

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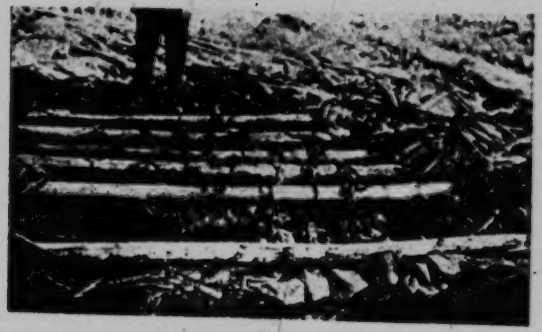

D

THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 7]

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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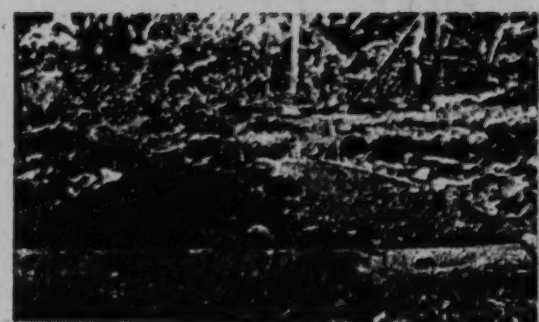

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THE PREPARATION OF FEIKÁI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 8]

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MUSIC IN THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

BY

E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY
AND
JANE LATHROP WINNE

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

BULLETIN 17

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HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1925

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Music In The Marquesas Islands

By E. S. Craighill Handy and Jane Lathrop Winne

INTRODUCTION

114 The native music of the peoples of the different island groups in Polynesia offers a field for research of great interest and value both intrinsically and historically, which has up to this time been practically wholly neglected, a field perhaps richer than any other branch of ethnographic research that American or European students will be able to find in this region of the Pacific where so much of the native culture has been lost under the foreign overlay. This whole rich field lies open to anyone who cares to cultivate it, for it is still possible to hear the singing of genuinely native songs and chants in every part of the region. But no one should enter upon this work without a full realization of its requirements. The research, if it is thoroughly performed, demands not only training and experience but also the ability to learn and use various of the native dialects, infinite patience, and the capacity for enduring considerable physical and mental hardships.

Information concerning the native system of music in the Marquesas was acquired during my stay in those islands as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum in 1920-1921. At that time a number of native songs and chants were recorded and a study made of the significance of the songs and the manner of presentation.[1] On returning to Honolulu the musical aspects of Marquesas chants and of Polynesian poetry in general were discussed with Miss Jane Winne, instructor of music in Punahou School, who has given much attention to Hawaiian singing. During 1923 Miss Winne served as volunteer assistant with the Museum field party engaged in an ethnologic survey of the Society Islands.

121 In the preparation of this paper I have had the skilled assistance of Miss Winne, particularly in providing a method of transcription and in the preparation of the melodic figures.

This brief and fragmentary study of chants is to be taken as merely sug-

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

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/2/ gestive, first of the nature of the music of the natives of the Marquesas, and secondly of a graphical method of transcribing native melodies. If it presents facts or examples of melodies that may be useful to other students entering more deeply into this subject in the future, and if the study as a whole embodies suggestion or information that may stimulate the interest of a few whose attention is given to the present day efforts of students toward securing adequate records for the study of the history of cultures and of music, this paper will have amply fulfilled its purpose.

E. S. C. H.

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MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with love-making and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

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the average European, had no singing of their own more advanced than the monotonous oli and mele which appear to be all that is remembered today. And the singularity becomes even more surprising, not to say incomprehensible, in view of the fact that it is beyond question that the Marquesans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Samoans and Tongans—all of whom were closely similar to the Hawaiians in other aspects of their culture—were singing in large groups when the first Europeans arrived among them. It appears certain that if it were possible to go back to the days when the hula organization was intact we should find that there were many occasions when the members, who were both singers and dancers, intoned meles, and probably other types of chants now forgotten, in chorus and probably in parts; that is, with melody and harmonization. But of more weight than this supposition is a bit of evidence which is based on definite knowledge that there was choral singing in the southern groups; and the personal opinion, based on several lines of evidence, that there was also part singing in these groups in pre-European times. David Malo,[2] in describing the elaborate rites performed in ancient times in Hawaii in connection with the consecration of the war temple (*luakini*), has written that at a certain stage in the consecration ceremonies, a service of "prayer" was carried on in the temple for two whole nights and days by a body of priests who had committed the "prayers" to memory. The kahunas were divided into two groups that occupied either side of the house in which the service was performed; and the service was carried on by the two groups alternately giving the recitation. Now all prayers in Polynesia were rhythmically intoned, for dynamic expression was considered essential to efficacy. When, therefore, Malo writes, or is translated as writing, that "a prayer was said," a more accurate sense of the meaning will be gained if we substitute "a prayer-spell was intoned, or chanted." Evidently this is an instance of the intonation of a religious chant by a choir of men in the temple service analogous to the intoning of the sacred chants at the temples and on the feast places by choirs of old men—who it is to be noted were called collectively *tuhuna* (kahuna)—in all rites in the Marquesas.

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It is interesting to find mention in Captain King's account of Cook's[3] last and fatal visit to the Hawaiian islands of a group of dancers singing at a funeral; for dirges and eulogies were among the most prominent of the types of chants in Tonga, the Marquesas, and Cook Islands and doubtless elsewhere also. In Tonga the first missionaries who came on the ship "Duff" witnessed the funeral of one of the sacred chiefs of the

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[2] Malo, David, Hawaiian antiquities: B. P. Bishop Mus. Sp. Pub. No. 2, pp. 225-6, 1903.

[3] Cook, James, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780; vol. III, pp. 161, 166-7, London, 1785.

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islands. In their description of the ceremonial performances they describe corps of women and of men as singing responsive chants as they bore material for the tomb of the divine potentate.[4] Gill[5] gives a more adequate description of the singing that was usual at the funerary feasts of the Cook Islanders. At these festivals dirges, or "weeping songs" (*tangi*), and eulogistic compositions were sung by those taking part. Songs were commenced by individuals who brought them as tributes or offerings to the dead, and were then caught up by a chorus and carried on. The dirges and eulogies, and the singing festivals and mode of performance, undoubtedly closely resembled the Marquesan chants and performances on the same occasions.

I can vouch for the fact that *tangi* are still remembered today for I heard one sung in Tahiti by a company of people from Atiu in the Cook Islands; and they sang also other types of songs, the names of which are mentioned by Gill, that were undoubtedly ancient. But these chants were intoned by a few of the older people from Atiu only after they had been persuaded with some difficulty that it was the old "heathen" songs that were wanted, and not the adapted hymns that are much more familiar today and more generally approved, and hence produced always when singing is asked for. On the basis of only two hearings I should say that singing of the Cook Islanders shows an interesting combination of quite distinct elements characteristic of the Marquesan and the Society Islands choruses. Male voices appear usually to commence and take the leading part as in the Marquesas, and the hearer has the same sense of strongly marked, rugged rhythm, contrasting with the more rapid, running Tahitian; and of a sort of heaviness or sluggishness in the voices and tempo. In range the Cook Islands songs resemble the Tahitian rather than the very restricted Marquesan. The rhythm of the Tahitian *himene*, in which the women rather than the men lead off and carry the melody, though they are vigorously supported and urged on by the men's voices which seem veritably to take hold of the melodic element and swing it along in a powerful dynamic impulsion, is quicker and more flexible than that of Marquesas or the Cook Islands, though at the same time it is very strong. These *himene* in Tahiti are probably the best known of the genuinely native performances in Polynesia. They are referred to as "genuinely native" in order to contrast them with the modern Hawaiian songs which, like most of the modern music in all parts of Polynesia, are based wholly on our own music which has been adapted in many very different and

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[4] Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson (pp. 235-246), London, 1799.

[5] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Seas (pp. 181 ff.), London, 1876.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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most interesting ways in the various islands since the missionaries first came about a hundred years ago. Many *himene*, as all choral songs are called in the Society Islands, are adaptations of hymn tunes; many others are recent compositions which combine features from old chants with imported melodic and harmonic elements. But there are beside these many genuine old songs of the land, the words of which deal with heroes and events of long ago, which are remembered and rehearsed year after year for performance at the annual Bastile Day competition when prizes are given for the best singing of ancient and modern compositions. These are also sometimes sung upon other occasions of local festivity. Although these old chants may have been influenced to some extent by church hymn singing (they resemble the native hymns in some ways, but differ markedly in others) it is probable that in the main they represent the ancient form of choral song. As sung today they are elaborate compositions harmonized with seven parts, three carried by women's voices and four by men's voices. Performed by a large body of singers who have rehearsed them over and over until the whole chorus sweeps on as though animated and impelled by one will and completely unified in rhythmic and harmonic sense, these choral chants are stirring, and to some, truly beautiful musical creations.

As in the Cook and Society islands, most of the choral music that is to be heard today in the Tuamotus, Tonga and Samoa is based on old hymns introduced by the missionary teachers of the natives. This does not mean, however, that these compositions are not more native than they are European, for the people have a remarkable way of transforming in a very short time into their own metier even the most recent foreign musical importations. This modern music offers in itself, and we may be assured will continue to offer for many years to come, a very interesting field of study. But there are also the older types that are remembered and these are of greater interest to the student devoting himself to revealing the civilization of these islanders as it existed prior to European influence. On the strength of a very slight knowledge, consisting of one hearing of old Tuamotuan and one of old Samoan singing, I shall hazard the remark that the Tuamotuan singing represents a primitive form of the more elaborate Tahitian choruses (the Tuamotuans who were heard came for the most part from an atoll known to have been colonized from Tahiti), while the Tuamotuan love of sustained cadences resembles strongly the Samoan, contrasting with the modern Tahitian. The same love of sustained cadences was noted in songs heard on Maupiti, the outermost, most isolated, and most primitive of the Society Islands. Among the most charming songs in Samoa are the characteristic boat songs which are

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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely paradoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[8] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[8] Dordillon, I. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

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music is not the only criterion of musical sense. The inadaptibility of the Marquesans to our music is directly in line with their evident inability to assimilate European culture or any important elements in it, which apparently results from pride and independence of character, and an intense love of their own ways of living. 533x 177

Individuals sang alone when they chanted spells, or as they accompanied work with a song; priests sometimes intoned the sacred chants alone; and it is probable that a type of love song, called *uta*, of which every individual possessed one of his own, was sometimes sung alone, though it appears usually to have been performed by a chorus. It is the choral singing, however, that distinguishes Marquesans as a musical people. The records of the melodies of a few of the choral chants presented in this paper can give little suggestion of what must have been their effect when sung, with the energy characteristic of the Marquesans, by many voices to the accompaniment of clapping and drums. 533x

When the head of a family or tribe desired to have a song or songs prepared for some festivity, the first step was to employ an adept (*tuhuna*) skilled in composition and teaching. The composer retired into seclusion to evolve from his mind the verses and melody. Sometimes a small house (*oho au*) was especially built for him by his employer, who supplied him with food during the time that he was thus working alone. After his compositions were ready, the next step was the assembling and teaching of the chorus that was to perform them. For teaching the tapu chants for important occasions, a special house was built to accommodate the singers. They dwelt in the singing house, were not allowed any indulgence of their sexual instincts, and were fed by the family for whom the chant was being prepared. The composer himself taught his chants to the chorus, all members of which, like the teacher, were subject to certain restrictions during the period of training. The type of chant determined the nature of the chorus. For example: the *pipine*, performed in honor of a maiden, was sung by a chorus of young girls; the *rari* and *uhaki*, recreational and funeral songs, respectively, by mixed choruses; the *nato* by a chorus of men of all ages; and the *pu'e*, the solemn creational chant, by old men. Every chorus had a leader (*kahua*), a man or a woman with a strong voice and musical ability, who started and directed the singing. [834]

In the native nomenclature three voices (*eo*) are distinguished: *a'o* deep; *vavena*, medium (literally, "middle"); and *ma una*, high (literally, "on top"). There are these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and to contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Registers between these are designated descriptively, as *ma una o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice;

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533 or *mauna a'e*, very high, or *i a'o oa*, very low. Every form of chant had its established voice or register. Thus *pu'e* chant was intoned by the chorus of old men of the tribe in deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* was in a high register. In other words, the mood of the chant appears to have determined both the voice in which it was sung and the nature of the melody and rhythm. This furnishes one of many indications made evident by the study of the ancient culture of this people of their high artistic sensibility.

Singing was accompanied by vocal ejaculations, by clapping of several kinds, and by instruments. Many chants were, however, sung with no accompaniment. Accompaniment by vocal ejaculations is illustrated in the type of song called *tape'a* (p. 37). There were three ways of clapping the hands, each of which produced a different effect. Clapping with the palms hollowed and at right angle to each other was called *pu*. This produced a hollow sound, evidently suggestive to the native ear of the sound of the conch shell trumpet (*pu*). A lighter, flatter sound, contrasting with this, was produced by clapping the hands flattened and held parallel to each other, a mode of accompanient referred to onomatopoetically as *papaki*. A third type of hand clapping, called *pitike*, was sometimes used to mark time. This consisted in striking the palm of the left hand with the fingers of the right. Lastly there was the accompaniment called *poko*, to produce which the left arm was held crooked against the body and the hollowed palm of the right hand struck upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body. This produced a sound deeper and louder than the *pu*.

534 The instruments most commonly used for accompaniment were drums made of a hollowed cylinder of wood with shark's skin stretched across the top. Although drums were of all sizes, there seem to have been two general classes: the *pahu anaana*, which were very large, some of them as much as six feet in height; and the small drums called *tutu*. There was also a very small drum called *umi*, used to accompany singing. In accompanying some chants drums of all types were employed; the great drums following the chanting with a slow ryhthm, the small drums faster. The type of love song called *ru'u*, which is typical of the northern Marquesan Islands, was accompanied by bamboo mouth flutes (*pu hakahau*), which give a very subdued, gentle note. Another type of song, the *komumu*, was accompanied by tapping one upon the other, small resonant sticks held in either hand of each singer. I do not know whether any of the other musical instruments of the natives—the nose flute, the xylophone, musical bow, bamboo Jew's harp, and trumpets made of shell and wood—served to accompany singing.

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TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533X [517]

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 533X 883 [302] [301]

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs 533X

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X533 that were tapu and those that were not. Those learning tapu songs were under numerous restrictions; they were confined to their work, and all sorts of pleasures of common everyday life were denied them; and these prohibitions had to be strictly regarded, for delinquency on the part of a single member of the chorus was capable of destroying the efficacy of the whole work. In addition to the actual deprivations, there must have been at such times a sense of "living under a cloud"; being tapu must have carried with it for the members of the chorus, especially if they were in their youthful and ardent years, a strong feeling of what may be characterized as emotional and mental burden, a sense of oppression. But we may imagine a very different atmosphere when a chorus of youths and maids, unburdened by restrictions, gathered to learn or to sing a recreational song; when the mood of the singers was that of the "lover and his lass" for whom "life was but a flower," and the song must have gone, as in old England, "With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino."

The recreational chants, specimens of which are presented in this paper, are the *ru'u, nani,* and *tape'a.* In addition to these there are several other types that were much used in the old days. No informant was found who could or would sing any except those here presented, but examples of the verse of the *uta* song will be published in a collection of Marquesan lore.[7] There were *uta tapu,* and common *uta.* The *uta tapu* [764] were distinctly religious chants with erotic words, which, handed down as family heirlooms, were sung at funeral feasts as tokens of affection for, to give pleasure to, and doubtless also to stimulate, the spirits of the departed. But common *uta* were mere love songs in which any boy or girl, or for that matter, any older man or woman, might express passion for one of the opposite sex. Words of such songs are very easily obtained; and it is beyond question that there is many a native who could sing them if caught in the right mood. Natural shyness and constraint would make it difficult for a native to sing one of these before any foreigner; and anyone who at all understands the Polynesian nature, or for that matter youthful and temperatmental human nature anywhere else in the world, must realize that it would hardly be possible for a Marquesan to sit down with a prodding ethnologist and in cold blood produce a sample of the type of song that is but the spontaneous expression in music and poetry of an impassioned soul.

X533 Another type of recreational song that was very popular in the old
534 days was the *komumu,* or *mumu.* The peculiar feature of this chant was its accompaniment. Each singer in the body of men and women who performed the *komumu* held in the left hand a stick of soft, resonant wood.

[7] Handy, E. S. Craighill, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

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These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since. 533X 534

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote: [524]

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son. 533X 534

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 257, New York, 1876.

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X533 534 The elaborate festival that would be celebrated when the new arena was completed, and the ode, composed in honor of the youth, that would be chanted, would constitute an historic event that would glorify the individual, his family and his tribe, to the end of the memory of man, or certainly as long as there was any man living who could tell posterity for whom the place of celebration (*taha ko'ina*) had been built.

X533 789 The eulogistic chants had also a religious aspect, but this was more important in certain other chants that were recited for the first-born when he was a child. (See p. 23.) One of the fundamental concepts in the native religion was the belief that men and gods, in fact all things and beings whatever their nature, on account of a sympathetic psychic rapport that was thought to exist naturally (as between relatives), or that could be artificially established, were subject to direct influence through the medium of and by means of the repetition of "words with power" in dynamic chanting, and by dynamic movements accompanying the recital. The process of empowering the individual was also aided by the use of potent objects that served as mediums of psychic power. It is not difficult to picture the atmosphere of these occasions, nor to realize the actual effect that must have come to the child or youth. To the Marquesan, the feeling of the sense of power that must have come as an ever increasing accession during these performances would be sufficient proof of the actual effect; and we may surmise that the exuberant personal vanity characteristic of these people rendered the effect actual and lasting. The expansive feelings of pride and satisfaction would not be passing sensations but lasting realities that would be roused anew with every reminder of the event. Unquestionably these eulogistic singings had just the beneficial effects that the Marquesans attributed to them, though perhaps, American and European students will believe, from causes and in a manner different from those imagined by the natives.

X533 Besides the *putu, pehi, pipine* and *pope* (pp. 23-4), which were the only types of which Haapuane, my Marquesan informant, knew the melodies, there were a number of other kinds of eulogistic songs for different occasions. Several of these, the *Ti'e-mata* and *Faufau-oa,* were composed to be sung for the first-born boy at the chanting festival (p. 23), celebrating the completion of his education in the learning of the sacred chants and genealogies. The *pope* was composed and sung at the time of the consecration of a new house for the first-born; and the *putu* and *pehi* were performed in his honor when he had attained to young manhood. In addition to these, two other types of eulogistic chants may be mentioned. The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar to the *pipine,* but instead of honoring a young girl, it was composed and sung in honor of a

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person's mother. Still another type was called the *i'i*. This, it is said, was a form of tribute paid when there was a feast in honor of a chiefess. When a *ko'ina i'i* was announced, people of the home valley and many from neighboring friendly settlements would come prepared to sing *i'i* in honor of the chiefess; and all would bring, as appropriate gifts to accompany their songs, offerings of flowers. According to legend, the first *i'i* was taught to a young man who was desirous of attending a festival in honor of a chiefess by two birds, who were in reality "wild women" (*vehine hae*) of the mountains. The youth, who was handsome as heroes of legends seem usually to be, charmed not only the chiefess but all the other ladies at the feast, so that they were all filled with a passionate desire for him. 533 [713]

Of the strictly religious chants there were many kinds. Before describing these it will be well, without dwelling too long on this subject—which would in itself require a whole book for thorough explanation and illustration— to bring out certain of the most important points with regard to the place of chanting in the native religion. The Marquesans, like all Polynesians, chanted their prayer-spells because they believed in the efficacy or dynamic effect of rhythmic intonation; they considered such intonation to be an essential feature of all religious recitations. The singing of the choral religious chants is nothing more than intonation by large groups with prescribed rhythm and melody of causative dynamic spells. These chants may be compared to the liturgies of the Christian and the Thibetan Buddhist churches. The Marquesans believed that the gods who animated and vivified all nature, including man and all other living beings and things—in fact, nature as a whole, made up of gods and spirits, and earth-dwelling beings and things—were affected directly by these causative recitations. 533 789

The *pu'e* chant describes the growth (*pu'e*, to grow) of the world from its beginnings. It was intoned to consecrate children and such things as new houses and new canoes. The idea in the native mind apparently was that the dynamic recitation, along with the repetition of many meaningless "words with power," of the stages of the world's growth served to make the new thing one with all nature and thus to consecrate it, psychically binding it firmly to all growing, living nature. The *pu'e* was strictly tapu, and was never intoned except by priests and the old men who constituted the choirs in the great ceremonies. But there was another creation chant, called the *vavana* (which probably means "sacred knowledge") which, though tapu, was learned and sung by women as well as by men. (Women as a class were not tapu as were men.) This, like the *pu'e*, was intoned in a slow tempo accompanied by clapping of the 533 713

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X533 773 hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X553 As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting [869] features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavanà* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored [868] son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

X533 769 832 The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

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was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna*, who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[20] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[20] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 144), London, 1813.

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Gracia,[11] one of the first Catholic missionaries, testifies to the impressiveness of the ancient choral chants in these words:

> The most dignified member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed, or which he composes at the moment; it often consists in only two or three words, repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or three vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert; but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a festival of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs, . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The chants referred to by both these writers were probably religious recitations of the same type as the *pu'e*.

RECREATIONAL CHANTS

RU'U

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Ru'u is the term applied in the northern islands of the Marquesas group to the kind of love song that is called *nani* in the southern islands. The *ru'u* (melodic figure 1) was heard on the island of Uahuka and was at first supposed to be Marquesan in origin as the nature of the melody and mode of singing are identical with that of the *nani* on Hivaoa. It was later discovered, however, that one of the singers who performed it, himself a native of Paumau, Hivaoa, had learned the song in the Tuamotu Islands and had taught it to the singers of Hane, Uahuka. About two and a half years after this, while being entertained by a group of Tuamotu singers in Tahiti, this *ru'u* was sung to a woman from Takaroa who instantly recognized the air. After a moment's thought she said it came from the island of Pukapuka. This was a most interesting remark in view of the fact that Pukapuka is one of several small atolls in the Tuamotus which lie nearest to the Marquesas, and that its dialect is known to differ from that of the western Tuamotus to such an extent as to make it difficult for a man from Rangiroa, for instance, to understand one from Pukapuka. Near Pukapuka, its people speaking the same dialect, is Napuka, which is known in Hivaoa as an island to which a number of refugees, defeated in war on Hivaoa, had been blown on rafts of bamboo. The whole group of facts concerning the song, therefore, furnish striking illustration of several points: connection between the northeastern Tuamotu

[11] Gracia, Mathias (Le P.), Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, pp. 64-65, Paris, 1843.

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islands and the Marquesas; the transmission of a melody from one group of islands to another, which is of course occurring continually nowadays; and lastly, the intricate difficulty of discovering ultimate origins of some cultural elements even within Polynesia itself. 533X 177

The song was performed on Uahuka in the following manner: 533X

Two lines of men faced each other, each man resting in a semi-squatting position on the left knee, with his right elbow on his rigl knee, and his chin resting on his right hand. A line of girls sat in the space between the two lines of men, sang also and accompanied the singing with slow graceful movements of the hands and upper body, the motions being always in unison, and illustrating in vague pantomime the words of the song. One of the men led off always with the first line and refrain, after which the whole group joined in. The very simple harmonization which is illustrated in melodic figure 1 is intentional and more or less fixed. The two parts were repeated as written a number of times, separately and together, by the man and the woman who assisted in writing down the strains. The informants stated, further, that when there was a large group the women sang three different parts but the men only the one. The singing was slow and quiet, the whole effect being one of subdued meditation.

The first occasion of my hearing the *ru'u*—by a group of young friends who, one moonlight night, gathered before our house in Hane—was a most affecting and memorable one.

NANI (RARI)

Most *nani* were composed in honor of a young woman, the words having indirect reference to her. But the song Nani o Kae (melodic figure 2) concerns itself with a legendary subject. The performance of this *nani* was witnessed at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa. The women sat facing the observers, accompanying the song with motions of the upper body and arms. The men were seated in a line at right angles to the several lines of women. This type of song used to be intoned by the group standing. There was no accompaniment for the *nani*, either of clapping or with drums. One woman, referred to as the *kahua*, sang the first line alone, whereupon all joined in. The men's and women's voices appeared to be in unison for the most part, but with occasional simple harmonization. The only place where the harmonization (if it may be so called) was particularly noted, was on the sustained final syllable of both verse and refrain. Here all, both men and women, commenced the syllable in unison, but on the second beat some of the men raised their voices one tone, producing a dissonance which was evidently agreeable to their ears, since the same thing was repeated each time. This furnishes an interesting contrast with the *ru'u* heard on Uahuka, in which the men's voices were dropped and held a tone below the tonic at the end of the first verse.

It will be noticed by students acquainted with the dialects of Polynesia that many Tahitian words occur in the text of this song, intermingled with 533X 191

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the Marquesan. This must not be taken as an indication that this *nani* is not a genuinely Marquesan chant. Practically all Marquesans today know how to speak Tahitian, and it is their habit in singing these recreational songs to insert Tahitian words in places where they produce a more graceful effect than the harder and more staccato Marquesan equivalents. It is only in their singing that the natives do this; in conversation among themselves they prefer their own language.

X533 773

The Nani o Kae may be accepted as a genuine ancient Marquesan song since the poetry is based on themes from one of the old legends of Hivaoa, the story of Kae. Hina, the chiefess of Puamau valley, the ancient name of which was Vai Noi, summoned her brother-in-law, who was a great whale, to take Kae to Taaoa. Kae was instructed to kick a certain rocky islet as he passed. This act was in some mysterious way to cause the whale to turn about so that its tail instead of its head would come upon the beach at Taaoa. Kae failed to kick the islet; and, in consequence, the whale came up on the beach head-first, whereupon the people of the valley attacked and killed it.

TAPE'A

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The *tape'a* was a companion piece of the *nani*. Three or four *nani* would be sung, and then the *tape'a*, after which the singers would rest. Only the women actually sang the words, the men accompanying them with body and arm motions as in the *nani*, but singing louder and with more spirit. While the women sang, the men accompanied, their part being referred to as *haakoakoa*, which may be translated as "warming up." In rhythm with the singing, the group of men sometimes ejaculated forcibly, "Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!" accompanying these expulsions of breath with vigorous motions of the arms up and down like those made in hauling on a rope; at other times, with tremendous vigor, they ejaculated "Ugh-huh-ugh! Ugh-huh-ugh!" twice, swinging the upper body first to one side, then to the other; then, throwing the right arm forward from the shoulder and striking it at the elbow, they ejaculated with great force "Mahu-mahu," a word which has an erotic meaning. Done by only a small group of about eight men, this male accompaniment was remarkably powerful and rousing. It needs little imagination to conceive the dynamic power of such a performance by a large group of virile natives. (See melodic figure 3.)

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EULOGISTIC CHANTS

PIPINE

The *pipine* was a chant composed in honor of a young woman and sung at a feast prepared to celebrate the occasion of the singing. Such a compliment might be paid by the girl's father, by other relatives, or by friends. The song was taught to a group of young girls who, after thoroughly learning the words, melody, and rhythmic movements, sang it as the central feature of the feast. The girls were seated in rows, and as they sang, accompanied the melody by light clapping with flat hands (*papaki*), varied by the hollow-hand clapping (*pu*), the shoulders and hands at the same time being swung slowly from side to side in rhythm with the melody. The first line was sung alone by the leader or director (*kahua*), and the song was then picked up and carried on by the whole chorus. 533X

In the example presented in melodic figure 4, the young woman is described as preparing herself for the feast to be given in her honor.

POPE

It was the custom in the Marquesas for a father to erect a new dwelling for his first-born son. The *pope* was a song composed for the occasion and sung at the opening of the new house, the song being chanted in the house on the night following the formal consecration and the feast of entrance, by the relatives of the boy. The singing was accompanied by clapping, the hands and shoulders of the singers being swung from side to side in harmony with the rhythm of the song. (See melodic figure 5.) 533X 851 342

PUTU

The *putu* (melodic figure 6) was a song for a young man, chanted in his honor at a feast given to celebrate the singing. In a performance observed at Atuona the chorus consisted of men of all ages, but no women. The men stood as they sang, being arranged in concentric semicircles, having the old men with deep voices in the center, the middle-aged men next, and the young men on the outside. They all sang together, apparently in unison, except on the line *"A hau mai te oho he oho,"* which was repeated twice. The first time, this line was sung by the old men in a deep voice (*i a'o*); the second time, by the middle-aged men in a medium voice (*vavena ae*); and the third time, by the young men in the high voice (*mouna nui*). 533X

The accompaniment consisted of drums and clapping. Throughout the whole song the singers clapped (*papaki*) regularly, one, two, three, four, followed by a rest. Occasionally the tempo of the clapping was doubled.

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X533 Several men marked time throughout the singing by clapping regularly in the manner called *pitika*. The singing was vigorous and precise.

PEHI

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu* and marked the completion of the singing in honor of the youth for whom the feast was celebrated. It is evident from the words of the *pehi* that it was a kava drinking song. (See melodic figure 7.) The accented rhythm of the melody was marked, and the mode of performance very energetic. The chant was unaccompanied by drums or clapping. In rhythm with the song, the chorus of men swung the upper part of their bodies from side to side, and the two hands, palms up, were shoved forward or to one side or the other, with a motion resembling shovelling, perhaps pantomiming or accompanying the presentation of the kava cup.

RELIGIOUS CHANTS

UHAKI

X533 765 The *uhaki* was a dirge composed in honor of a dead warrior and sung on the tribal feast place upon the occasion of one of the memorial festivals celebrated periodically on behalf of the spirits of the departed. The nature of the chant as a mourning song or dirge is indicated by the inclusion after every second line of the wailing that is typical of the histrionic mourning of all the Polynesian peoples. Commonly, the wailing over a dying person, a corpse, or at a tomb, was participated in only by the women; but when the wail occurred in the *uhaki*, both men and women took part. The wail starts with a slow wavering sound deep down in the throat covering a musical interval of about a whole tone, the wavering of the voice being gradually accelerated until it is almost a trill, and is continued until the breath is exhausted. The words of the example of the *uhaki* here presented in melodic figure 8 have reference to a war of revenge. The chant was intoned in unison throughout by a chorus of men and women, and was accompanied by small drums. The verse is of considerable length. Only the first few lines are given in the example, but the remainder continues with exactly the same melody carried through every pair of lines and followed by a wail, continuing the final vowel sound of the last line preceding it.

NATO

X533 It is said that the first *nato* was composed by a *tuhuna* named Taitihu, who lived long ago in the valley of Vevau (Atuona), on the island of Hivaoa, and that all subsequent *nato* have been modeled after his original. *Nato* were learned and sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) of the tribe at the

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time of the great festivals such as those in honor of the spirits of the 533λ
departed. The words of the example selected (melodic figure 9), refer to some historic or mythical event. Each *nato* must have its characteristic melody; it is said that those learned in such things were able to recognize even at a considerable distance what *nato* was being sung. When the Naiki tribe of Atuona came together to celebrate a festival in which all the subtribes were to participate, the old men of each of the four subdivisions of the tribe would meet to learn and perform chants of various kinds. On the morning of the opening of the festival, the drumming and the chanting of the *nato* were commenced before dawn. A number of *nato* were first chanted, and after them the *pu'e* and other songs.

The singing was accompanied by clapping as indicated in the melodic figure and by the beating of the great drums (*pahu anaana*) and the small drums (*tutu*). It will be noted that the example given has four parts or variations of the melody used with different parts of the poetry.

PU'E

The *pu'e* was perhaps the most frequently used, and hence most important of the religious chants of the Marquesans. The word *pu'e* means "to grow," and the words of the chant, which is very long, recount the growth of the land. The chant was intoned by the tribal priest upon the occasion of important family rites, such as the consecration of a new canoe or house, and by a large group of old men at the feast place at great festivals. When chanted by a chorus of old men, the singing was accompanied by a number of great drums about six feet in height, and small drums, in addition to the clapping indicated in the melodic figure. (See melodic figure 10.) The chant was strictly tapu—no women were allowed to be present when it was sung.

METHOD OF RECORDING CHANTS

The melodies presented in this paper were recorded by ear with the aid 533X
of a violin which was tuned to a definite pitch by means of a bell. In 126
recording tempo, a watch served as a standard for measuring the number of beats per minute. These chants were carefully worked out and checked up with informants who approved them upon repetition, and may be accepted as roughly correct illustrations of native singing. The song entitled *ru'u* was recorded on the island of Uahuka, with the aid of Teahu Taniha and his wife, Tahia Pooheana. All the other chants were worked out at Atuona, Hivaoa, with the friendly assistance of the learned Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane, the organizer and leader of such dancing and singing as is still performed upon the occasion of the Bastile Day celebrations of the French

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X533 126 Administration. The type of recreational songs called *rari* in the southern, and *ru'u* in the northern Marquesas islands is the only one that may be said really to survive today. Other chants are held in mind by a few of the older people with tenacious memories. It is probable that one could count on the fingers the number of natives living today who can give either words or melodies of the very sacred chants such as the *pu'e*.

123 The circumstances that led to my being able to record the melodies of the chants included in this study should perhaps be mentioned, for the story throws a good deal of light on the subtle influences that may help or hinder the ethnologist in Polynesia. They also reveal clearly that fathomless depths of "information" may lie at the bottom of the mind even of an apparently perfectly "civilized" and "missionized" native that may be tapped by the sympathetic and friendly student if he happens to touch the right spring that will throw open the doors in the natures of these people who are capable of appearing as open and accommodating as a smiling lagoon, while in fact their innermost thoughts are as tightly shut in and invisible as the pearl oyster that lies in his closed shell on the coral bottom.

Mrs. Handy and I had lived for three months at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa without hearing any native music in spite of the fact that I had repeatedly asked native friends with whom we were continually associated if they did not know how to sing some of the old songs, receiving always a negative reply. When in the fourth month we went to the island of Uahuka in pursuance of our various studies I had with me a cheap violin, procured in Tahiti entirely with a view to giving myself diversion and amusement. At Hane, on Uahuka, where our relationship with the inhabitants of the small local settlement was very friendly, I produced my violin one evening when some of the young natives were at our house and we had a modest concert for their amusement, the violin and Mrs. Handy's voice furnishing the entertainment with some songs that would be called truly ancient in our own country. Our friends, few of whom had ever seen or heard a violin, and none of whom had ever been entertained with music by foreigners, were duly enthusiastic, and concerts were thereafter a regular feature in the evenings during our stay. What was our surprise and delight one evening when the local missionary was absent in another valley, to have a small group of young native men and women, after much whispered consultation, arrange themselves on the ground outside our house and commence the Ru'u Tohu'i. Thereafter there were many evenings when we exchanged music in true Polynesian fashion; but the natives would never sing when they thought the missionary might hear it or get wind of their backsliding. Later, on the island of Uapou, where the people were less independent in spirit, I never succeeded in hearing a single song, in

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spite of a longer stay than in Uahuka, equally cordial relationships, evening concerts, and frequent urgings. On a few evenings we were treated to music on bamboo flutes which were brought to our house concealed under the clothing of our friends. I am certain that the people of this place knew songs and could have sung them had it not been for the intimidating spectre of missionary suppression. 123

After our return to our headquarters in Atuona, I was outspoken in my enthusiasm about the singing of Uahuka, and instituted the custom of having evening concerts, with the result that one evening a group of men and women of the valley was assembled under the leadership of Haapuane, whose pride was piqued by my admiration of the talents of our Uahuka friends, and gave us a concert that far excelled in interest those heard before. Following this, I found that Haapuane knew not only the text of a number of the chants, the words of which he had formerly given me, but also the melodies, and in addition a great deal about the ancient native system of singing. There followed the study with him of the chants, which, with the exception of the *ru'u* recorded on Uahuka, are presented in this paper.

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MUSICAL OBSERVATIONS

BY JANE LATHROP WINNE

X533 The result of interesting researches described by Mr. Handy in this paper and elsewhere [12] gives a most comprehensive impression of the importance of music in the life of the Marquesan people. Music was a vital expression throughout the activities of their lives.

The ancient Polynesian, understanding himself as a part of all nature, gave to his natural expressions a characteristic virility, spontaneity, and intensity of thought and action. The skillful Marquesan, abounding in vigor and imagination, is nobly expressed in his art of carving and tattooing. His poetry, too, is vivid and powerful in its elemental suggestiveness, yet as often revealing a sense of the beautiful in graceful, discriminating touches. Throughout his expressions appears a marked sensibility to the appropriate application of artistic values.

Such native ability, combined with the definite communal system under the tutelage of the tribal bards (*tuhuna*) resulted in a wholehearted yet trained expression of their poetical conceptions. Such choral chants were not only an essential part of every festival but as religious intonations, exerted a powerful effect. A natural devotion which attended all work and family or tribal experiences was a fundamental force in these great singing festivals. The dedication of the home, the advent of the first-born son, the season of abundant harvests—all such events were marked by impressive and appropriate chants composed by poets especially for the occasion. In portions of chants, as recorded on pages 32-51, is given some idea of the variety of poetical expression appropriate for numerous occasions. The lyric expressions or love songs (melodic figures 1, 2, 3) marked in rhythmic movement and light, graceful gesture, offer an interesting contrast to the dignified, powerful, religious intonations (melodic figures 8, 9, 10). The chants in honor of the young girl (melodic figure 4) and first-born son (melodic figure 5) are charming bits of grace and poetic beauty, while the two other chants in honor of the young man (melodic figures 6 and 7) are expressed in abrupt, clear-cut monotone, abounding in diversity of rhythm, and rendered with rousing spontaneity and intensity of vigor.

The chants, springing as they do from the very mood and rhythm of the poetical thought, are expressed in unique mode typical of the people themselves. For the histrionic, emotional Polynesian, the poetical idea is vivid. His entire body is an instrument for its free expression. Consequently his singing, abounding in rhythmic impulse and dynamic movement is often

[12] Handy, E. S. Craighill, The native culture of the Marquesas, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 9, 1923.

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punctuated by dramatic gesture, extraordinary voice productions, and stirring drumming. Or with change of poetical mood, his usual direct staccato manner glides into subtle nuance expressed in graceful slurring, inflection, or sustained duration. Rhythmical ejaculations and unlimited breath capacity lend verve and power. The nature and possibility of the men's voices particularly, can scarcely be imagined. Singing with free, open throats, bodies bent in rhythmical movement, they produce tones almost unlimited in expanse and depth. Short phrases cried in high voice are equally characteristic. Appropriate mood, the Marquesan expresses through a discriminating use of six qualities of voice. These six registers include the usual high, medium, low, and three additional voices termed: just above medium, very high, very low. Subtle tonal distinctions, too, are heard in the use of quarter step and three-quarter step (melodic figures 2, 5, 7), and a sense of established tonality pervades most of the melodic progressions. 533X

Thus the Marquesan, as a natural artist, applied his numerous faculties and effected great variety of poetical expression, within the narrow melodic range, for the compass of none of the chants recorded exceeds the interval of a fourth. A rudimentary sense of harmony also creeps in (melodic figure 1) and gives added interest, especially so since the subject of part-singing in ancient Polynesia has been a debatable matter. The primitive harmony suggested in the Ru'u Tohu'i bears some resemblance to the manner in which voices were combined in other parts of Polynesia. The dissonance of a second seems to have been pleasing to the Marquesan, for he appears intentionally to sustain it.

These impressive, characteristic moods of the free, virile Marquesan, so impossible of rendition by Europeans, seem decidedly foreign to standardized staff notation. Neither the melodic nor rhythmic idea is fixed, but flows from the *tuhuna* in natural interpretation of the poetical lines. In these appropriate expressions the Marquesan shows a marked appreciation for certain elements of musical and rhythmical impulse which are considerations in design and composition. It is with a feeling of sincere admiration for the capacity and expression of this natural artist, and yet with a hesitancy that this vivid music-poetry is transcribed. However, those students who feel its moods will undoubtedly find much outside the very general observations suggested in this paper.

It has seemed desirable to set these chants in the form of melodic figures. This free, pictorial method intentionally gives prominence to the poetical line and at the same time shows graphically the elements of design and composition. The native invention and appropriateness of design, although oftentimes but a mere suggestion of form, speak for themselves.

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X533 The chants recorded in this paper represent a considerable variety of expression. They have been classified as recreational, eulogistic, and religious. See pp. 13-25. The recreational choruses (melodic figures 1, 2, 3), full of melodic movement and gesture, give three very distinct ideas of lyric expression. The poetical *tape'a* (melodic figure 3) is the most intense in feeling, although the melody does not indicate it. Through the men's rhythmic gesture and erotic ejaculation it becomes highly emotional. All the chants accompanied by powerful rhythmic effects appear to be the most simple melodically.

In the eulogistic chants, especially, is evidenced that sensibility to appropriate expression. Gliding into the graceful *pipine*, there is immediately felt (melodic figure 4), a sense of flowing continuity even in those short phrases. Here, indeed, is the lightness and subtle grace of the Marquesan maiden for whom it was sung. The charm in the poetical idea of the *pope* (melodic figure 5), the reader may find for himself. The ascending melody of each line suggest most appropriately the cloud-wreath of the aspiring young chief. Through the simple melodies of both these chants flows a most graceful slurred motif, in downward trend in the *pipine* (melodic figure 4), and in upward trend in the *pope* (melodic figure 5). A third very interesting variation of this same motif occurs in the *nato* (melodic figure 9) in which it is still more prominent as an element of composition. The *putu* (melodic figure 6) and the *pehi* (melodic figure 7), sung in honor of the young man, give an idea of Marquesan vigor and directness. The *putu*, so distinctive in its straightforward monotone is clear and strong, like the character of the Marquesan man himself. The climax is powerful indeed, in the refrain *"A haumai te oho, he oho"* (line 17) sung in turn by the three choirs of men's voices amidst ever increasing rhythmic impulse of clapping and drumming. The chanting of the *putu* leads into the *pehi* (melodic figure 7), the drinking song with its accelerated vigor and gaiety, expressed in abrupt phrase and irregular rhythm. Nor is it surprising to find, as the opening of this kava song, an unusual interval inflection that occurs in none of the other chants.

In the impressive, religious intonations, simple melody pervades, accompanied by powerful, dynamic movement. Each of the three religious chants expresses a distinctive mode. The *uhaki* (melodic figure 8), characterized by the wail, is the mourning song. The *nato* (melodic figure 9), in its poetical form of four different parts, inspires interest. It is said that a *tuhuna* of ancient times originated the form after which all *nato* have since been modeled. The second part of this chant contains that element so popular in folk-singing, repetition after repetition of the same stanza, naming each time one of the ten stone slabs mentioned in the story. The chanting

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expresses clearly the four distinct parts. The slurred motif plays a most interesting part, adding grace and melodic variety to this almost monotone chant. Accompanied by both clapping and drumming, the *nato* presents a musical subject worthy of much admiration. The sustained, powerful *pu'e* (melodic figure 10) with its positive strength and fundamental expansiveness, suggests the real purpose of the old religious chants. They were not merely devotional choruses. They were in reality magic spells believed to affect nature directly in their powerful, dynamic concentration. 533X

MELODIC FIGURES

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES

In the melodic figures reproduced on pages 32-50 the following symbols are used: 533X 128

Pitch is indicated by the letters along the vertical line to the left, these letters representing the diatonic tonal progressions, as follows:

$\bar{f}$, $\bar{g}$, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{b}$, treble register (above middle c);
f, g, a, b, bass register (below middle c);
G, A, B, low bass register (below bass c);
½ a, one-half step above g, ½ b, one-half step above a; ½ g, one-half step above f.

Tonal duration is measured by horizontal lines as indicated at the top of each melodic figure.

Meter and accent are absolutely dependent upon the natural emphasis of the poetry itself. In the figures, a melody line which is continued unbroken to a following tone above or below indicates slurring or continuation of tone in contrast to the rather staccato and usual manner of Marquesan chanting.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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MELODIC FIGURE 1: RU'U TOHU'I

Tempo: 108 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat; —· ¾ beat; —· ¼ beat.

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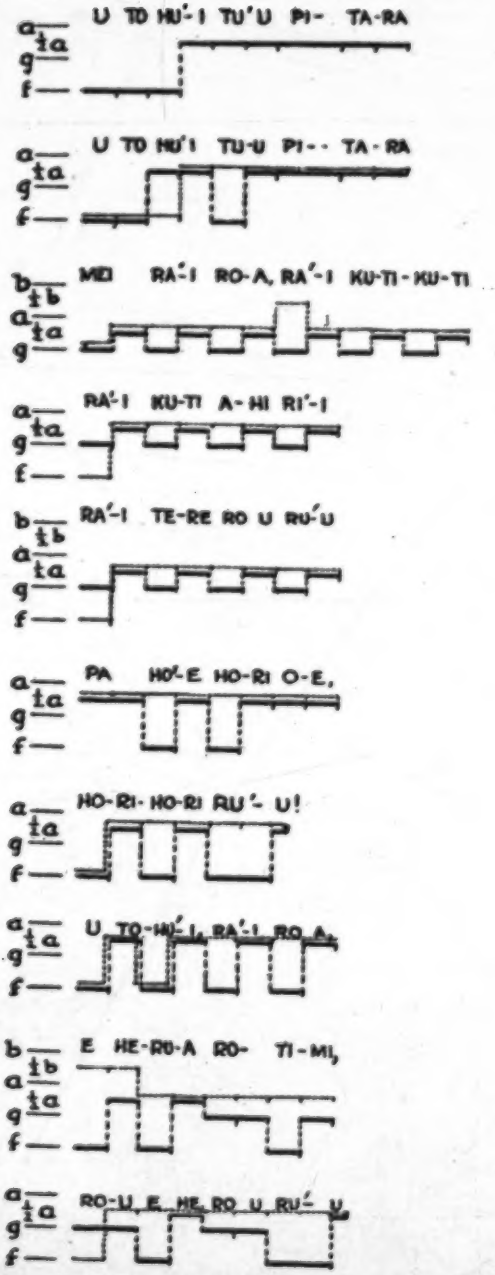

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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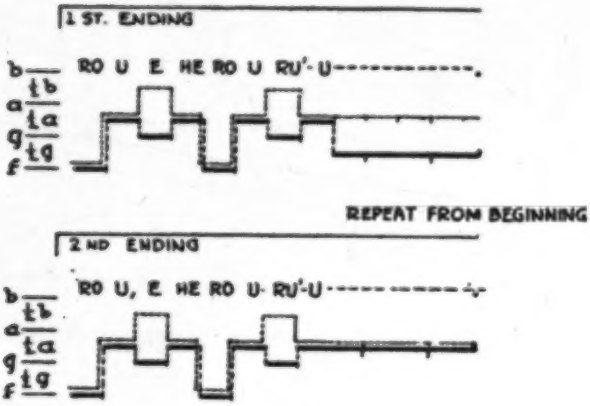

[539]

U tohu'i tu u pitara,
Mei Ra'i Roa, Ra'i kutikuti,
Ra'i kuti ahi ri'i,
Ra'i tere ro u ru'u.
Paho'e hori[3] oe,
Horihori ru'u!
U tohu'i Ra'i Roa,
E herua rotimi,
Ro u e he, ro u ru'u,
Ro u e he, ro u ru'u.

Overturned is my coconut shell,[1]
From Rangi Roa,[2] the lovely,
Of the brilliant glowing sky,
Thence flies my song.
Oh my loving maiden,
A kiss for my song!
Turned right over is Rangi Roa,
Rangi Roa, your land,
My land, my song,
My land, my song!

The Ru'u Tohu'i is a recreational chant. A group of men in a semi-squatting position, with chins resting on the hands sang in a meditative manner, while the girls seated between the two lines of men also sang and at the same time accompanied with graceful pantomimic movement. Rhythmic gesture is most suggestive in the obviously regular musical design of this lyric chant. Of the selections recorded in this paper it seems the most regular in movement, being composed largely of a single interval in symmetrical recurrence. In translating "coconut shell" as "canoe" may it not give a pretty significance to this regular, rhythmic impulse?

The introduction of a second voice (indicated by dotted line) adds variety and particular interest, giving some impression of primitive harmony in ancient Polynesia. Note the sustained interval of a second at the close of the first ending. The same dissonance was often sung as the ending of the first stanza and refrain of the Nani o Kae. The *ru'u* were sometimes

[1] One informant said this meant, figuratively, the singer's canoe; another insisted that it meant his hat.
[2] An island of the Tuamotu Archipelago.
[3] *Hori* (or *honi*) means both to rub noses and to kiss.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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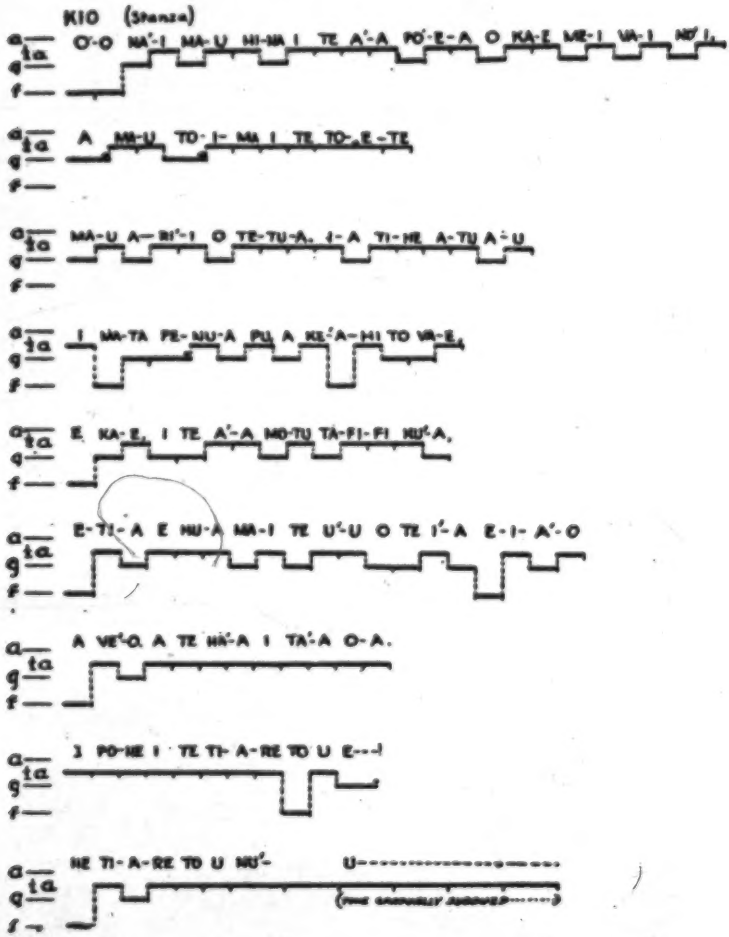
accompanied by several flutes, and many of them were specially composed to be played by the instrument alone. The mouth flute, which has a range of four tones, may be responsible for the range of this type of song.

MELODIC FIGURE 2: NANI O KAE

Tempo: 108 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat; ——· ¾ beat; —· ¼ beat.



2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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MO UMU (Refrain)

A TA-PO- PO-HE NU'-I TU-U I'-A, O TE-TU-NU-A-NU-I ---,

A VE'O, E NA U NU'-U NU'-U, VA- VA-HI TE'-E A

(retard)

I MO-TU TA'-A HA-MA-NI PA-A-HO-U---,

TU U KO HE VE- TA- VE-TA HO-U NU'- U-!

NA-VE MA-I TE TI- PI- ,A O'-O- TI O- E !

A KA-I E, NA U NU'-U------!

TU-KU HE'-E, ,NA U NU'-U----------!

(retard----------)

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O'o na'i mau Hina i te a'a po'ea o Kae mei Vai No'i,	Hina commanded the youths of Kae from Vai No'i,
"A mau to ima i te toete,	"Take hold of my brother-in-law,
Mau-ari'i-o-Tetua. Ia tihe au	Mau-ari'i-o-Tetua. When you arrive
I mata Fenua pu, a ke'ahi to vae,	At Mata Fenua promontory, kick,
E Kae, i te a'a motu Tafifi Ku'a,	Oh Kae, the islet Tafifi Ku'a,
Etia e hua mai te u'u o te i'a Eia'o."	So that the head of the fish Eia'o may turn back."
A ve'o. A te ha'a i Ta'a Oa.	He was harpooned. There was fury at Taa Oa.
I pohe i te tiare to u e!	My flower is dead!
He tiare to u nu'u.	The flower of my song.

REFRAIN (*Moumu*)

A tapopohe ni'i tu u i'a, o Te-tunua-nui,	My fish Te-tunua-nui was killed,
A ve'o, e na u nu'u nu'u, vavahi te'e a.	Harpooned, cut up raw.
I motu ta'a hamani faahou,	Strips of bamboo split off sharp,
Tu u kohe vetaveta hou nu'u!	My bamboo blade!
Nave mai te tipi, a o'oti oe!	Bring the knife. Cut it up!
A kai e, na u nu'u!	Eat!
Tuku he'e, na u nu'u!	Pass it round!

X533 The Nani o Kae, a recreational chant, expresses the same general mode as the *ru'u*. Usually the *nani* were sung in honor of a young woman to whom the words of the chant indirectly referred. In this particular "*nani*" the poetical subject is obviously legendary. (See p. 22.) Note that the same intervals (minor third, major second, minor second) of the very regular *ru'u* (p. 32) appear here in more diversity of melodic and rhythmic idea. The three-quarter beat is prominent. The three-quarter step is used in the refrain. While not always marked as such, the refrain is usual in Marquesan singing.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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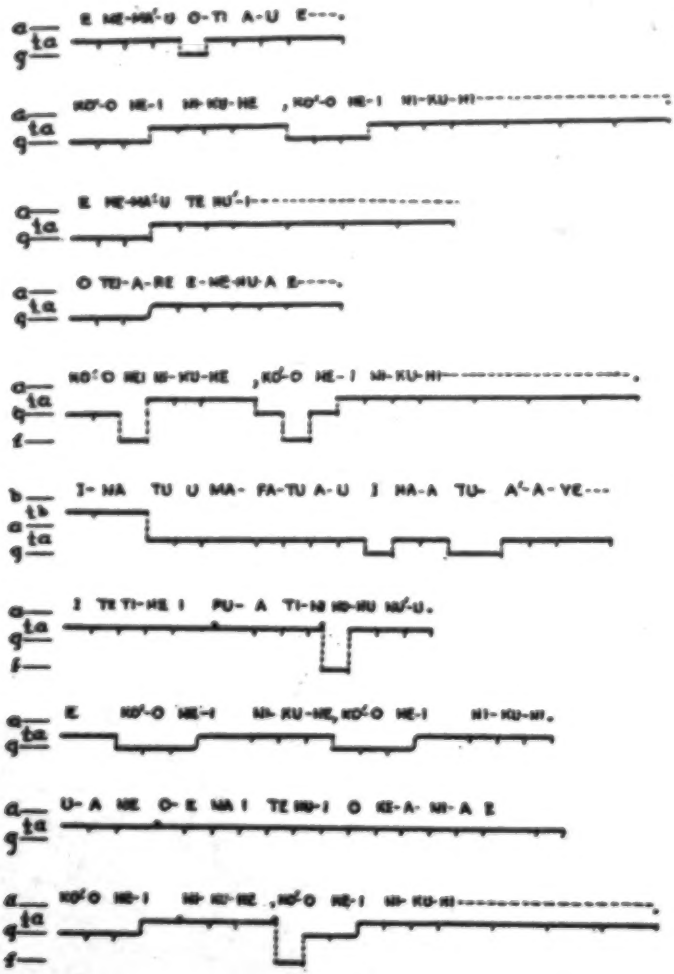
MELODIC FIGURE 3: TAPE'A

Tempo: 120 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat; ——· ¾ beat; —· ¼ beat.



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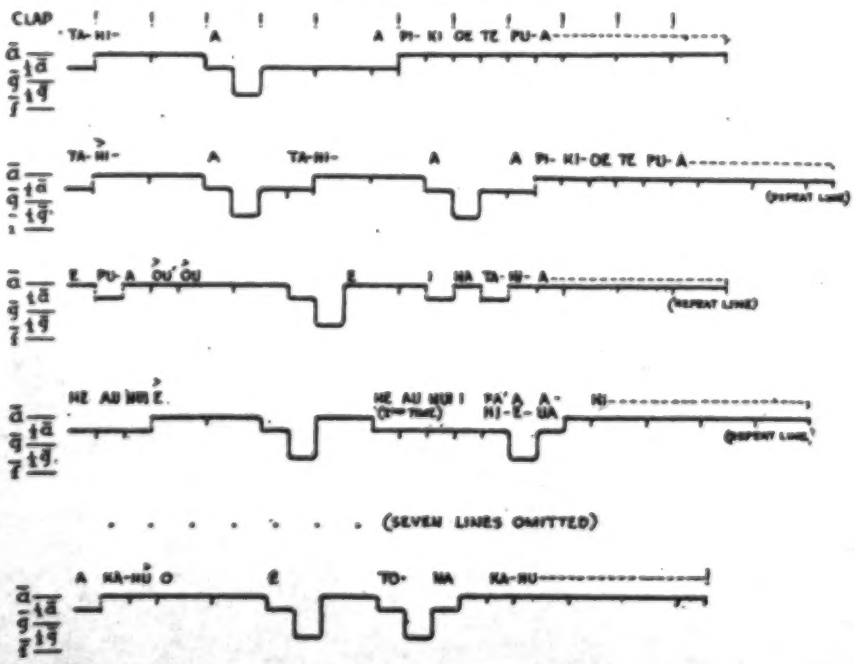
E mema'u oti au e.	Ardent is my love.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
E mema'u te hu'i	Strong is the desire
O teiare enehua e.	Of the wreath of sweet smelling fern.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
Ina tu'u mafatu au i haatua'ave	A madness is in my heart.
I te tihe i pua tini kohu nu'u.	To come to my flower, the child of the countless mists.
E ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
Ua ne oe na i te hu'i o Keania e.	You are the prize of the flower of Ke'i Ani.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.

X533 This *tape'a* is the most poetical and also the most intense of the recreational chants, and the melodic idea is the most simple. It followed the singing of the *nani*. Only the women sang, the men accompanying them with rousing vocal ejaculations and vigorous gestures, giving variety and erotic intensity to the limited tonal variation. The refrain, *"Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o Nikuhi"* in line 2, recurs in lines 5, 8, 10 in interesting melodic variation.

MELODIC FIGURE 4: PIPINE O TAHIA

Tempo: 72 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.



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Tahia, a piki oe te pua,	Oh Tahia, climb the pua tree,
Tahia, Tahia, a piki oe te pua.	Tahia, oh Tahia, up the flowering tree.
E pua ou'ou e i na tahia,	Pass a long pole to the girls,
E pua ou'ou e i na Tahia.	A flower picking pole for the young ladies.
He au nui e, he au niu i Fa'a Ani,	Here is a great leaf, the great leaf of Faa Ani,
He au nui e, he au nui i Hieua.	A great leaf to hold the flowers at Hieua.
Eo mai e, o mau-ou-a, a mai!	Calling one another, let's pick the flowers, come!
Eo mai e, o mau-pi'i, a mai!	Answering back and forth, we two climbing, oh come!
A pei e, a hehe'e, a mai!	Ready? Let's go. Come along!
A pei e, e hehe'e, a mai!	All ready. Come along!
A pau taua i te vai hohopu,	Come along for the bath in the stream,
A pau taua i te vai hohopu,	We two, for the fresh-water dip,
E vai hopu ana no Tahia.	A refreshing bath for Tahia.
A kahu oe to na kahu!	Put on your dresses!

This charming lyric was chanted in honor of Tahia, the daughter of Peteraro, by young girls who had been trained by the *tuhuna*. The first line was sung by a woman leader, then the rest of the song flowed on through the girls' voices in the same graceful manner, a truly feminine expression of the Marquesan maiden, for whom the song was composed. The singers sat in rows, bodies swaying in rhythmic movement, while clapping with flat palms (*papaki*), and with hollow hands (*pu*). This chant seems the most artistic bit recorded. The beauty of the design is self-evident. A decided feeling of grace and balance is expressed through the symmetrical recurrence of the slurred motif. Two other variations of this melodic figure occur in the *pope* (melodic fig. 5) and in the *nato* (melodic fig. 9).

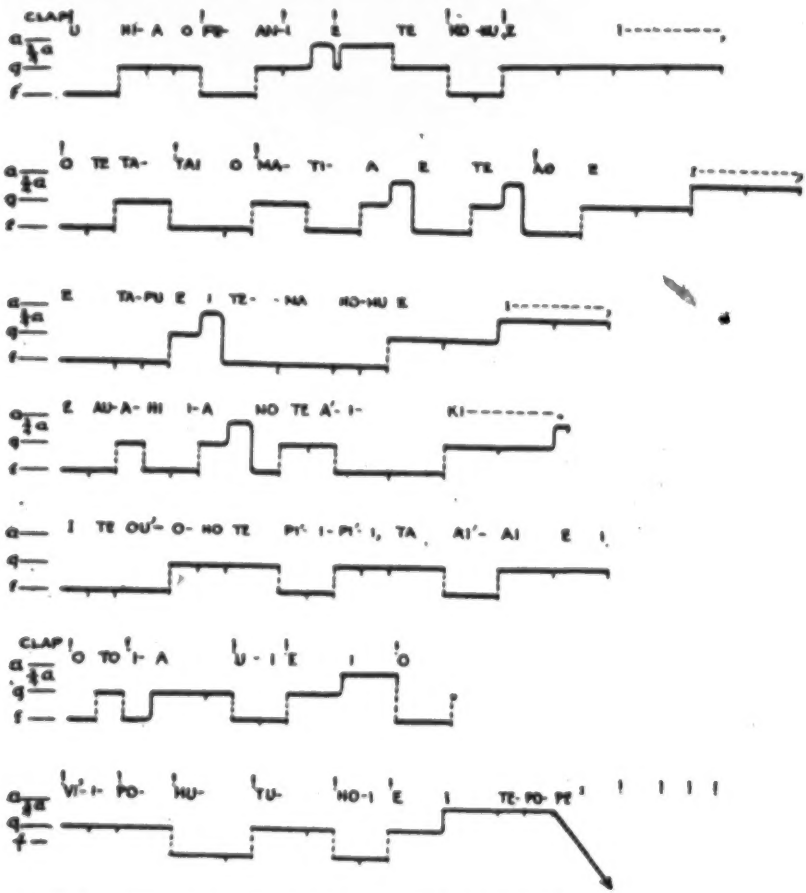
533X

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533

MELODIC FIGURE 5: POPE NO TUVAI

Tempo: 125 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.



[1] Song in trailing voice with diminishing tone on exhalation of breath.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Uhia o Feani e te kohu e i,	A covering of mist shrouds mount Feani,[1] 533X
O te tatai o Matia e te ao e i,	The cloud is a waist cloth for Matia, 539
E tapu e i tena kohu e i,	Sacred is the cloud,
E auahi ia no te a'iki.	A wreath of smoke for the chief.
Uhia o Teheia te kohu e i,	A covering of mist shrouds Teheia,
O te tatai o A'o Tona e te ao u,	The cloud is the waist cloth of A'o Tona,
E tapu e i tena kohu e i,	Sacred is the cloud,
E auahi ia no te a'iki e i,	A wreath of smoke for the chief,
E auahi ei no te pe'ea e' i.	A wreath of smoke for the handsome youth.
I te ou'oho te pi'ipi'i, ta ai'ai e i,	Here, with her hair handsomely done up,
O to ia ui e i, o Vi'ipohutu hoi e i, te pope!	Is his mother, Viipohutu—it is her song!

The beauty of the poetical thought in the Pope of Tuvai, sung in honor of the first born son, has a strong appeal. The ascending melodic trend of each line seems an appropriate expression for the cloud wreath of the young chief. 533X

Grace, balance and strength expressed in steady, rhythmic impulse appear throughout the design of this well-defined melody. The drop of the voice at the close, a feature also of the *putu* (melodic fig. 6), and the *pehi* (melodic fig. 7), is characteristic of singing in other parts of Polynesia.

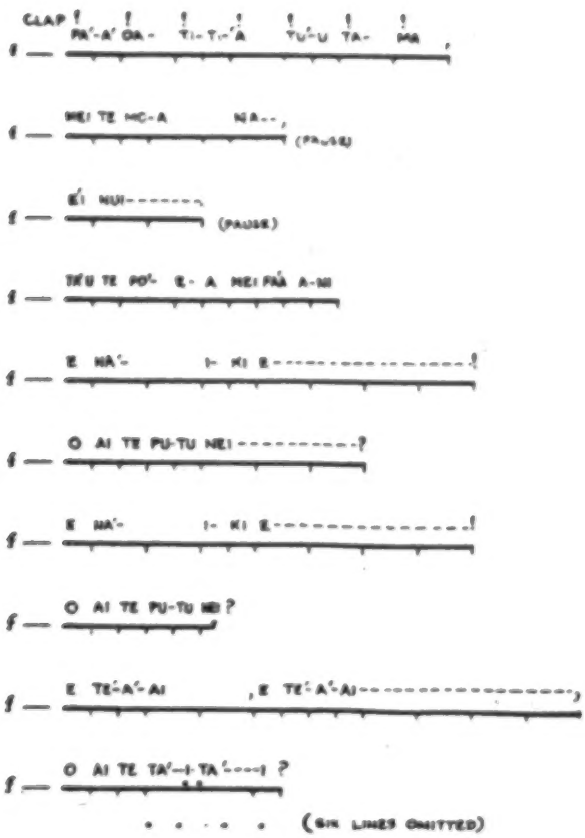
[1] Mt. Feani, now called Temetiu, the highest peak on Hivaoa, rises above the valley of Atuona on the west side. In the early morning it is often seen with a filmy cloud, like "a wreath of smoke" clinging to the upper stretches of its precipitous rock walls.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533

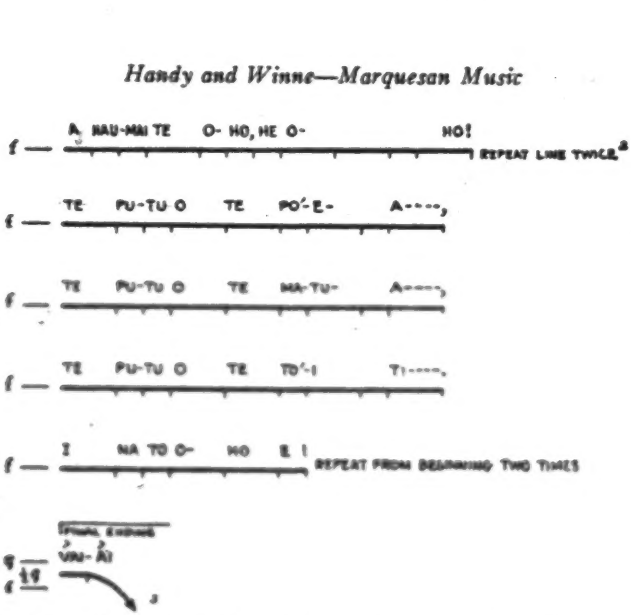
MELODIC FIGURE 6: PUTU NO PA KE'E-KE'E

Tempo: 120 beats a minute. ——┐ 1 beat; —┐ ½ beat; —· ¼ beat.



2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

533X



[1] First time sung by the old men in deep bass; second time, by the middle aged men in medium voice; third time, by the young men in higher voice.
[2] Sung in trailing voice with diminishing tone on exhalation of breath.

533X
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Pa'a'oa-titi'a tu'u tama,	Clapping-stone-porpoise is my child,
Mei te moana,	From the sea,
E'i nui.	A great whale's-tooth is he.
Ta u te po'ea mei Fa'a Ani.	The handsome youths from Fa'a Ani[1] disembark.
E Na'iki e!	Oh you Na'iki![2]
O ai te putu nei?	Who are these *putu* singers?
E Te'a'ai, e Te'a'ai.	They are Te'aai.
O ai te ta'ita'i?	Who compose the accompanying suite?
O Puhe-putona te putu nei	This *putu* is Singing-conch-shell's.
O Puhe-putona te ta'ita'i	This suite is Singing-conch-shell's.
Ma una o na mou oho,	Upon the heads,
E mou oho no te motua,	The heads of the uncles,[4]
Motua o Kahu-ei-nui,	The uncle Whale's-tooth-robe,
Anoa Va'a-putona.	Or Conch-shell-canoe,
A haumai te oho, he oho!	Bow the head!
Te putu o te po'ea,	The song of the handsome youth,
Te putu o te matua,	The song of the fine fellow,
Te putu o te to'iti.	The song of the child.
I' na to oho e!	Onto the head, ah!
Avai ai.	Leave it just so!

This strong monotone chant sung by the men only, in honor of a young man, is naturally pronounced in masculine qualities. A marked diversity of rhythm is emphasized by vigorous clapping, *papaki* (p. 12), and *pitike* (p. 12)—and drumming. The men stood as they sang in a semi-circular

[1] The place near the shore where canoes were kept at Atuona.
[2] The Atuona tribe.
[3] A sub-tribe of the Naiki.
[4] Refers to the ceremonial carrying of a sacred child on the heads of uncles.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

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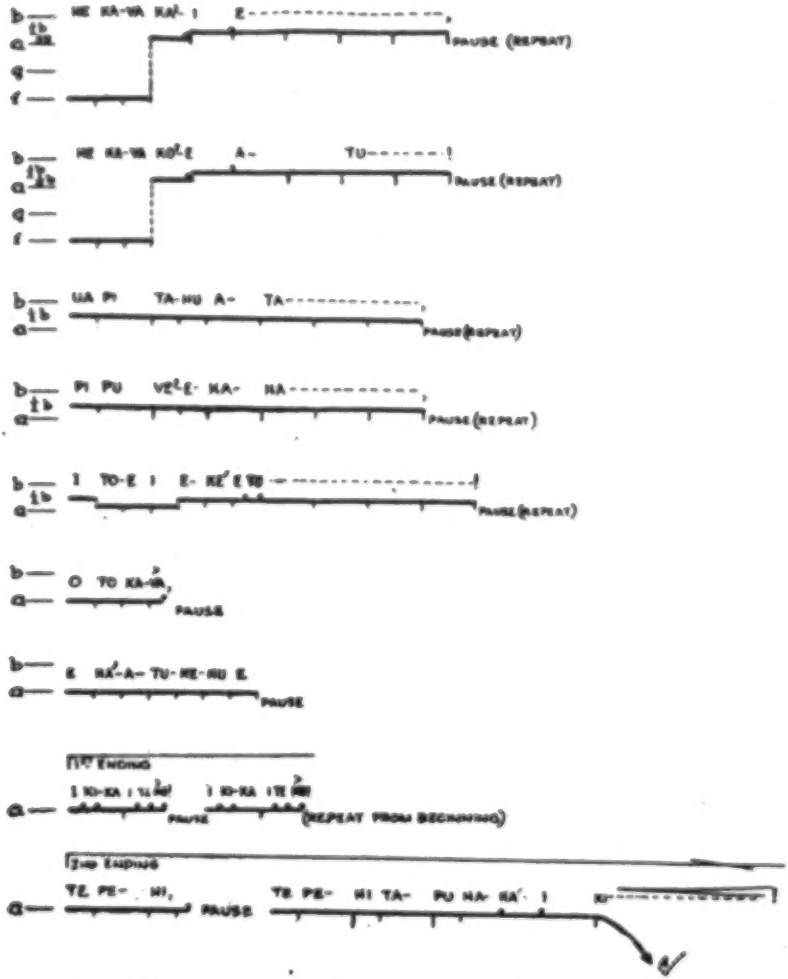
group, the old deep-voiced men in the center, the middle-aged, medium-voiced men next, and the young men of high voice on the outside. Imagine the climax refrain *"A haumai to oho, he oho"* (line 17) sung in turn by these three choirs!

The trailing voice occurs at the close as in the *pope* and the *pehi*.

MELODIC FIGURE 7: PEHI

Tempo: 120 beats a minute. —— 1 beat; — ½ beat; —· ¾ beat; —· ¼ beat.



* The syllable *hi* is sung in trailing voice, with audible expulsion of breath.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

He kava ka'i e,	The kava is cut.
He kava ko'e atu!	Kava without ends (unlimited)!
Ua pi Tahu Ata,	Tahu Ata[1] is full of it,
Pi pu Ve'ekaha,	Entirely full is Ve'ekaha,[2]
I toe i Eke'etu!	There is plenty more at Eke'etu![3]
O to kava,	It is your kava,
E Ha'atu, kehu e.	Oh Ha'atu, handsome fellow.
I kika i te mou!	The fowl is carved![4]
Te pehi tapu haka'iki!	It is the sacred *pehi* of the chief!

533X
539

The vigor of the *putu* continues and increases in the rousing *pehi* or drinking song, really the refrain of the *putu*. The crier, standing in the midst of the singers begins by chanting in monotone in very high voice, dropping gradually on the last syllable of his introductory phrase. The leader and singers then take up the chant without clapping or drums. Intensity of emotion is easily read in the diversity of irregular rhythms and vocal expressions, such as dramatic pauses and sharp releases. After the singing of the rousing *putu* the unusual inflection in the opening interval of the kava song is not surprising. Note that this interval is a major third augmented by a quarter step, other quarter steps occur throughout this song. (Compare *nani* p. 35, and *pope*, p. 40.) 533X

[1] The island, Tahuata.

[2] The name of a kava plantation in the valley of Motopu, on Tahuata.

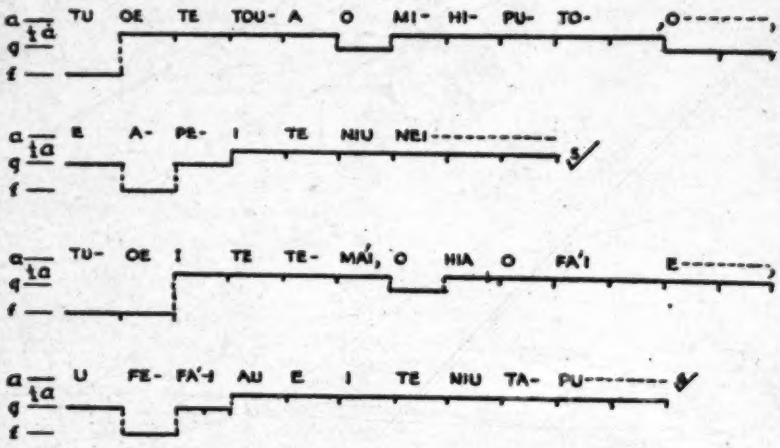
[3] The name of a feast-place at Atuona, Hivaoa.

[4] When kava was drunk, a bit of flesh of some kind, slightly singed in the flames of a fire, was eaten immediately after the draught was taken. According to the natives, this was essential to experiencing the full narcotic effect.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

MELODIC FIGURE 8: UHAKI

X533 **Tempo: 192 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.**



[a] As slow trill, *i* is sung with increasing rapidity as long as the breath lasts.
[b] As slow trill, *u* is sung with increasing rapidity as long as the breath lasts.

VERSE

[539]

Tu oe te toua o Mihi-putona, o,	Wage the war of Mihi-putona,
E apei te niu nei.	Prepare the sling-shot.—
Tu oe i te tema'i, o hia o fa'i, e,	Make war,.....(?).....,,
U fefa'i au e i te niu tapu.....	I fight with the sacred sling-stone.....
Etc.	*Etc.*

This *uhaki,* a religious chant, is a mourning song for a dead warrior. (See melodic figure 8.) Intoned by both men and women, and accompanied by small drums, it is characterized by the wail typical of singing in other parts of Polynesia. The final vowel in lines 2 and 4 is prolonged in a sort of slow trill in constant acceleration, producing a rapid recurrence of shake or break in the voice.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

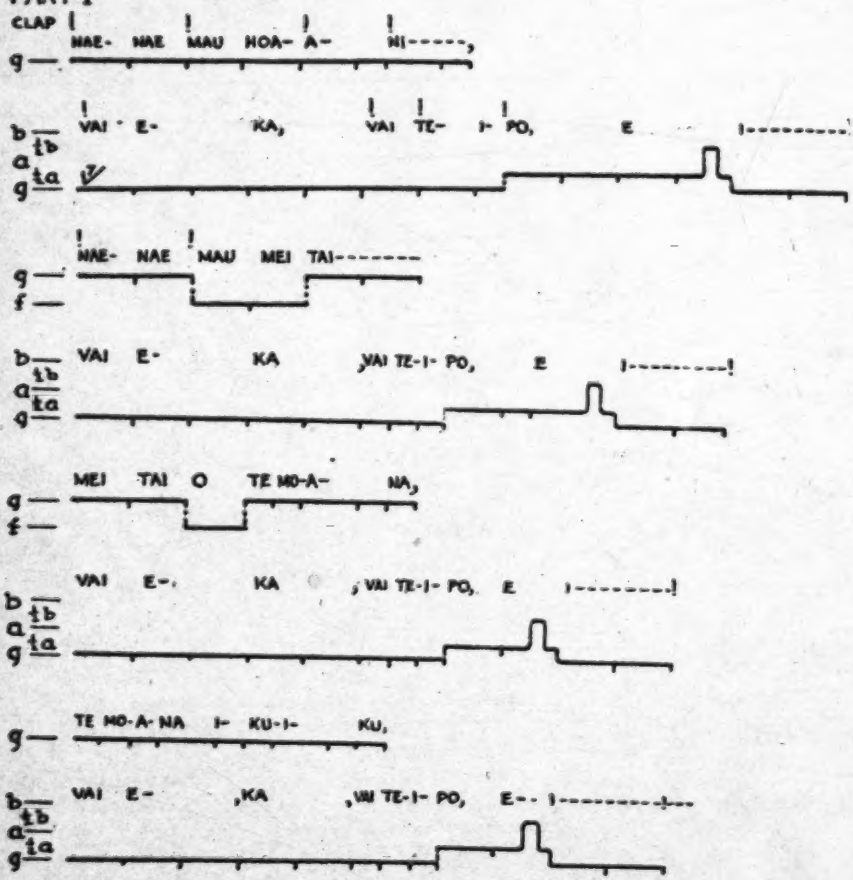
MELODIC FIGURE 9: NATO O HOA-ANI

533X

Tempo: Parts I and II, 108 beats a minute; Part III, 162 beats a minute;
Part IV, 144 beats a minute: ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.

Part II is repeated nine times, changing each time in line four the number of the slab. Part IV is cried in a loud voice; some singers clap regularly on every beat; others, on alternate beats.

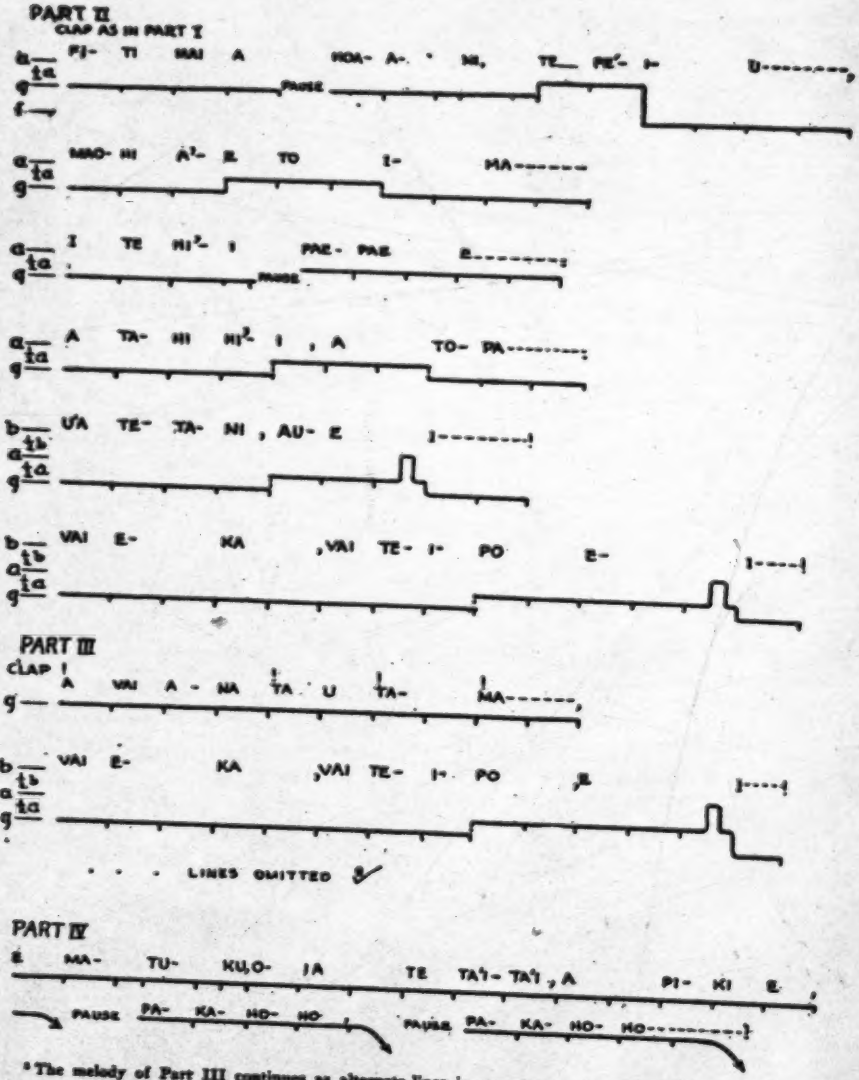
PART I



[1] The interval g to ½ a varies from a quarter step to a half step.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533



[a] The melody of Part III continues as alternate lines in monotone and refrain.

PART I

Naenae mau Hoa-ani,
  Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!
Naenae mau mei tai,
  Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!
Mei tai o te moana,
  Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!
Te moana ikuiku,
  Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!

All out of breath, Hoa-ani,
  Easy, [sing] easy!
Out of breath, from the sea,
  Easy, [sing] easy!
Out of the water of the ocean,
  Easy, [sing] easy!
The sun-reflecting ocean,
  Easy, [sing] easy!

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The verse continues with varied description of the sea until Part II is reached. 533X 539

PART II

Fiti mai a Hoa-ani, te pe'iu,	Came up this way Hoa-ani, the chiefess,
Maohi a'e to ima	Seized with her hand
I te hi'i paepae e.	The slabs on the platform.
A tahi hi'i, a topa.	At the first slab she fell.
U'a te tani, aue i!	She uttered an angry cry, *aue!*
Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!	Easy, [sing] easy!

This verse is repeated in the same form nine times, the only change being that the number of the slab is changed each time, running from one to ten. The chant then goes on to Part III.

PART III

A vai ana ta u tama,	Leaving my child,
Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!	Easy [sing] easy!
Te tama he'e a enata.	The child who walks like a man.
Vai eka, *etc.*	

The verse goes on at some length with obscure reference to some traditional events.

PART IV

E Matuku, o ia te ta'ita'i, a piki e,	Oh Matuku, here is the saltiness when you climb up,
Pakahoho, pakahoho!	Dead the color, dull! (?)

These words sung in a very high voice, were inserted whenever the singers wanted to stop for a rest. The translation of the lines is uncertain, and, obviously the meaning is obscure. It is probably a proverbial saying, which seems not to be clearly understood even by the natives. 533X

In general the *nato* were tapu chants. Although the words of this Nato of Hoa-ani do not seem of a religious nature, this was the type of intonation composed by the *tuhuna* for great sacred festivals. It was sung only by the old men and accompanied by clapping and drumming. In its four distinct parts it is the most elaborate of the chants recorded, revealing many elements of structural merit. The poetical idea is similar in Part I and Part III, the refrain in alternate lines, adding grace to the dignified monotone. Here is the third variation of the slurred motif. (Compare *pipine*, p. 38, and *pope*, p. 40.) The contraction of refrain phrase recurs in lines 4 and 6 in Part I. Part II bears an interesting folk element in its nine repetitions. Line 5 of this part contains an anticipation of the refrain motif in the following line. Part IV, in strong contrasting mood used as an interlude *ad libitum*, adds decided variety and dramatic feeling. Is it forcing the term to call this a primitive three-part form?

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533

MELODIC FIGURE 10: PU'E

Tempo: Part I, 70 beats a minute; Part II, 128 beats a minute.
—, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.

PART I

CLAP TUI- A Ō- A TE TO' O E.
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE PAUSE PAUSE

AU-E- A E TE TO'-O O TE FE NU - A--------.
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE

TU-I- A Ō- A TE TO'-O E----------,
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE PAUSE PAUSE.

AU-E- A E , TE A- KA O TE FE-NU - A------.
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE PAUSE.

PART II

CLAP TU-I- A TE FA-TU, NA-NA-NA-NA, TU-HU O TE FE--HUA E----------.
B
A ±B
G. ±A
PAUSE

CLAP Ō TE UI O A-TEA "O -HE U '-I E ----------,
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE

PE-HEA TE TO'-O TE FE NU - A--------?"
B
A ±B
G ±A

PE'AU O HE U' I "E- NA E I A'-O,
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE PAUSE

FE-HUA HE A- HU TA-KE AI- NA HEA O HU-KU,
B
A ±B
G ±A
PAUSE PAUSE

FE-HUA HE HE KE I- HO E----------AI- NA HE HE- KE A'E----------"
B
A ±B
G ±A

PART III —REPETITION OF PART I

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

PART I

Tuia oa te to'o e,
  Auea e, te to'o o te fenua.
Tuia oa te to'o e,
  Auea e, e aka to te fenua.
Etc.

They were mated, long ago, the root-stocks, 533X 539
  Ah! The root-stocks of the land.
They were mated, long ago, the root-stocks,
  Ah! The roots of the land.
Etc.

PART II

Tuia te fatu—nananana!
Tumu o te fenua e.
O te ui Atea, "One U'i e,
Pehea te to'o te fenua?"
Pe'au One U'i, "Ena e i a'o,
Fenua me ahi take
Aina mea o Nuku
Fenua me neke iho, e,
Fenua me neke a'e."

Mated, the founder—quickly, quickly!
The source of the land.
Atea[1] asks, "Oh, One U'i,[2]
How was it, the growth of the land?"
One U'i replied, "There, far below,
Is a land with a fiery bottom,
The country of Nuku,
With land spreading this way,
And land spreading that."

The *pu'e* was the religious chant most frequently used and very tapu. 533X It was intoned by the tribal priest or by a group of old men in very deep bass. The chorus was accompanied by a number of big drums, small drums and clapping. It presents another musical idea in three d: :t parts. (Compare the *nato*, p. 47.) The third part is a repetition of the first in slow impressive movement. The middle part, in contrasting mood, is chanted in rapid recitative. This chant, by nature of its fundamental purpose and expression of creation is the most impressive of all the chants. The melodic idea is majestic in its simplicity. The strength of the major second pervades the movement. Impressive pauses and sustained tones at the ends of the phrases, give a feeling of unlimited power and expansiveness. Such chanting, combined with the dynamic effects of the drumming and clapping, produced an intentionally powerful spell.

[1] A god, whose name may be translated "Widespread-whiteness."
[2] A goddess, whose name may be translated "Dark Sand," or "Red Earth."

2: Handy & Winne OX6 Marquesas OX6
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[For information on Marquesan music and samples thereof, see category 116, pp. 5-51.]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MARQUESAN LEGENDS

BY

E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

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[Title Page]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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ISAAC PUBETETE, CALLED HAAPUANI OF ATUONA, HIVAOA, STANDING BESIDE THE GREAT STONE FIGURE OF TAKAII, AT PUAMAU.

[frontispiece]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Frontispiece—Isaac Puhetete

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3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Marquesan Legends

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The legends included in this collection were, with a few minor exceptions, collected in the Marquesas Islands in 1920 and 1921, in the course of the investigations of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. 114

The collecting of the bulk of the contents of this compilation gave many hours of interest and pleasure as I recorded the legends given in text sitting on the verandah of the house that was our base of operations at Atuona, while my learned friend and co-worker, Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuani, recited legends of the ancients with the peculiar vigor and enthusiasm typical of older Marquesans whenever they roll under their tongues the sacred lore of their ancestors which will soon be wholly forgotten. Even now, no living Marquesan has more than a fragmentary knowledge of their lore. When asked how it came about that Haapuani was so much better versed in Marquesan lore than any other whom I had met in the islands, his friends described to me how, when he was a boy, he used to be seen sitting in the midst of a group of older men gathered to talk of the exploits of heroes such as Kae and Tana-oa, taking in with eager ears and quick mind words which, treasured in his memory, were one day to enable him, with the aid of an interested friend from the big island named America, to preserve from oblivion at least a part of the wealth of lore with which the minds of all educated Marquesans were stored in the old times. Haapuani himself told me that he had acquired some of his knowledge when he was a school boy at Puamau, Hivaoa; but that later much had come to him from his wife's father who was a very learned man. 115

I was very fortunate in coming early into association with this native scholar—probably the most learned man in all the islands at the time—in the valley now called Atuona, on Hivaoa, where he was born and where his ancestors and those of his wife have lived from time immemorial. The ancient name of this region was Vevau; and Vevau [1] was recognized, by Marquesans throughout the islands, as the great center of lore in the *fenua enata*. Hence I was doubly fortunate in being led by circumstance to the man and the place best suited to give me the authentic lore I sought.

[1] See Handy, E. S. C., The Native Culture in the Marquesas: Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r, k, v,* or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tion of words and their relationship to those of other Polynesian tongues /26 quite clear to students. In the dictionary the glottal stop is indicated by an accent printed over the vowel following. (See Dordillon, pp. 5-6).

The native pronunciation of proper names has been followed as the basis of orthography throughout, in translations as well as in texts. The more important localities and tribes may be identified by reference to the maps published in Bulletin 9.[1]

In rendering the Marquesan into English I have sought to give literal translation and to preserve the native idiom as well as possible, without making the English grotesque, rather than to give a smooth English version. The tales are essentially Marquesan in character—rugged and rough. If there are any that deserve rendering into polished English, such transformed versions should appear elsewhere than in a volume that seeks to preserve the lore in its unvarnished integrity.

Like most people living in a state of nature, the Marquesans have no more sense of impropriety in describing incidents relating to sex life and the like than they have in talking about eating and drinking or any other physical habits common to all mankind. In some stories, grotesque incidents of this nature appear as embroidery of the main theme. In others they constitute main themes. Throughout the legends the sex motif is more dominant than any other. I trust no reader will be led by this to judge the ancient Marquesans to have been immoral or degraded. They are not to be judged by our standards. The Marquesans of old were doubtless as strict in their obedience to tapus and proprieties affecting sex relationships as they were to other tapus: and the respect for tapus prevailing among Polynesians in the days of their folk automony certainly exceeded that of Europeans and Americans of the present day for either law or morality. In my judgment the sex interest shown in their folk lore demonstrates the Marquesans to have been essentially healthy in mind—there is none of the morbid dwelling on erotic detail characteristic of the folk lore of certain other races more effetely civilized. 831

Only an understanding of the Marquesan nature in its setting can give a true basis for judgment. They were probably the most robust and exuberant of all the Polynesians, and lived in complete isolation in tropical islands of unsurpassed beauty. There was no venereal disease among them. Their philosophy of sex was that of sons and daughters of nature whose environment permitted a remarkable amount of freedom in the indulgence of an appetite which one cause or another—environment, congestion of population, religious teaching—has forced most peoples in the world to repress to a greater degree. The whole story of the Marquesans' philosophy of sex lies in the word which they most commonly employ when speaking of intercourse, namely *keu*, which means sport, or play.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

000 In judging of the people on the basis of these legends, both with regard to morality and also barbarism, I beg of readers to remember two things: that folk lore depends for its interest upon exaggeration; and that very little absolutely uncensored and unvarnished lore has up to this time been published from any Polynesian islands.

126 Incidents and episodes in the legends that are too frank for literal translation and publication in English have not been translated; but, in the interests of science—for some contain items of ethnological interest—they are presented in Marquesan which any serious student can translate with the aid of a dictionary.

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THE MARQUESAN LANGUAGE

The language spoken by the Marquesas Islanders is one of the group of related tongues spoken throughout the Polynesian islands, generally called Polynesian. Within the small area of their isolated home, these islanders differentiated their speech into several dialects having distinctive phonetic and tonal traits and variations in vocabulary; but, in comparison with the divergence of Marquesan from other Polynesian languages, these local variations are of minor importance. Marquesan differs from other Polynesian languages so much that the latter are only vaguely comprehensible to an intelligent Marquesan. But, as it is in each of the other main groups of islands in Polynesia, the Marquesan's language, like his culture, was unified throughout the group, so that the speech of a man of any island in the group was plainly understood by one from any other. It is obvious to the student travelling in the islands that local differences are but divergencies from a common original. There is little reason to believe that local variations have resulted from influences or accretions coming from outside the islands. 197

The notes which follow are based on a careful, though not very extensive, study of the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. The grammar and syntax of the language is sufficiently well outlined in the dictionary of Dordillon. For this reason little attention was paid to these subjects other than that required for personal use of the language. No sooner had I reached the islands, however, than I realized that the orthography adopted by Dordillon was totally inadequate for indicating the phonetics of the dialect. In conjunction with the other investigations a short but careful study of the phonetics and vocalization was therefore made in the following way: A list of words covering all the possible combinations of consonants and vowels in the local dialect was made, and various informants in different sections of the group were tested out with these words. The summary of the results of this study as given in the following pages has been published in this collection in the hope that it may contain information directly contributory to the study of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the islanders. 126

Phonetics

The ten consonants (*f, g, h, k, m, n, p, r, t,* and *v*) and the five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*) used by Dordillon are by no means sufficient to cover the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. Dordillon speaks of some variations in the vowel sounds, but there are more and greater variations than he indicates. 194

The following list shows the consonant and vowel variation in the northern and southern sections—called by Dordillon northwestern and southeastern sections of the group (compare Dordillon, pp. 86-89).

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Northern	*becomes*	*Southern*
e	sometimes	*e*
i	in one word	*e*
u	in some words	*o*
h		*f*
h		*n*
h		'
m	in some words	*n*
m	in some words	*p*
n	in some words	*t*
p	in some words	*t*
t	in some words	*n*
v	in some words	'
'	in some words	*t* or *k*

In the consonant changes the most common are the replacement of *h, n, t, k* of the northern dialect respectively by *f, n, t* and the catch or glottal stop (') in the southern islands.

Of the consonant sounds the *f* of the southern section and its variant *h* of the northern offer no difficulty. Another sound—common to both sections—for which Dordillon uses *h*, needs more analysis. (See p. ___.) The letters *f, h, k, m, p, t,* and *v* are simply pronounced as in English. The *r* has been for the most part dropped, an *n* being sometimes substituted. Such *r*'s as are retained are pronounced simply as in English by some natives, but by others they are given a roll on the end of the tongue, sometimes slight, sometimes greatly exaggerated. The roll is especially marked when there are several *r*'s in a word. For example in the word, *pĕrĕre* (stretched), the *r*'s are always rolled; the word *párara* (shattered) sounds like *párrrrra*.

A most interesting variation of consonant sound is that in which *n, ng,* and *k* replace each other in different sections of the island group. For example, the words *iuna* (upon), *mako* (shark), and *puaina* (ear) are pronounced as here spelled, in Hivaoa, Tahuata, and Fatuhiva. On the eastern half of Nukuhiva, including the valleys along the coast from Taipi Vai to Hatiheu—the valleys comprising the eastern of the two divisions of the island that were continually opposed in war—these words are pronounced *iunga, mango, puainga,* and the same consonant sound of *ng* appears in all words of this class. (The *ng* is hard, at the base of the nose, and should perhaps be spelt *ngk*). These three words, on the western half of Nukuhiva and on Uapou, are pronounced *iuka, mako,* and *puaika*. The *ngk* used in a region which is geographically midway between the eastern and western extremes of the island group forms a link between the *n* and the *k*. Uahuka seems to belong to the *n* group, though it is difficult to be certain as there has been much immigration into this island from Nukuhiva, Uapou, and Hivaoa.

In a study of the words in which *h* is common throughout the whole

group, complications arise. In combination with different vowels there is a variation from a simple *h* sound to a distinct German *ch*, through *sch* to *s*, with a *w* sound often included. In the following examples, capitals indicate that the sounds represented by these letters are subdued, though distinct. The variant *h* sounds are never given quite the full force that they have in English or in German. 194

Dordillon spelling	Phonetic spelling
ĩka (ejaculation)	ICHYá'
ĩkea (where?)	iCHyē'ya, iSCHē'ya
ĩki (a kind of nut)	ĩhí, iCHI, iSCHí
ĩko (descend)	iCHYó', ihyó
ĩku (nose)	iCHYú, ĩhyú
nokea (whence?)	nohē'ya, noCHē'ya, nochē'ya
puka (thigh)	púCHa, púha
puko (shrine)	pucho
o ai ka'i (who knows?)	o waI sHŏ'i, o waI sŏ'i
? (expression of disgust)	TSCHIAĒ
? (expression of exasperation)	asche
nuke (dog)	nū'chwĕ, nū'CHWĕ
ahia (when)	oCHwhī'ya
tiohi (to see)	tióCHWi
tike (arrive)	tihye

It is obvious that the sound content of Marquesan is richer than is indicated by the redaction of the language by its earliest students, who, being missionaries, were interested rather in simplifying writing than in accurate phonetic records.

Other examples of these *s, ch, w,* and *y* sounds that seem to grow out of the *h* could be given, but this will suffice. The examples given above show that there is an *hy* sound between *i* and *o*, and *i* and *u*; an *s* or *sh* sound between *o* and *i*; an *sch* sound between *i* and *e*, and *i* and *i*; a *ch* sound between *i* and *i*, *o* and *e*, *u* and *a*; a *chw* sound between *u* and *e*; a *chy* sound between *i* and *a*, *i* and *e*, *i* and *o*. In many other combinations with vowels *h* has a simple *h* sound: *tahá, tahē', áhi, aho, ahu, eha'á, ehē''ĕ, ĕhi, ehū'eva, poha, nōhō, pohú'ĕ, púhi', púhuhu.*

The sounds of consonants and of vowels used singly are shown in Table 1. In this table capitals are used for sounds which are distinct, though not full in force; the accent (') is used to mark the syllable bearing the main stress in words of more than one syllable; prolonged sounding of a letter is indicated by a macron (as ā); the apostrophe (') indicates a glottal catch between vowels, marking the place of a consonant that has been dropped, or, at the end of a word, a vowel sound cut short with a catch of the breath. Dordillon's accents are very confusing as they sometimes indicate a stress and sometimes a catch between the vowel marked with an accent and the preceding vowel.

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TABLE 1.—SOUNDS OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

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Dordillon orthography	Orthography adopted here	Sounds represented	Examples	Dordillon spelling
f	*f*	as *f* in English *for*	*fanáU* (to give birth)	*fanau*
h	*h*	*h*; *hy*; *ch* as in German *ach*; *CH*; *CHy*; *CHY*; *sch*; *SCH*; *sH*; *s*; *chw*; *CHW*	(See discussion above)	
k	*k*	as *k* in English *keep*	*kĕtĕ* (basket)	*kete*
m	*m*	as *m* in English *man*	*mél* (breadfruit)	*mei*
n	*n*	as *n* in English *nest*	*no* (of)	*no*
p	*p*	as *p* in English *path*	*po* (night)	*po*
r	*r*	as *r* in English *rat* or with a slight to exaggerated roll, *rrrr*	*rĕ'rĕ* (to flee)	*rere*
t	*t*	as *t* in English *tan*	*te* (the)	*te*
v	*v*	as *v* in English *vat*	*vähi* (place)	*vahi*
ng	*ngk*	as *ngk* sound at the base of the nose	*mángko* (shark)	*mako*
a	*a*	as *a* in English *father*	*mána* (branch)	*mana*
	a	like the above, but sustained	*mä'na* (power)	*mana*
e	*e*	as *ay* in English *play*	*te* (the)	*te*
	ĕ	as *e* in English *yet*	*vĕhíyĕ* (firewood)	*vehie*
i	*i*	as *i* in English *pique*	*pi* (full)	*pi*
o	*o*	as *ow* in English *flow*	*po* (night)	*po*
	ŏ	as *ou* in English *taut*	*ňŏhŏ* (to sit)	*noho*
u	*u*	as *oo* in English *too*	*tu* (erect)	*tu*

Table 1 is sufficient to indicate the vowel sounds in this dialect of the Polynesian language; further discussion seems unnecessary. Sound modifications resulting in juxtaposition of vowels, need, however, some exposition. These are illustrated in Table 2. Vowels separated by a glottal stop (') are not to be regarded as in juxtaposition since the stop, replacing a consonant, makes the vowels as distinct as though the consonant were retained.

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TABLE 2. SOUNDS OF VOWELS IN JUXTAPOSITION

Vowels in juxtaposition.	When the stress falls on:	The combined sound is	As in the word:	Dordillon orthography 194
a e	*a*	*áE*	*váEváE* (leg)	*vaevae*
a e	*e*	*aé*	*paémo* (to interrupt)	*paemo*
a i	*a*	*ál*	*hálhál* (food)	*haihai*
a i	*i*	*aï*	*faínu* (potion)	*fainu*
a o	*a*	*áO*	*háOháO* (side)	*haohao*
a o	*o*	*aó*	*taóte* (doctor)	*taote*
a u	*a*	*áU*	*háUháU* (to bathe)	*haohau*
a u	*u*	*aú*	*maúna* (on top of)	*mauna*
e a	*e*	*éya*	*mahéya* (which way?)	*mahea*
e a	*a*	*eYá*	*eYáha* (what?)	*e aha*
e i	*e*	*éI*	*héI* (necklace)	*hei*
e i	*i*	*ei*	*teína* (younger brother)	*teina*
e o	*e*	*éyo*	*néyo* (mad)	*neo*
e o	*o*	*eYó*	*neYóhe* (spine)	*neohe*
e u	*e*	*éyu*	*héyu* (play)	*heu*
e u	*u*	*eYú*	*neYúwĕ* (move)	*neue*
i a	*i*	*iya*	*ïyāya* (to him)	*iaia*
i a	*a*	*iYá*	*hiYápo* (banyan)	*hiapo*
i e	*i*	*iye*	*vĕhiyĕ* (firewood)	*vehie*
i e	*e*	*iYé*	*piYéI* (dried)	*piei*
i o	*i*	*iyo*	*íyo* (to the house of)	*io*
i o	*o*	*iYó*	*iYóto* (inside)	*i óto*
i u	*i*	*iyu*	*tíyu* (north wind)	*tiu*
i u	*u*	*iYú*	*iYúna* (upon)	*i úna*
o a	*o*	*ówa*	*kówa kówa* (content)	*koakoa*
o a	*a*	*oWá*	*koWána* (to be able)	*koana*
o e	*o*	*ówe*	*tówĕ tówĕ* (crab)	*toetoe*
o e	*e*	*owé*	*howéhi* (a food)	*hoehi*
o i	*o*	*óWi,*	*hóWi* (fast)	*hoi*
ō i	*ō*	*ōI*	*popōI* (a food)	*popoi*
o i	*i*	*owi*	*owï'ya* (here is)	*ō ia*
o u	*o*	*óU*	*hóU* (new)	*hou*
o u	*u*	*oú*	*toúfa* (forty)	*toufa*
u a	*u*	*úwa*	*túwa* (back)	*tua*
u a	*a*	*uwá*	*uwá uwá*—almost *wá wá* (pulse)	*uaua*
u e	*u*	*uwé*	*nĕúwĕ* (move)	*nueue*
u e	*e*	*Uwé*	*Uwĕ Uwĕ*—almost *wĕ wĕ* (to weep)	*ueue*
u i	*u*	*úwi*	*húwi* (mother)	*hui*
u i	*i*	*uwí*	*tuwíya* (fiance)	*tuia*
u o	*u*	*úWo*	*múWo* (knee)	*muo*
u o	*o*	*uwó*	*óUwóho* (hair)	*ouoho*

In summary, it may be pointed out that *a* stressed tends to absorb a following *e, i, o,* or *u,* and that *e* stressed tends to absorb a following *i.*

The absorbed vowel is pronounced farther forward in the mouth, relatively to the second vowel. A *y* occurs in *éya, éyo, éyu, íya, íye, íyo, íyu*: in other words, when *e* (preceding any vowel except *i*) bears the stress; and when *i* (preceding all other vowels) bears the stress. A *Y* occurs in *eYá,*

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194 *eYó, eYú, iYá, iYé, iYó, iYú*: in other words, when any other vowel except *i* follows *e* and bears the stress; or when any other vowel follows *i* and bears the stress. A *w* occurs in *ówu, ówe, owí, úwa, uwó, úwe, Uwé, úwi, uwí, uwó*: in other words, with *o* bearing stress before *a* and *e*, and with *o* before *i* when the latter is stressed; and with *u* stressed or unstressed with all other vowels. *ŏ* stressed, followed by *i* forms *ŏy*. A *W* occurs in *oWó, oWé, óWi, úWo*.

To sum up: When *a* is stressed, it forms a near-dipthong with all other vowels by predominating and making of the second vowel a mere shading of sound; *e* stressed does the same thing with *i*. *E* stressed with all vowels except *i*, and *i* stressed with all vowels except another *i* modify the following vowel with a distinct *y* sound. When the second vowel is stressed, its modification by the preceding *e* is much less noticeable, as indicated by the *Y*. *O* and *u* stressed and unstressed, which modify the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* with a *w* or *W* sound; and *u* similarly modifies a following *o*. In this inclusion of a *w* sound, however, the extent of modification does not seem to follow in the orderly fashion of the *e*'s and *i*'s the stressing of the first or second vowel.

LEGEND OF MAHUIKE RECORDED PHONETICALLY

539 773 The short legend of Mahuike was recited at Atuona, Hivaoa, by Haapuani, who was born in that valley. It was recorded phonetically, exactly as heard, using the conventions described above. A free translation of this legend and the phonetic record are as follows:

Fire in the Marquesas originally came from Mahuike. It is said that formerly there was no fire here, Mahuike having it all. Maui was the great-grandson of Mahuike. In those times the people became disgusted with eating things raw. A rumor spread among them that the food that Mahuike ate in his country was very fine in comparison with what was eaten raw here. How different it was with the chief Mahuike! There was a wise man (*tuhuna*) here who bethought him of the native stories that were told of the delicious food that Mahuike enjoyed. The wise man conceived an idea. The story had it that Mahuike's food was particularly good. Some one asked in what way it was better. "We have breadfruit, banana, breadfruit-paste just like what they have." "This is the difference," said the wise man, "Mahuike's food is prepared with fire." Then the people said to Maui, "What a fine thing it would be if you would go to your great-grandfather Mahuike and get fire for us." Maui was told what to say:

O Mahuike!
Give me some fire. (Chanted).

When Maui approached his great-grandfather with these words, the old man asked, "Who told you Mahuike had fire?" "Why," said Maui. "A report came to us that your food was good, and not indigestible like ours, because you had fire". Mahuike said, "Give me your fire-lighter so that I may give you some fire". "Here it is," said Maui, and unwrapped it from the tail of his loin cloth. Mahuike ignited it from the sole of his foot and gave it back to Maui, saying, "There is some fire for you, my great-grandson". Maui set off along the road. He rubbed the end of the fire-lighter on the ground and put out the fire, then returned to Mahuike, approaching him with the same words as before. The old man demanded, "What put out your fire?" Maui

told him that as he was passing along the road he had looked at the fire-lighter and found that the fire was out. So Mahuike gave Maui fire from his knee. (The same episode is repeated, Maui departing, putting out the fire, and returning. When he received fire from Mahuike's chest, he was told that there was no more). After Maui had put out the fire that had been given by Mahuike from his chest, he returned. Mahuike was asleep but his gods warned him that his head was in danger. Maui demanded fire from his great-grandfather's head. Mahuike refused, saying that the head was tapu. Maui threatened the old man, but he still refused. There were hot words, then they came together in a clinch. Back and forth they struggled, striving with might and main to overthrow each other, until at last Mahuike exclaimed, "Your strength is like that of a madman, my grandson!" They came together again and again; they fought and fought. Maui's gods said to him, "Do not give in, lest you fail to get the fire." Then Mahuike's strength suddenly gave way, and his head struck upon a rock with such force that the fire flew in all directions from it, entering all the trees and all the rocks. When Maui returned to his people, they demanded, "Where is the fire?" "It is scattered all over the land," replied Maui, and then explained to them how they could get it from the wood of trees by rubbing two pieces together. He demonstrated it to them, bringing the spark from the fire-sticks by long rubbing, and putting the spark in dry tinder—"then did grow the flame of the fire." 539 773

mahUwī'kē

(Note: Accented syllables are pronounced with a slight rising inflexion.)

na mahUwīkē te tímu o te ðhi i te fēnāwa enāta.
From Mahuike the origin of the fire in the land native.

u pe'a'U hō'i te pō'i kaH'yu, ā'ō'ī he(y)ðhi mamā'wa ðtu,
Did say indeed the people anciently not the fire before away,

o mahUwīkē. oCHī'ya i pe'ðU te nðI ha'akehðI,
of Mahuike. When did say the here legend,

o maðwi he pē'ha no mahUwīkē, he tíma na te mo'upúna o
is Maui the great-grandson of Mahuiki, the child of the grandchild of

mahUwīkē. oW'hī'ya i húwa móU po Uwa kē' húwa mata-
Mahuike. When in those some days was disgusted those peo-

ðīnāwa i te kāIī'na i te meYa tī'e. Uwa pa te' óno
ple with the eating at the things raw. Did hear the rumor

iyo húwa mataðInana, a hī'yē'nē tī a kāI iyo mahUwī'kē,
among these people was good the there food at Mahuike,

he kāI nā'ī nā'ī óko, nā te mēYa i kāI tī'ē'ya ta tatóU
the food nice very. Because of the thing did eat raw that of us

nðI, no ðI'a i pāYðU ta tatóU nðI. ā'iya ouī'ya e meYa
here, because of that is bad of us here. It is this it is that is thing

he tī'tahi iyo húwa hakā'ihi, o mahUwī'kē. iyo húwa pō'i
different another at this chief, is Mahuike. Among the people

titāhi enāta tuhúna. na vāvo ī'ya no tī a tāU pona tīhāU
another man wise. Did think he of the that [sign of plural] words

o te mataðInana i pe'ðU nðI no te kāI nā'ī nā'ī iyo
of the people did speak here of the food nice at

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mahUwikĕ. a táhi a fáki húwa tuhŭ'na, e meYa tówitŏ'wi,
Mahuike. Of once (then) did think this wise man, is thing true,

i nŏ'ĕ nŏ'ĕ ál ta iya kál, é na mĕ te ópaU. u pe'óU
was nice thus of him food, is there with the taste. Did say

húwa mataélnana me húwa tuhuna, e(Y)ŭ'ha tĕ nél apóU i
these people with this wise man, "Is what the here taste was

nŏ'ĕ nŏ'ĕ ál ta atoU kál. o húwa meYa anélCHo' te kál.
nice thus of their good? Is this thing certainly the food.

he mél ta tatóU atĭ'i ta atóU; e mel'ka ta tatóU atĭ'i
the bread-fruit of us like of them; is banana of us like

ta átoU; he má ta tatóU atĭ'i ta atóU. i pĕhéYa
of them; the bread-fruit paste of us like of them. Was this

tiya ta tatóU, i pĕheYa tiya ta atóU. u pe'óU húwa
way of us, was that way of them." Did say this

tuhúna, o ta mahUwĭ'ke i túnu tiYa mĕ te póE óhi, no él'Ya
wise man, "Is of Mahuike to cooked having with the prepare fire, because of that

uwa vĭ'a te mél, uwa vĭ'a te má. ma él'a iya kál i
was cooked the bread-fruit, was cooked the bread-fruit paste. Because of that when eat at

húwa tóU kál i túnu fiya mĕ te póE(Y)óhi. a táhi atóU
these foods were cooked with the prepared fire." Then they

a pe'óU iya maúwi, meYa nŏ'ĕ nŏ'ĕ amól ŭ'wĕ i titóhi meYa
did say to Maui, "Thing nice. Come you to another thing

óhi na tatóU iya to pĕtĭ'o, o mahUwikĕ. iya tihĕ óWĕ
fire for us at your great-grandfather's, is Mahuike. When arrive you

iya mahuwikĕ, a pe'óU ówĕ [chanted],
at Mahuike, say you,

mahuwĭ'.....ikĕ'.....ĭ'ĭ'.....ikĕ! i háno mál yóU i te ó.....ahi.
'Mahuike! Give to me the fire.'"

a táhi a pe'óU mahuwikĕ, i óno ówĕ i yól i te óhi a
Then did say Mahuike, "Did hear you of whom of the fire of

mahuwikĕ nél? i óno pu anélCho(W)aU na te méYa
Mahuike here?" "Did hear only certainly I because of the thing

uwa tŭhYĕ te óno iyo matóU, a hĭ'iyŭ'nĕ o te kál iyo
was arrived the report to us, was good of the food at

mahuwikĕ. ŭ'ŏ'ĕ e húkaha ma óto o te kópu. i vivo ai(y)óU
Mahuike. Not is go wrong by in of the stomach. Did think there I

óna mĕ te óhi iyo óWĕ i nŏ'ĕ nŏ'ĕ ál ta otóU (W)ŭ'a.
there with the fire at you was nice thus of you victuals."

a tahi a pe'óU mahUwĭ'kĕ, óna me tó oWĕ nánu
Then did say Mahuike, "There with of you fire-lighter

meYa tŭ'u ótu i titóhi meYa óhi na óWĕ, e tú ú pĕ'ka.
thing give away to another thing fire for you, oh of me great-grandson."

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a táhi a vévP'tĕ maúwi i te nánu mál óto o toWT'ya ft'i ft'i
Then did open Maui to the fire-lighter from in of his tail

hámi. Uwa tú'u i te íma o mahuwíkĕ. Uwa tó'o mahuwíkĕ i
loincloth. Did give to the hand of Mahuike. Did take Mahuike to

húwa nánu a te pĕ'ka. Uwa tú'u i una o te tápu vóE, u
this fire-lighter of the great-grandson. Did put to on of the sole foot, did

ho'ána te áhi i (Y)una o te nánu a te pĕka. Uwa tu'u
get the fire to on of the lighter of the great-grandson. Did give

mahuwíkĕ i te ĭ'ima o maúwi. u pe'óU, éna te áhi, e
Mahuike to the hands of Maui. Did say, "There is the fire, oh

tu u pĕ'ka. U táha maúwi i te a' aúiwi. u piyówi i una
of me great-grandson." Did go Maui to the road. Did rub to on

he épo, úwa kĭ'a te áhi. Uwa húwa maúwi iyo mahUwíkĕ. Uwa
the ground, did put out the fire. Did come Maui to Mahuike. Did

ite mahuwíkĕ iya maúwi, u pe'óU, élya owĕ uwa hā'wa?
see Mahuike to Maui, did say, "Here you have come back?"

mahuwi__ikĕ' __i'i__ikĕ! i hano mál yóU i te á__ahi.
"Mahuike! Give to me the fire."

[Repeated.] *U pe'aU mahuwíkĕ, eyóha te kĭ'a o ta ówĕ áhi*
Did say Mahuike, "Is what the extinguish of your fire

i tú'u atu nál óU. u pe'óU maúwi, tu u táha tina
to give away here I." Did say Maui, "Of me having gone

i te á'maúwi, u ti'óhi óU i te nánu uwa kĭ'a te áhi mál
to the road, did look I to the lighter was out the fire from

úna. Uwa tó'o mahUwíkĕ i te nánu, uwa tú'u i úna o te
on." Did take Mahuike to the lighter, did put to on of the

wá'a. Uwa á'a te áhi i úna o húwa nánu a mahuwíkĕ.
knee. Did light the fire to on of this lighter of Mahuike.

Uwa tó'o maúwi i te nánu áhi mĕ te táha. me húwa meYa
Did take Maui to the lighter fire and the go. And this thing

u tinál i te nánu i nó h(W)e épo. Uwa kĭ'a te nánu.
did extinguish to the lighter to of the ground. Did put out the lighter.

Uwa húwa hakaúwa maúwi iyo mahUwíkĕ. Uwa ite mahuwíkĕ,
Did come again Maui to Mahuike. Did see Mahuike.

eiya hakaúwa maúwi, ó'ó'ĕ he éyo o mahUwíkĕ i pe'óU mál.
here again Maui, not the voice of Mahuike did say here.

te tuta tina o maúwi i páta o te fó'ĭ. u vevĕ'o hakaúwa
The seared having of Maui did stand in front of the house. Did call again

maúwi. [As above.] *Uwa tú'u mahUwíkĕ i te áhi mál te*
Maui. Did give Mahuike to the fire from the

úna á'ma. u pe'óU i te pu'ka, Uwa ówu te áhi, e ti u pĕ'ka.
chest. Did say to the great-grandson, "Was finished the fire, oh of me great-grandson.

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á'ó'ř átu he áhi i tówě. a táha! Uwa táha maúwi mě te
Not away the fire enough. Go!" Did go Maui with the

hě'ta. Uwa vívo maúwi, e táhi áhi i tówě átu, o te áhi
laugh. Did think Maui, one fire more, is the fire

i te óho o mahUwikě. i te a'anúwi u tinál i hívva i no
at the head of Mahuike. On the road did extinguish to this to on

he épo. te ki'a ří'na o ta iya nánu u húwa hakaúwa
the dirt. The put-out having been of his lighter did come again

iya mahUwikě. a háno átu e ana, u pa'aníya i te hiyomŏ'we
to Mahuike. Was searching, was fallen asleep to the sleep

mahUwikě. [Maui calls as above.] *a tahi a káhuwa te tóu*
Mahuike. Then did begin to chant the

atúwa o mahUwikě.
gods of Mahuike.

o te ahi mél heya?
Is the fire from where?

o te ahi mél te óho.
Is the fire from the head.

o te oho o mahUwikě.
Is the head of Mahuike.

e ahi tapu te iya
Is fire sacred the that

o te upoko o mahUwikě
Is the head of Mahuike.

i ha towě i.
— — —— –

te ono tima o mahUwikě u kahúwa hakaúwa maúwi i te
The heard having of Mahuike did to sing begin again Maui to the

áhi mél úna o toWiya óho. Uwa mahUwikě me te pě'kě, mě
fire from on of his head. Did rise Mahuike with the anger, with

te há'a há'a, me te věvě'i. u pe'áU mahUwikě, eYaha to
the rage, with the choler. Did say Mahuike, "Is what of

owě hiya, e tú u pě'ka? u tu'u atú na e yáU n'áhi páOtu
you want, oh of me great-grandson? Did give away there to be me the fire all

o te áhi. Chéya ta owě e imi nél e tu u pě'ka? o te
of the fire. Where of you is seek here, oh of me great-grandson? Is the

áhi i tówě nél o tú u póko te iya, á'ó'ř
fire remaining here of me head that, not

e ĭ'o iya ŏ'wě tu u áhi. iya hina ŏ'we. á'ó'é
is come to you of me fire. Then fall you. Not,

e ĭ'o tu u ahi, a tahi a jějál mahUwikě me maúwi. u mál
is come of me fire." Then did combat Mahuike with Maui. Did come

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fĕfáI, u máI, u máI fĕfáI: a táhi a hína mahUwikĕ
combat, did come combat, did come combat. Then did fall Mahuike

i a'o. u pe'áU mahUwikĕ, tútu tĕ i'i, e tu u pĕ'ka.
to down. Did say Mahuike," Mad your strength oh of me great-grandson."

Uwa tú'u maúwi. u ha'a tópa mahUwikĕ i to Wiya
Did take Maui. Did cause to fall Mahuike to his

áO. Uwa tópa te áO o mahUwikĕ. u fĕfáI hakaúwa aúwa. me húwa
face. Did fall the face of Mahuike. Did combat again these two. With this

hána, u máI fĕfáI fĕfáI. a táhi a pĕ'áU te táU atúwa iya
work, did come fight fight. Then did say the gods to

maúwi, umó'i owĕ e tú'u ówa te ko'ána te áhi iya ówĕ.
Maui, "Do not you give up lest the get the fire to you."

a táhi a ha'a páO te i'i o mahUikĕ. Uwa tá i te upóko
Then did cause end to the strength of Mahuike. Did strike on the head

o mahUwikĕ i úna o te kĕ'a. u hi'i tavava te úpoko o
of Mahuike to on of the rock. Did break-to-pieces the head of

mahUwikĕ. a táhi a hiki te áhi méI oto máI o húwa úpoko
Mahuike. Then did go up the fire from in here of this head

o mahUwike. uwa i'é titahi áhi i oto o te táU akáU,
of Mahuike. Did go another fire to in of the trees,

uwa i'é titáhi i óto o te kĕ'a. PáOtu te táU áhi a
did go another to in of the rocks. All the fires of

mahUwikĕ i te tavava ma te táU fenú'wa. a táhi a
Mahuike to the breaking among the lands. Then did

pe'áU te atúwa iya maúwi, kĕYu óko ówĕ i tíhĕ néI
say the gods to Maui, "Play strong you to arrive here

i te áhi imi a mahUwikĕ. a táhi a húwa maúwi iyo to(w)iya
to the fire seek of Mahuike." Then did come Maui to his

huwé'a. u pĕ'áU huwa tuhú'na, I'cheya to ówĕ áhi? éna te
relatives. Did say this wise man, "Where your fire?" "There the

táU (W)áhi a mahUwikĕ u tavava ma na fenúwa páOtu.
fires of Mahuike did break over the lands all."

a táhi a pe'aU maúwi i toWiya huwé'a, a tó'o te
Then did say Maui to his relatives, "Take the

akáU, a fĕfáti ma vavéna, a ha'a mówĕ te hópĕ owa i úna
wood, break in the middle, lay flat the half long to on

o te épo. o te hópĕ póto no te i'ima. a áhi titáhi akáU
of the ground. Is the half short for the hands. Rub one wood

ma úna o titahi. u pe'áU te táU huw'a'a, a táhi a
on of the other." Did say the relatives, "Then

pĕhi'ya? pe'áU maúwi, a táhi a ko'éna te áhi. o te oIWa
how?" Said Maui, "Then get the fire." Of the long-

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539 *tína o te áki, a táhi a ko'óna tá tátóU páE áhi. Uwa*
713 ness of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

áki húwa pó'i. te owa tína o te áki uwa ú'a te áhi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te kóU náti. u mahá'o húwa mataéInana o mou'ui.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Maui.

u pe'áU huwa tuhúna, owíya néI te ápáU i ná'ē ná'ē
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

áI te ó'a o mahUwíkē. a táhi a ha'a péI péI átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te áhi i úna o húwa kóU náti; uwa tú'u mē te kelkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

mó'o, a táhi a kē'i te ú'a o te áhi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with *"ka'ó-o-o-oha, nú-u-uwi-y-é-e-e-e-e (ka'oha nui e)"* with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

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gaged in the most amicable discussion, about the state of the weather, per- 195
haps, but carried on with a vigor that suggests they may come to blows at any moment.

Trick Languages

Some examples were obtained of very interesting trick languages used 198
for amusement and for concealment of meanings. One of these is known on Nukuhiva as *uhi tua*. The term *uhi tua* is derived from a sub-group of the once powerful tribe inhabiting Haa Paa valley, who originated this method of talking. It is said that it was taught to two women by a bird, called by the natives *komako*, that sings very prettily in the tree tops, and that groups of men, women, and children used to gather at times to amuse themselves by talking the *uhi tua*. It was understood only by the inhabitants of Haa Paa valley. Fortunately examples of it have been obtained from a man living in Taiohae, who is said to be the last survivor of this once very powerful tribe. It will be seen that the principle of the language is simple—namely, the transposition of the syllables of words, with the occasional insertion of vowels to make the flow of speech rhythmic. A few examples will suffice. *Pehea oe* (Where are you going?) is in the *uhi tua* language, *hepea oe*. *Te nei kenana* (this man) is *te eni nekaka; tenei ehua* (this year) is *te eni nehua; Pakahio* (old woman) is *kapaiho; poiti* (child) is *hopiti; pahoe* (maid) is *hapoe; ka'oha* (greeting) is *hakoa; mea meitai* (good!) is *e ema hemiati; mea hauhau* (bad) is *me ahuahu*. *Te nei enana no Haa Paa* (this man from Haa Paa) is *te eni ne kaka no Piu Aha; e tuki tenei vehine te popoi* (this woman is pounding *popoi*) is *e kuti te eni hevine te hohopi*.

There is another trick language which is talked at the present time in Taiohae, but it is said to be quite old. It seems probable that the basis of this is an attempt to imitate the sound of Tahitian. It is called *e'o hu'i* (language turned over, or upside down). *Pehea oe?* (Where are you going?) is *Peheiherea ooioroe*. *E he'e au i apai* (I am going for a walk) is *E tai taraha ovai varau apaiparai*. *Mea nui te ua* (It is a rainy day) is *Menui murui teui urua*. *Ka'oha oe* (Greeting to you) is *kaoioroha ooioroe*. *Ihea tu'u pae?* (Where is my hat?) is *Iheiherea tu'u paeparae*. *Ua hemo au i te mate* (I am ill) is *Ua heiheremoovaivarau i te maimarate*. *Ena to au kahu hou* (That is my new dress) is *Enainara touaivarau kaikarahu hoihorou*. *Aki me'ie i te a nei* (It is clear to-day) is *Aiaraki meiirie teaneinerei*.

A few words of another trick language of this same kind that used to be talked in Puamau were learned. There, *Apuhi taua i te pake* (Let's have a smoke) was *Vara taua tuvata*. *Kaoha* (greeting) was *karohati*. *Ehoa* (friend!) was *e hopore*.

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MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

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THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS,

1595 TO 1606.

Translated and Edited

BY

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CHAPTER IV.

The Island of Magdalena.

|3| HAVING made sail, the fleet shaped a S.W. course, displaying the royal standard and the flags, playing clarions, and feasting on such an auspicious day as this was considered to be. The winds were from the S. and S.S.E., which are the winds of Peru, until we reached a latitude of 9° 30′, and from that point the course was W.S.W. as far as 14°. From thence the course was W.N.W. to 21°. The sun was taken at noon, and having made the computation, the result was 10° 50′. At 5 in the afternoon, an island was sighted 10 leagues distant, being N.W. by N.[1] The Adelantado gave it the name of Magdalena, as it was the eve of that day. He thought it was the land that he sought, for which reason he was very joyful in every one's sight, in that he had come in a short time with a fair wind, the victuals good, and the people amicable, healthy, and cheerful. During the voyage there had been fifteen marriages, scarcely a day passing without some one wanting to be married next day. It seemed as if all would run in couples with the good fortune,

[1] Magdalena is in 10° 25′ S. and 138° 28′ W.

[pp. viii – xlvii, 1-14 not processed]

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000 with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

501 On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a [481] canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost 142 white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and 291 healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, 304 without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long 302 and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

142 Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

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two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his 142
countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing 648
their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived [262]
they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, [415]
good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head [142]
and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.
[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

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648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

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jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts. 648

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery. 131 133

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

At a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast. 131

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

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131 ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

648 While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible [147] from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

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child in his arms. Clasped together, they were sent to the bottom by a shot from an arquebus that one of the soldiers fired off. He said afterwards, with great sorrow, that the Devil had to take those who were ordained to be taken. The Chief Pilot said to him that he regretted that he had not fired in the air, but the soldier said that he acted as he did lest he should lose his reputation as a good marksman. The Chief Pilot asked him what it would serve him to enter into hell with the fame of being a good shot? The Camp Master returned without having found either a port or a watering place. 648

At the same time four very daring natives had gone on board the ship, and while no one was looking, one of them took a small dog, which was the gift of the Camp Master. Then, with a shout they all jumped overboard with great courage, and swam to their canoes.

The next day, which was St. James's day, the General again sent the Camp Master, with twenty soldiers, to the island of Santa Cristina to find a watering place and a port. He effected a landing with the men in good order, and surrounded a village while the inhabitants stood looking on. The Camp Master called to them, and about three hundred came. Our people then drew a line, telling the natives by signs that they were not to go beyond it. On asking for water they brought some in cocoa nuts, and the women brought other kinds of fruit. The soldiers said that many of these women were very pretty, and that they were ready to come near in friendly intercourse, and to give their presents with their hands. The Camp Master sent the natives for water with the jars, but they made signs that our people should carry them; running off with four jars, for which reason we opened fire on them.

The General, having seen the port into which the Camp Master had gone, ordered the ship to be taken into it and anchored. But the wind died away under the land, and

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the ship was taken by a wave to within a lance's length of a rock, with 50 fathoms close to it. There was great consternation at the obvious danger. Sail was made, and God was served that a breeze should spring up, and the ship stood off. Then there came another report that the port was bad, full of sunken rocks, and that it was impossible to get out again if a ship had once entered. The Adelantado was much annoyed to hear the complaints of the hard work, and was moved to continue the voyage, saying that the water they had on board would be sufficient for the voyage to his islands. The Chief Pilot reminded him of the uncertainties of the sea, to which he answered: "If we cannot find a port, what are we to do?" The Chief Pilot replied that we must return to Magdalena, which we had already seen, and where the frigate had anchored, and that for a little more work it was needful to secure more necessaries. Meanwhile, the Camp Master had been coasting along the island; and very near the port that had been entered he found another, which he reported, and there the fleet anchored.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Adelantado landed on the island of Santa Cristina, and what took place with the natives.

On the day after the arrival, which was the 28th of July, the Adelantado went on shore, with his wife and the greater part of the crew, to hear the first mass said by the Vicar. The natives knelt down in silence and attention, imitating all they saw the Christians do. A very beautiful native sat near Doña Isabel, with such red hair that Doña Isabel wished to cut off a few locks; but seeing that the native did not like it she desisted, not wishing to make her angry.

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The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain. 648 [241]

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

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648 sought out and sat with, when they came; and by signs they asked each other the names of the sky, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and stars, and everything else within their vision. All were well content with what they said, calling each other friends and comrades. As this friendship was not without payment, there was a certain man who joyfully said to the General, that he had his dog well fed by the natives, by a forage he had made in the preceding night, when his company had the guard.

On another day eleven natives came in two canoes, and two of them stood up with some strings of cocoa nuts in their hands, and shouted while they showed them. Orders were given not to answer, and for the soldiers to be ready with their arquebuses. When the natives found that they were not answered, they came close to the ship, when a volley was fired. Two were killed. The soldiers shot three more, and throwing down what they had, the rest rowed away and fled. They were chased in a boat, but the natives got on shore and fled. Jumping on shore, only three were seen to run to the top of some high hills. Those in the boat took the canoes, with three dead bodies in them, for the rest had fallen into the sea. The cruelty of the Spaniards was such that there were not wanting those who said that the bullet wounds, so fierce and ugly, would frighten the other natives, and that the swords, making wide wounds, would have the same effect. In order that the natives might see, it was ordered that the bodies should be taken on shore, that the Camp Master might hang them up where they would be seen by the natives. It was said that this was done in order that the natives, if they came with false intent in their canoes, might know what the Spaniards could do. But it seemed to me that four armed ships had little to fear from unarmed natives in canoes. The Camp Master hung up the three natives in a place best adapted for the intended

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object. A certain person came to see them, who gave one of the bodies a lance-thrust, and praised what had been done. At night the natives took the bodies away. 648

An evil example gives rise to licence, and reason conquers him who knows it. A certain person had an arquebus in his hut, and a friend of his loaded it, and pointed it to fire at the natives. The other took it out of his hands, and asked him what he was going to do with so much diligence. He replied, that his diligence was to kill, because he liked to kill. "It is not right," replied his friend, "that you should show such readiness to cause the death of men. What harm have these natives done to you that you should treat them with such cruelty? It is not valorous to show yourself a lion amongst lambs, nor to kill when it takes your fancy. If you do not know what a foul and sinful thing it is to murder a body which contains a soul, it is high time that you learned, and though it has weight it is not profitable."

The native who was friendly to the Chaplain came to the guard, and being seen by the General they embarked very joyfully, the native crying out, "Friend! Friend!" The Adelantado received him very cordially, offering him conserves and wine, but he would neither eat nor drink. He began to look at the sheep, and seemed to give them a name; he gazed at the ship and the rigging, counted the masts and sails, went below and noted everything with care, more so than is usual with a native. They told him to say "Jesus Maria," and to make the sign of the cross, which he did with great amusement, showed good will in all things, and presently he asked for persons to take him back to the shore. Such was the intelligence of this native that when he understood that the ships would depart, he showed regret, and wanted to go with us.

The Adelantado wanted to colonise these four islands, to make his business with them, and to leave thirty men,

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648 some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

133 THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream 133
descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to 184
be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same [142]
form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they [197]
communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a 361
square, one north and south, the other east to west, with 621
the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with 342
very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, 142
because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts [291]
downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded 778
by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

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778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

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the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the papay.[1] 241

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen. [251]

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other. 648

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[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

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SECOND VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,

BY

HIS CHIEF PILOT, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

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ON Friday, the 9th of April, of the year 1595, the Commander-in-Chief, Alvaro de Mendaña, set sail with his fleet to go and subject and people the western islands of the South Sea, from the port of the Callao of Lima, which is in 12½° S. latitude; passing by the valleys of Santa, Truxillo and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita, where he took in water, and made a list of four hundred persons, more or less, with his four vessels, two large and two small. He left this port (which is 5° higher than the said port), steering W.S.W., making for the islands of his discovery: he took as Master of the Camp Pedro Merino Manrique, and as Admiral his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, and as Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; and he sailed on this course to the altitude of 9½°, from which point he sailed W. and to the point S.W. to 14°, where he changed his course to W. and the point N.W.; and having reached, by this course, fully 10° of latitude, on Friday, 21st of July,

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648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
[291 part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands,
304] and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

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island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 600 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

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VOYAGE

IN THE

SOUTH SEAS,

IN

THE YEARS 1812, 1813, AND 1814.

WITH

PARTICULAR DETAILS

OF THE

GALLIPAGOS AND WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

BY CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,
Of the American Frigate, The Essex.

WITH THREE ENGRAVINGS.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS & Co.
BRIDE-COURT, BRIDGE-STREET.

1823.

[*Price 3s. 6d. sewed, or 4s. in boards.*]

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CHAPTER XII.

Washington Islands.—Rooahooga.

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On the meridian of the 23rd October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S. W. Our latitude at this time was 9° 6′ south, and the longitude by chronometer 138° 27′ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Lord Hood, while a midshipman with Captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this Island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. On my prizes joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by Captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a Captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a Captain Marchand, in the French ship Solide, bound on a trading voyage to the N. W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and Lieutenant Hergest, probably

[pp. 1-74 not processed.]

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ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by Captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship Dædalus. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet Captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American Captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains Lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleurien, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography

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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group. 101 114

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded. 133

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of 609 [301] [301] [237]

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609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [622] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to [291] me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

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with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

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CHAPTER XIII.

Madison's Island.—Happah War.

At day-light next morning I bore up for the island of Noonheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W: not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the east side of the weather bay, called by Lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay.

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Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out towards us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. To correct my error as soon as possible, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States' navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with Lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship, Pennsylvania Packet; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which

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we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

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648 sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of
648 554 about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different
[30] from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was in-
648 formed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down.

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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

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MADISONVILLE IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY — ESSEX & HER PRIZES.

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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411]
length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276]
intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

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valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six-pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to them, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on

On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them; they declared that it stuck to the ground; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

As an additional security to our camp, I landed another six-pounder, and mounted also a long wall-piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement.

The Happahs were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten they would then be willing to make peace; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present; and

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648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

726 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

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set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity. 411

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes. 648 726

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

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About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

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drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them. 648 727

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. 648

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it* 192

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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

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648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

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penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

The hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootoa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

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829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou;* Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme;* Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka;* and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many ge- [773]
nerations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to [823]
mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they im- 167
pressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in [505]
search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Noonheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Noonheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

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167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 787 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava.*

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

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674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being im- 291 modest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahkee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

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ahuwahee. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white 291
piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan 648
of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends. 431 554 622

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them. 554 784

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics. 554 357

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected 000

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and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we had not destroyed a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is no respect inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

648 Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to enquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false: I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace.

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They denied positively having refused him a passage, and648
strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al-501
ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooa-422
hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

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501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each ha
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

501 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi

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lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed 501
in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enume- [526]
rated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys [857]
and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh 648
complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determineed to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

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648 bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taeeh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Taeehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre.

We soon came to the place for fording a river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. On emerging from

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the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of 648
short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them, I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort.

Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Happahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages,

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648 and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicion of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Happahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had in all appearance been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we

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equally divided our ammunition and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day. 648

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.—After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men

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648 were wounded and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M' Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley.

We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, oon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees, and all the young plants they could find.

648 712 We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprize, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly

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under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 648 712

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us. 648

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, dispatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come to terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief, accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these

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648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 Having now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship,
648 which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zea-
241 lander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

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In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of 776
religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the 532
valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, 771
that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods;

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771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or mórai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

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The men and women are both remarkably fond of
pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or
six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the
occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to
make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer
like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of
age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children
before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an
advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right
of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not
subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly
domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care
of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch
fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are
all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in
the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in,
such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the
ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole
attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed
barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men.
Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with
great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid
piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated
to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get
on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would
otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from
the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom
of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes
for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone
and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of
mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden
harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

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302 They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt [386] cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

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formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

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293 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, tos, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

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owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live. 829

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England. 186

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. 173

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months. 648

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648 The prizes, Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of Lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with Midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to Lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The Otaheitan I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboad undiscovered, and was seen no more. Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up; whether he hoped to reach the shore; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.*

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* He, however, reached the Island, after swimming and floating two nights and a day.

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A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN

THE YEARS 1803, 4, 5, & 6;

PERFORMED,

BY ORDER OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY

ALEXANDER THE FIRST, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,

IN

THE SHIP NEVA,

BY

UREY LISIANSKY,

CAPTAIN IN THE RUSSIAN NAVY,

AND

KNIGHT OF THE ORDERS OF ST. GEORGE AND ST. VLADIMER.

LONDON:

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1814.

[Title page]

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CHAPTER V.

PASSAGE FROM EASTER ISLAND TO WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

Departure of the Neva from Easter Island. State of the Winds. Make the Marquesas. Take a Survey of this Group. Visited by Canoes from the Island of Noocahiva, one of the Washington Islands. The two Ships meet. Anchor in the Bay of Teyahaia. Receive a Visit from the King of the Bay. Attempts of the Women to gain Admittance on Board. Traffic for Provisions. Further Visits of the King, with some of his Relations. Trick played us by His Majesty. Misunderstanding with the Inhabitants. Visit the King, with Captain Krusenstern. Palace. Burying-ground. A Grappling stolen from one of our Boats. The King dines on Board the Neva. The Neva visited by the Queen. Excursion to Jagoud Bay. Excellent Anchorage there. Prepare for Departure from Noocahiva. Further Account of the Religion, Government, and Customs of the Inhabitants.

We left Easter Island, as I have observed above, on the 26th of April, at six o'clock in the evening. We were not many miles from the shore, when a south-east wind began to blow. From its regular and temperate nature for a while, we thought we had reached the trade-winds, but we soon discovered our mistake; for it shifted the next day, and continued variable till the 30th, when a north-easter sprung up, and lasted till we reached the Marquesas. It seems that in this part of the world, the south-east trade does not stretch so far from the equator, as on the east side of America. 1804. April.

Nothing remarkable happened to us during this passage. It

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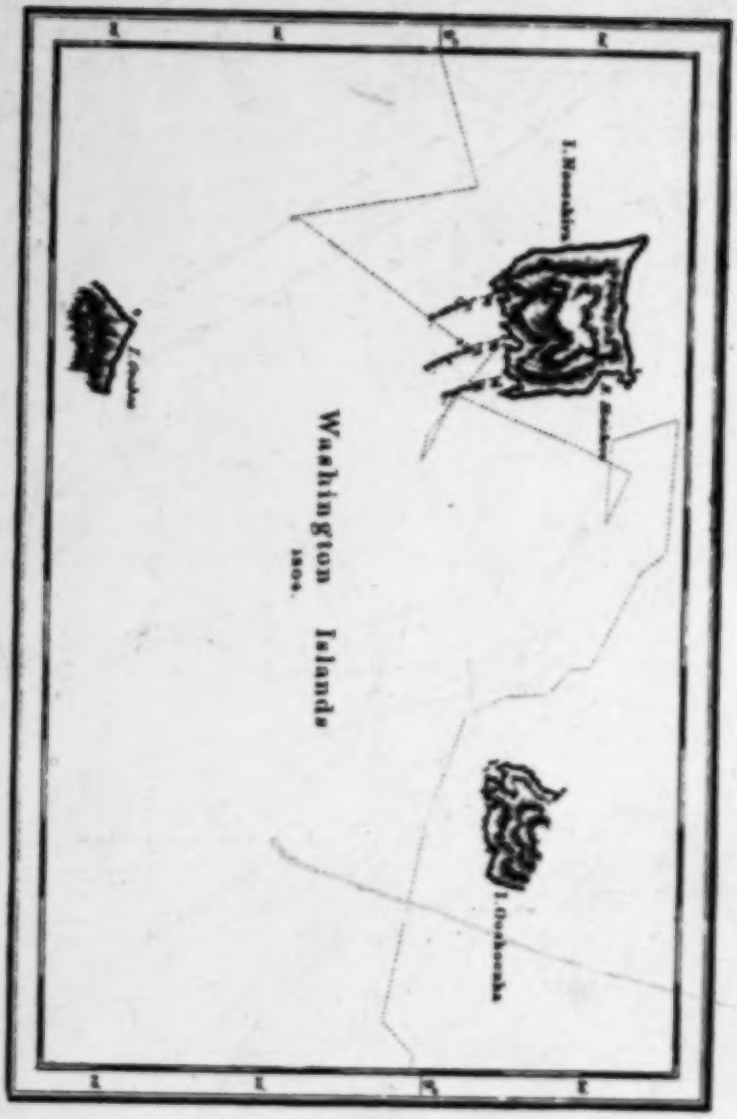

[facing p.61 (A)]

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[facing p.61 (B)]

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1804. April. was tranquil, and my people had an opportunity of rest from the fatigues they had undergone off Cape Horn. We were accompanied by the tropic birds and benitas; the last were sometimes caught with a hook and line, and furnished the crew with an agreeable fresh meal.

May. 6th. Concluding, by my observations, that, on the 6th of May, which was Easter Sunday, we were near the Marquesas, I ordered a dinner of fresh provisions for my ship's company, with half a bottle of Teneriffe wine to each man. This so elated them, that, towards evening, they sung and danced as merrily as if they had been among their relatives and friends in Russia. I mention this to show, that, though we had experienced many hardships since our departure from Europe, our spirits were not broken, and we knew, upon occasion, how to enjoy ourselves. Expecting that the Marquesas would be in sight the next morning, I thought proper, at sun-set, to bring-to for the night.

7th. As soon as it was day, the island of Fatoohiva (Magdalena) was seen to the westward, at the distance of thirty miles, resembling in appearance three hills. About thirteen miles to the eastward of this island, is a flat long rock, of which ships should be extremely wary, as it lies almost on a level with the surface of the water. On passing Fatoohiva, the island of Motane (St. Pedro) appeared first, and then, in succession, Towata (St. Christina), Hoivahova (La Dominica), and Fatoohoo (Hood's island). This last is the most remarkable of the cluster: its height is very considerable, and it looks like a stupendous solid rock. /31

At noon we found ourselves a-breast of the island of Motane,

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131 in latitude, by observation, 10° south. On some maps this island appears smaller than that of Fatoohoo, whereas it is double the size. 1804. May.

I steered to the eastward of this group of islands, to survey them more minutely, and draw a chart from the survey. They are all lofty and steep, except the Towata, which has a more level appearance than the rest. At seven o'clock we passed the island of Fatoohoo, and steered to the west, till we found ourselves between it and the island of Ouahoonha (Riou's), one of the Washington cluster, when I brought-to for the night.

133 In the morning of the 8th we neared the island of Ouahoonha: and I had intended to survey it all round; but the unsettled state of the weather prevented me, and I was obliged to bear for the island of Noocahiva (sir H. Martin's), another of the Washington cluster; which, when we were a-breast of the rocks, off the north-west point of Ouahoonha, was in sight. The island of Ouahoonha is also high and hilly: on the south-west side of it, we perceived many small bays, fit for landing boats; but there is only one that will admit ships, which is situated close to the south point, in latitude, by our observation, 8° 56′. It appears, however, to be considerably exposed to the southerly winds. This bay is remarkable for two small islands, one of which is high and rocky; the other level, and covered with grass. Though we passed the shore at the distance of about four miles, we were not so fortunate as to see a single human being come off to welcome us; which greatly surprised me, as lieutenant Graves says, in his journal, that the inhabitants came on board his ship very readily, and behaved with much civility. From this circum- 8th.

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1804. May. stance, I thought it not unlikely, that some navigators, passing this way before us, had treated them in an unfriendly manner, and made them afraid of showing themselves to vessels arriving off their shores; and, as the wind in the afternoon was in a quarter that would enable me to reach the north part of Noocahiva, about six o'clock, with disappointed feelings, I tacked for that purpose.

The night proved squally, and we were once in the course of it in danger of being driven on the shore of Noocahiva, but a sudden gust from the land fortunately saved us. In the morning, a canoe with eight persons made for the ship, from the east side of this island; and, when at a short distance from us, one of the company sounded a large conch, while another waved a piece of white cloth. Thinking these to be tokens of friendship, I ordered, in return, a white handkerchief to be waved, and a white flag hoisted. My guests climbed the ship's sides, with the assistance of a rope that was thrown to them from deck, and behaved in as free and amicable a manner as if they had lived amongst us all their lives. Our curiosity did not in the least interrupt their singing, dancing, and other wild testimonies of joy, on receiving the different presents we made them, and especially the knives, which they called *cohe*. Observing that four more canoes were hurrying from the shore, I ordered our present visitors to leave us; and in a moment they all jumped overboard, one after another. As soon as the new visitors arrived, those who left us made a most tumultuous noise; and, displaying our presents, vociferated, repeatedly, the word *cuanna*. In one of the new canoes, which was rowed by fifteen men, was the chief, who held a long stick, to which was

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648 fastened a bunch of bananas, a piece of white cloth manufactured on the island, and a square fan. Being under sail, I did not like to be surrounded by too many of these savages, and I therefore signified that a few only were to come on board. The chief, as soon as he comprehended my orders, jumped out of his canoe into the water, and climbed up the ship with astonishing alacrity. As soon as he was on the quarter-deck, he sat himself down, and presented me with the bunch of bananas, and the cloth that had been fastened to the stick. I was going to put on his head a cap of striped stuff; but he refused the honour, and begged a knife, which was given him with a pair of ear-rings, made of two copeks, which is the smallest Russian copper money. One of my officers made him a present of a small looking-glass, which delighted him so much, that I thought he would have lost his senses. Our new guests behaved with the same familiarity as the preceding ones. They were all perfectly honest in the exchange of articles, and so docile, that no one left the ship without asking my permission. [231] I showed them fowls and pigs; the fowls they called *moa*, and the pigs *boaga*, intimating by signs that there were plenty of both on shore; but, from their surprise at the sight of our sheep and goats, I inferred that they had never till then seen such animals. 1804. May.

600 We steered all the morning of the 9th to the southward, in the hope of reaching the bay of Tayohaia towards evening; but at noon we were becalmed, and gave up the idea of being at anchor before night. 9th.

During the night, the rain was so heavy, that a dozen casks

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1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

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648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

[481]

648 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

831

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

[231]

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1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen. 648

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were doing, uninterrupted by his presence. His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells. [622] [302]

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

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648 mercial intercourse for the present, by hoisting out a red flag, as it was our hour of dinner. The moment the islanders understood, from our interpreter (the Englishman of whom I have just spoken) what was meant, they retired to a short distance from the ship; but their noise was as tumultuous as ever. 1804. May.

As soon as dinner was over, the taboo was taken off, and the traffic began again. We had as yet no reason to complain of misconduct on the part of the islanders. Whenever any thing was purchased, it was hoisted on board, and a piece of iron hoop (our common payment), fastened to the end of the rope, was let down in return. Some of these traders were occasionally admitted into the ship; but on receiving payment, they in general instantly jumped overboard, seemingly the happiest beings in the world.

We moored the ship to-day; and, as the weather was warm, I called the islanders to our assistance. This produced great joy amongst them; and the capstern was manned in an instant. After the business was over, I made each a present of an iron nail; and they departed, as before, perfectly happy.

To my great satisfaction, Roberts was induced to stay on board and attend the ship during her continuance at these islands.

On the 12th we were again awaked in the morning by the noise of the swimmers; but their number was so small, in comparison with that of the day before, that only fifty cocoa-nuts, and a few other trifles were purchased. About noon the king 12th.

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1804. May paid us another visit, accompanied by his brother, and exchanged four cocks, which he brought with him, for one of ours, whose crowing had particularly pleased him. The brother also had taken a liking to one of our ducks, and offered a middling-size pig for her, promising at the same time another, not quite so large, for a drake. This exchange was not only advantageous, but very gratifying to me, as it might be the means of introducing into the island a useful domestic bird, unknown there before. During this visit, a circumstance took place of a serio-comic nature. One of my midshipmen, in examining the oar of a canoe that I had purchased, happened to let it fall, and it struck against the head of the king, who was sitting on the deck. His majesty immediately fell down, and began to make the most extraordinary wry faces, as if in great pain. The accident mortified me so much, that I reprimanded the young man a little severely for his carelessness. He was himself considerably alarmed; and, in apologizing, presented the king with a small piece of iron. This changed the scene; his majesty burst into a loud laugh, and expressed by signs, how cleverly he had deceived us, and that he was not in the least hurt. This scene over, the king went on shore in high spirits, and I was myself not a little pleased that the accident terminated as it did.

648 648 522

In the afternoon, captain Krusenstern came to see me, and in the course of conversation informed me, that the king had also brought him in the morning a pig; but as on his coming on board, the officers being at dinner, there was nobody to receive him on deck, he was so much displeased, that he ordered the pig to be taken back again. Though this circumstance appeared to us of

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648 a trifling nature, it had nearly been productive of serious consequences. One of the savages, returning on shore, reported that the king was in irons on board the Nadejda, for refusing to part with a pig. The bay was instantly in commotion; and our launch, which was then watering on shore, was surrounded by a host of savages, who threatened, if their chief was not immediately released, to put Roberts, who was attending the launch, to death. Though the poor fellow did all he could to convince them of the falsehood of the story, he certainly would have been cruelly treated, had not his majesty opportunely made his appearance, and assured the throng that he had received no insult or injury. This conduct of the islanders was a little grating to us; but we showed no resentment, considering them as uneducated children of Nature, who suffered their passions to run away with their judgment, and force to carry it over reason. 1804. May.

Notwithstanding these tumultuous symptoms, I ordered the launch to be dispatched again the next morning for water; and I proposed to captain Krusenstern our paying a visit to the king. At eight o'clock we set out, thirty in number, with Roberts for our guide. Our way at first was along the beach, and then through a grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. Having passed some poor cottages, we reached the house of the king's brother, where we stopped for a while to repose ourselves. The multitude that followed from curiosity, crowded upon us continually; but a word occasionally from Roberts, was sufficient to make them keep at a proper distance. As we proceeded, [312] there were many springs of water on the way, and the path being narrow, we were wet and dirty before we reached the place of destination. Arriving at the king's abode, we made a proper 15th.

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1804. May.

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad. 648 342

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room. [352]

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [353] [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals. [343]

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts, 648

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648 concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the [784] king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. [778] The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a 764 very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my [532] expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

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1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance. 764

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells. 648 [342]

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

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648 the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. 1804. May.
His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that 14th.
if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of
[784] her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular
[792] tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed
[302] with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity.

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1804. May. Finding that there was no possibility of providing ourselves here with a greater quantity of live stock than we had already obtained, captain Krusenstern and I, with some officers of both ships, repaired to Jegawé Bay, which was about three miles and a half to the westward of our station. On our landing, we were surrounded by men and women, with fruit and other commodities for sale; and in a very short time sixty bunches of bananas were in our possession. After visiting the king, and breakfasting at his house, we proceeded in search of what was the main object of our excursion. We were, however, disappointed: the natives would sell us nothing but fruit and vegetables, though plenty of hogs and fowls were seen about their houses; and towards evening we returned to our ships. 648

The bay of Jegawé is a very safe place for anchoring; it forms a small bason, defended from all the winds, and ships may lie there quite close to the shore, especially on the south side, which renders it an admirable place for such as may be in want of thorough repair. The entrance is rather narrow; but as its depth does not exceed eighteen fathoms, and the bottom is good, you may warp in with ease, when you cannot sail in. To a small river of fresh water there, I gave the name of the Little Neva, the banks of which abound with inhabitants, who are able to supply vessels with a sufficiency both of fruit and hogs, though to us they would spare none of the last-mentioned article. 133

From the difficulty of further augmenting our live stock, we began on the 16th to prepare for sea. I rewarded Roberts for his services, with linen, pieces of iron, and other articles that were 880

16th.

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useful to him in his present situation. I also left with him a quantity of garden seeds, which he promised to cultivate. Gunpowder was the only thing I refused him; for it was a law with me, not to suffer a single grain of this dangerous commodity to be given to the islanders. As this was to be the last day of our stay, I ordered, at night, some rockets to be let off, the appearance of which terrified the natives extremely. They verily believed that we had the power of sending up stars, and that these luminaries, after disappearing in the sky, returned to us to be sent up again. 1804. May.

Though in my narrative of events as they occurred, I have exhibited, perhaps, no very imperfect view, either of the islands we are quitting, or their inhabitants; it may not be amiss to add a few particulars, to render the picture more complete.

133 The old Marquesa islands, the names of which I have already given in their place, are five in number. They extend, by the observations I made, from 138° 18′ to 138° 55′ west longitude, and from 9° 25′ to 10° 30′ south latitude.

The new Marquesas are in like manner five in number; and [101] are called by their inhabitants, Ooaboa, which is Trevannion's island; Ooahoonha, which is Riou's; Noocahiva, which is Martin's; and Hiaoo and Fatooda, which are Roberts's. The first three occupy about thirty-five miles in latitude, and forty in longitude; they were discovered in 1791, by Mr. Ingram of the United States, in his voyage to America for furs, and were named by him after the immortal Washington. Having stopped only at the island of Noocahiva, I can say nothing of the rest,

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1804. May. except that they are high and craggy. It struck me, however, /33 as singular, that none of them should have a conical elevation, but should all rise out of the sea almost perpendicularly. The island of Noocahiva, in my opinion, is the largest of the whole group. Having passed almost round it, I can venture to say, that there is no danger in sailing quite close to its shores. On the east side, which is high, and of no very pleasing aspect, is seen the bay called Hotisheve, which appeared to me to be open to the easterly winds, which in this part of the world blow almost continually. To the south are three bays: the first, called Houmé, is situated towards the south-east point; the second, Jegawé, at the south-west point, with an excellent anchorage, as I have before observed; and the third, Tayohaia, about midway between the other two. This last has also a good anchorage, but, being surrounded by high lands, is subject to strong squalls, against which a vessel should be on its guard when at anchor, and should take care to be always well moored. In coming in, and going out, anchors and boats should be ready to assist, in case of a change of wind, or a calm. When the islets of Mitao and Mootonooé, that lie at the mouth of the bay, so near the shore as to be scarcely distinguished at a distance, and which I placed, by my observations, at 139° 40′ west, and 8° 56′ south, are in sight, steer for the first, and double it when at the distance of forty fathoms, where you will find twenty-seven fathoms of water. In coming out, the ship should be kept close to the eastern shore, on account of the winds, which at sea blow always from the eastward. The best anchorage in this bay, with regard to the currents, is under the south-east point, in twelve fathoms. From lying rather close to the other shore, I was obliged to work at my cables every day, as the ship was

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continually turning round. However, this is the surest side, if the ship should have parted with her anchors in a squall from the mountains, as happened here once to an American; because she may then run out to sea, under her stay-sails only, with ease. Though the watering place is by no means convenient in the bay of Tayohaia, yet, with the assistance of the natives, a launch may be completed in less than two hours, as the casks need only to be thrown into the water, to be filled, and the islanders are expeditious in cutting fire-wood on the beach: for this trouble, a small piece of iron, per man, is a satisfactory recompense. It is necessary, however, while the work is going on, that one or two of the ship's crew, armed with muskets, should attend, otherwise many things may be lost; for the islanders have no scruple in this respect, and will even knock off the iron hoops from the casks, while in the act of rolling them along the surf. A single discharge from a musket is, however, sufficient to terrify the most daring. 1804. May.

Our short stay at this island, and our ignorance of the language of its native inhabitants, would have rendered our information very incomplete, but for the fortunate circumstance of our meeting with Roberts, who seemed to have been sent providentially to our assistance. This personage was a run-away English sailor, and had long resided on the island. He had married one of the king's relations, and was treated, in consequence, with great respect by his new countrymen, whose language he appears to speak with fluency. From this Englishman I received many of the particulars I am about to relate.

Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group, is govern-

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622 1804. May. [619] Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful [651] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making [929] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

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1804. May.

[793] 764 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

721 782 766 The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, [793] three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

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1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721
This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766
its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782
deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837
women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585
with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583
session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

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585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804. May.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

848 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
000 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

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On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844
1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by suc- 565
cession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and re- 565
semble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 342
the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for [356]
their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264]
the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565
or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351
the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are [287]
merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

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141 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

731 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
[266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 266 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 674

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 1804. May. to the sides, by inserting a piece of small twine through numerous holes. The head resembles that of a galley, and to the stern a crooked piece of wood is fixed, through which runs the sheet of a triangular sail, made of matting. These narrow boats are well balanced by three long poles laid across, to the ends of which, on one side, is fastened a piece of wood.

312 The island of Noocahiva produces all the necessaries of life. It has excellent fresh water, and in such abundance, that it flows down in cascades from different elevations, greatly tending to beautify in many places the views of the coast The climate
132 is so salubrious that, by Roberts's account, many live here to the age of a hundred years. I saw myself the king's mother, who was about eighty, and did not yet think herself very old.

137 Having had but little leisure for minute inquiries respecting the vegetable kingdom in this part of the globe, I shall content myself with describing the few articles only that came within my observation.

TREES.

Toomoomey, or Bread-fruit-tree. The branches of this tree spread out widely, and the leaves resemble those of the fig-tree, but are of a larger size, and of a deeper green. Its fruit is of an oblong figure, measuring lengthwise from five inches and a half to six inches and a half, and breadthwise from four to five inches; it is of a light green colour, but turns black after two or three days keeping. This useful tree, I was told, bears fruit here three times in the year. The first and the best crop, called by the natives mainooé, ripens about our January. The second, which

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark,[1] a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May. [137] [287]

Toomoochee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maceca, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds. [178]

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black

1 [i.e., of the Bread-fruit tree -- Analysts]

139 1804. [324 May. 315] Cogoo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[223] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[287] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[313] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[287] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

6: Lisianaky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Carpé. This root is about three feet long. The greater part of it grows out of the ground. It takes twelve months to ripen, and is made into puddings, or prepared like yams. 1804. 137 May. [251]

Hoé. A kind of wild potatoe, which has a bitter taste, and affords but little nourishment. It is only used by the islanders in times of famine. [731]

Titou. A root that grows wild in the fields, and resembles our turnip.

Togeages. A root of the size of a cocoa-nut without its husk: when boiled, it turns to a sort of pudding. [252]

There is only one species of salad herb on the island, that is calculated for the table. It is called *emahé*, and considerably resembles our field-mustard.

Knowing from experience how necessary the language of a country is to a person who travels in it, especially where no assistance can be obtained, except what some lucky chance may present, as, for instance, our interpreter Roberts; I endeavoured to collect as many words and sentences of the language of this island as possible, which I shall give in the Appendix, in the hope of their being useful to future navigators. 000

During our stay at Tayohaia, I could make no observations on shore: however, having taken a great many lunar distances the day before our arrival at the island of Noocahiva, we were enabled to lay down with great precision the island of Motané. 131

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 1804. May. From thence we took bearings of all the other islands as they came in sight, and found their latitude and longitude to be as follows:—

	Lat. S.	Long. W.
East end of the island of Fatoohiva -	10° 28′	138° 18′
South end of Motané - - -	10 0	138 30
East end of Touata - - - -	9 59	138 45
East end of Hoïvahova - - -	9 45	138 26½
South end of Ooahoona - - -	8 56	139 12
The entrance of the bay of Tayohaia -	8 56	139 40
North end of Ooaboa - - -	9 19	139 40½
The middle of Fatoohoo - - -	9 27	138 31

The variation of the compass, according to different azimuths, was 6° east.

[pp. 95-322 not processed.]

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APPENDIX, No. I.

A VOCABULARY

OF

THE LANGUAGE OF NOOCAHIVA.

A.

192 Afterwards . . . . Mamoobé
Angry . . . . . Matatooma
Angry, do not be . . Hakay, hakay, or Eboo-eboo
Away, go . . . . A-dedahatahatoo
Axe, of iron . . . Toké tooé
Axe, of stone . . . Toké maooé

B.

Bad, that is . . . . Ao midaggé
Be, it will . . . . Ena ebo
Bird, a land- . . . Teté
Bottle . . . . . Hooiaki
Boy . . . . . Boiti
Brave . . . . . Toa
Bread-fruit . . . . Mey
Brother . . . . . Toonané
Burying-ground . . Meray
Buttons, or Playthings . . . . Pipi
Buy, to . . . . . Ehogo

C.

Canoe, or Boat . . Evaka
Catch and bring him here . . . Ate hooté my
Chief, a . . . . . Eiki
Cloth, made of bark . Ekagoo
Club, for war . . . Eoo
Cock . . . . . Moa vahana
Cocoa-nut, ... Ehi
Come, do not, here . Ovita my-iné

D.

Day . . . . . Boha mahé
Day, to- . . . . . Kabo
Do, how do you? . Atika
Door, the . . . . Pohoo
Dull . . . . . Vivio

E.

Ears . . . . . Pooann
Earth . . . . . Ebo
Eat, will you? . . . A-ky maooté ky
Enemy . . . . . Ebeama
Enemy, do you eat your? . . . . Gigoi nada?
European . . . . Heytoo, or Eytoo
Eye . . . . . Gigo mata

F.

Farewell . . . . . Eba
Father, or Uncle . . Matooa
Fingers . . . . . Eima
Fish . . . . . Eeka
Follow me . . . . Amy tato
Foreign . . . . . Monahi
Friend . . . . . Ehoa

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

G.

192 Girl . . . . . Pahoé
Give me . . . . . Atoomy
Go and bring it here . Adaha kahé mya
Go to the devil . . Tororoo
God . . . . . Heytoo, *or* Eytoo
Grandfather . . . Eta boona
Grandson . . . . Moboona
Grass . . . . . Totouha
Gun . . . . . Pooi
Gun, do not touch that, it will kill you . . . . Ovhé maoohé

H.

Hair . . . . . Ovoho
Hand . . . . . Eema
He . . . . . Oyana
Head . . . . . Ehobogoo
Heart . . . . . Hoboo
Hen . . . . . Moa vaheenee
Hog . . . . . Booaga
House . . . . . Ehy
Hungry, I am . . . Maté de oggé

I. J.

I . . . . . Ooseo
Joyful . . . . . Enavé
Iron . . . . . Toké
Iron, a small piece of Toké
Iron, I will give you some . . . . Toogo ato toké ya-a-o-e
Island . . . . . Motoo

K.

Kill . . . . . Maté
Knife . . . . . Goggi, *or* Gooa

L.

Lips . . . . . Kinootoo
Liver . . . . . E-até
Lobsters or Crabs, three sorts:
1 . . . . . Kyitaké
2 . . . . . Poto
3 . . . . . Toe toe

M.

Man . . . . . Enata
Man, you are an honest . . . . Ineta mitaggé
Mat . . . . . Moin
Month . . . . . Ete mahama
Moon . . . . . Maheena
Morrow, to- . . . Oy-oé
Mother, *or* Aunt . . Ekooi

N.

Nail . . . . . Poohi-poohi
Neck . . . . . Katé ehi
Nose . . . . . Eishoo
Nostrils . . . . . Ebohama eishoo

O.

Oar . . . . . Hoi-hoi

P.

Plantation . . . . Henoo
Priest . . . . . Edaoo
Prohibition . . . . Taboo

R.

Rat . . . . . Kioré
Red . . . . . Kahoogooyar

S.

Saw, a . . . . . Heeka
Sea, *or* Salt water . Itaé
She . . . . . Tahova hené
Sister . . . . . Tooi heena
Sit down here . . . Ata nohoo
Sleep, will you, on-board? . . . . Amoynoo devaha
Spear . . . . . Paggeo
Step, a . . . . . Taboosy
Stolen, have you not, something? Hay kamo goé
Stone thrown from a sling . . . Kea *or* Kya
Sun . . . . . Eomaté

T.

Take this . . . . Akaveeatoo
Tatooing . . . . Teeka
Teeth . . . . . Neehoo

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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That is past . . . Oovayoo
That will be . . . Ena ebo
They . . . . . Ato
Thief, he is a . . . Ekamoo
Thigh . . . . . Pooha
Thou . . . . . Koé
Tongue, hold your . Tooi tooi
Tree . . . . . Teomoo

W.

War . . . . . Etou
Water . . . . . Vy
Water, is there no? . Hamtivy
We . . . . . Mato
Well, that is . . . Midaggé
What do you call it? Ehadené
What is that? . . . Ea ha
Where do you go? . Anoigé
Where is he? . . . Ihé
Where is your king or chief? . . } Ha kyirikó
White or Yellow . . Tava tava
Who is that? . . . Ooy
Why . . . . . Meyaha
Wife . . . . . Evehené
Woman . . . . . Vehené
Work . . . . . Hanamydehana
Wounded . . . . Vootoo

Y.

Year . . . . . Etabetau
You . . . . . Taoe

I am . . . . . Ooaoo
Thou art . . . . Koé enaeeshoo
He is . . . . . Oyana
I was . . . . . Ooaoo houné
You were . . . Koé houné
He was . . . . . Oyana houné
She was . . . . . Tahova hené houné
I will do it . . . . Ehaooney
You will do it . . . Atahagoé
He will do it . . . Tyé hanha aoné
I have . . . . . Eia
I had . . . . . Iua oo houné
I will have . . . . Eyna ateetahé

Numerals.

1 . . . . . Eytahé
2 . . . . . Eynoo
3 . . . . . Eyto
4 . . . . . Eyha
5 . . . . . Eyma
6 . . . . . Eyono
7 . . . . . Ehitoo
8 . . . . . Evahoo
9 . . . . . Eyva
10 . . . . . Hanhoo.

[802]

N. B. By the inhabitants of Noocahiva the letter *h* is not always sounded. The vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are pronounced as the French pronounce them, except where the *e* is doubled. [1034]

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

By Ralph Linton

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RALPH LINTON SERVED AS ETHNOLOGIST WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921, DEVOTING HIS ATTENTION TO MATERIAL CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY. SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE FIELD WORK A STUDY WAS MADE OF THE MARQUESAN COLLECTION IN MUSEUMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

BY

RALPH LINTON

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHIC SKETCH

103 The Marquesas include thirteen islands. The eight habitable islands form geographically two divisions—the Northern Division, which includes Ei Ao, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and Ua Pou; and the Southern Division, which includes Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva. (See fig. 1.) Ei Ao and Moho Tani, although formerly inhabited, are now deserted.

[131]
[132]

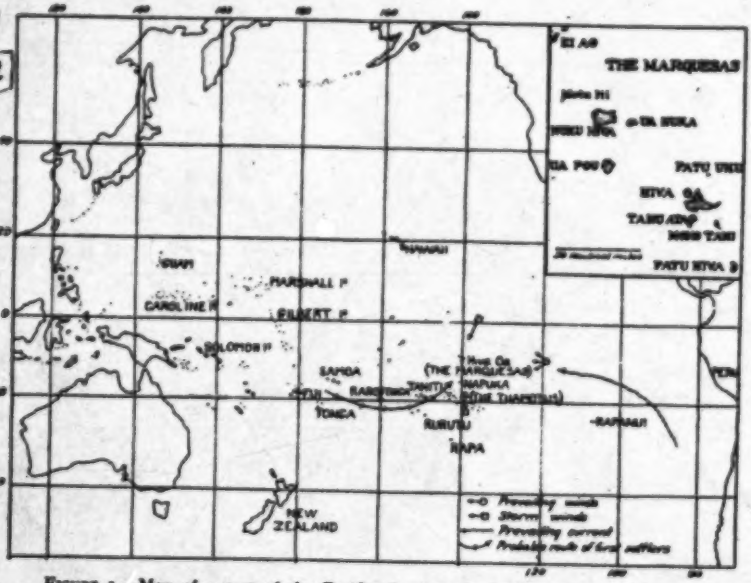

FIGURE 1.—Map of a part of the Pacific showing the position of the Marquesas and the principal islands of the group. The islands Ei Ao, Motu Iti, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, constitute the Northern Division of the Marquesas, and the islands Fatu Uku, Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva, the Southern Division.

[Note: this source has two sets of page numbers]

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133 The habitable islands are of volcanic origin. At present there are no signs of volcanic activity and earthquakes are unknown, but on some islands old sea caves now several meters above high water level suggest that elevation still continues. The topography of all the large islands is similar, each having a high central mountain chain from which sharp ridges, often ending in sheer cliffs, extend to the sea. With a few exceptions, the valleys are short and narrow. There is no coastal shelf and many of the valleys are accessible only from the sea. Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, the largest islands of the group, have so-called plateaus at altitudes of from one to two thousand feet. These plateaus include some areas of comparatively level ground, but are for the most part eroded into innumerable small, steep side valleys, which render traverse difficult, even for a man on foot.

132 The climate of the Marquesas is without extremes of heat or cold, the mean annual temperature being between 75 and 80 degrees Fahrenheit. Hurricanes, the scourge of the Tuamotus, are rare, but lying north of the belt of seasonal rains, the islands are visited by destructive droughts which have been known to last three years. Even in favorable years the climate throughout most of the group is dry rather than humid. There is a progressive decrease in rainfall from south to north; Fatu Hiva, the southernmost island, is well watered but Ei Ao, the northermost, is arid. The prevailing winds are easterly and the westerly sides of the most of the islands are semi-arid, with few running streams.

137 The marked differences in the vegetation on different islands and on different parts of the same island correspond to variations in rainfall. On Fatu Hiva a dense growth of vegetation mantles the almost vertical sides of the mountains and fills the valleys with thickets. East of the high mountain ridge on Hiva Oa the valleys are choked with thick bush and the higher slopes are covered with forests containing many tree ferns. West of the ridge the tree ferns disappear completely, giving place to stunted guava scrub and upland reed, and large areas are covered with matted fern scarcely a foot high. Wherever a depression serves to collect the moisture there are open groves of pandanus or fau (tree hibiscus) while the higher ridges are crowned with straggling clumps of casuarina. The slopes of the deeper valleys are covered with a growth of large trees beneath which is little or no undergrowth and only along the water courses, where the fau grows in tangled masses, is there any approach to jungle. Were it not for the occasional clumps of palms in the valleys the visitor might imagine himself in the hills behind San Francisco rather than on an island within ten degrees of the equator. Ei Ao, the northernmost island, has the least rain, and its bowl-like top is covered with short grass and scattered groves of trees so open that a man on horseback could pass anywhere with ease.

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From the point of view of the primitive settler, the Marquesas could hardly be considered desirable country. The mountains everywhere extend to the sea, and the little level ground on the plateaus is rendered uninhabitable by the droughts. The numerous valleys are for the most part small and many of them contain no land suitable for cultivation. Terracing, which might have increased the arable area, is almost useless without some system of irrigation, and this is rendered impossible by the uncertain rainfall. There are no native wild animals larger than the rat, and the absence of a barrier reef decreases the supply of fish, and makes fishing arduous and uncertain. Opposed to these disadvantages are a climate ideally suited to the growth of breadfruit and coconut, and at least partial immunity from attack as a result of the geographical isolation of the valleys. 133 [136]

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION

So far as known there are no native accounts of the original settlement of the Marquesas. The legends collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition show a belief in a local creation. Legendary material and the constant repetition of tribal and place names in the various islands of the group would seem to indicate that the historic inhabitants were descended from a few small parties of settlers who occupied the most fertile valleys of the southern islands first, spreading as their numbers increased until the occupation of the group was complete. There is no legendary evidence of organized conquest or of an early non-Polynesian population. The local differences in culture and physical type which existed in the Marquesas at the beginning of the historic period seem to point, however, to the presence of two originally distinct racial elements. One element, which was dominant in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, showed many affinities with the Maori of New Zealand. The other element, which was dominant in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, showed affinities with western Polynesia. It seems improbable that these two elements arrived in the group simultaneously but it is imposible to say which came first. In historic times the western Polynesian element in the Marquesas was strongest in the localities which were least desirable and farthest from the probable place of arrival of immigrants to the group. This may indicate that this element arrived first and had been ousted from the more favorable localities by the Maori-like element. 174

There seems to have been no important invasion of the Marquesas after their settlement by these two racial elements. The Tuamotus was the only island group near enough to serve as a base for organized attack and these islands were small and sparsely populated. It was not impossible for small bands of invaders to reach the Marquesas from time to time; but even if they were successful in this, the nature of the country would have limited their occupation

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174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (fig. 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

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lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

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105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
648 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

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rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

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000 Thanks for kindness and hearty cooperation are due to many European residents in the Marquesas, especially to M. Du Poyen de Belleisle, Administrator of the group, M. Paul Vernier and Mr. Frank Varney of Atuona, Pere Simeon Delmar, of Taiohae, and Mr. Henry Lie of Pua Ma'u.

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The use made of photographs received from various sources is acknowledged in the legends accompanying the plates. Except as otherwise indicated, the illustrations are based on material in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

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HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief. 342 343

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a minimum of labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*pae'pae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts. 342

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of [824]

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342 fau bark passed around the heavy split midrib which formed the upper edge of the mat. The completed house was triangular in cross section, being in fact a simple roof with the eaves resting on the ground. One of the ends was usually closed with coconut mats, arranged like those on the roof, and tied to the end rafter on each side and to the end pole. Houses of this type were simply shelters made with the minimum of labor, and were never decorated. They are still in occasional use throughout the Marquesas, and appear to be the same in all the islands.

THE DWELLING TYPE

THE HOUSE PLATFORM (PAEPAE)

The dwelling type includes practically all Marquesan buildings, whether domicilary or ceremonial, although certain religious structures reveal a modified form. Nearly all permanent houses in the Marquesas were built upon stone platforms, known as *paepae*. The use of stone platforms was so nearly universal in Polynesia that it seems probable that the idea was brought to the Marquesas by the original settlers, but the nature of the terrain was such as to greatly stimulate its development. In most of the valleys it was necessary to either terrace or excavate in order to have a level floor and the abundance of loose stone made terracing easy. Many of the *paepae* on hill slopes were simple terraces with a trench at the rear to carry off water. The front height of such *paepae* depended, of course, upon the slope and the width of the level space desired. Front walls as much as ten feet high were not uncommon but the back of the terrace was usually at the level of the original surface, or only sufficiently raised to keep the floor from being flooded in rainy weather.

Even on level ground nearly all the houses were elevated on stone substructures which were sometimes remarkably massive. The natives stated that these level ground *paepae* were intended to keep pigs from entering the house. The alternative of erecting the house on piles was prohibited by the danger that children might get under it—a serious matter under the old regime, as anything which passed over a child's head became tapu and had to be destroyed. *Paepae* on level ground ranged from simple pavements—a form usually limited to dry localities—to massive structures six to eight feet high. The average height for all the Marquesan *paepae* is about three feet. They are highest in Nuku Hiva from which island they steadily decrease southward, the Fatu Hivan *paepae* being, on the whole, the smallest in the group. All *paepae* were rectangular in outline, the upper surface being divided longitudinally into two unequal parts one of which was from eight to thirty inches higher than the other. The higher part, which was always at the rear, served as the floor of the house and the lower part as a veranda and general lounging place. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *paepae*

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *paepae* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *paepae* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *paepae* were built of rough stones throughout. The *paepae* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *paepae* and in a few recently built *paepae* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. 324

The building of the *paepae* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each successive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) *"E tuku te kea matapao haoko"* (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

342 333 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

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in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *paepae* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *paepae* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group.

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *paepae*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures.

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *paepae*, but a few *paepae* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *paepae*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor.

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details.

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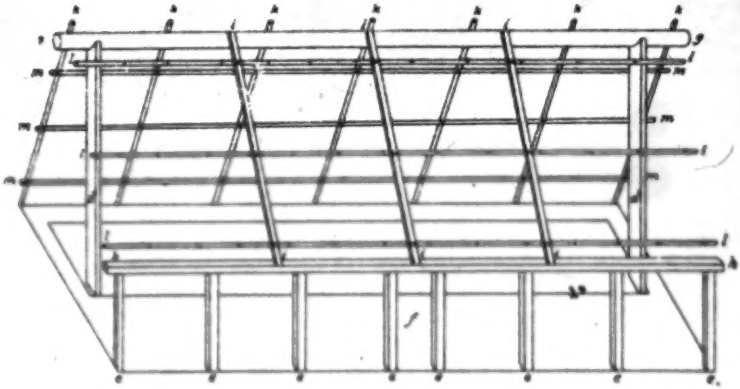

FIGURE 2.—Diagram showing framework of a house: *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts; *f*, door; *g*, ridgepole; *h*, stringer; *i*, rafters of front roof; *k*, rafters of back roof; *l*, cross braces of front roof; *m*, cross braces of back roof.

In ordinary houses the ridge pole is supported by two posts placed one at either end. These posts are triangular in cross section and taper slightly toward the top, where they are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole. (See fig. 3.)

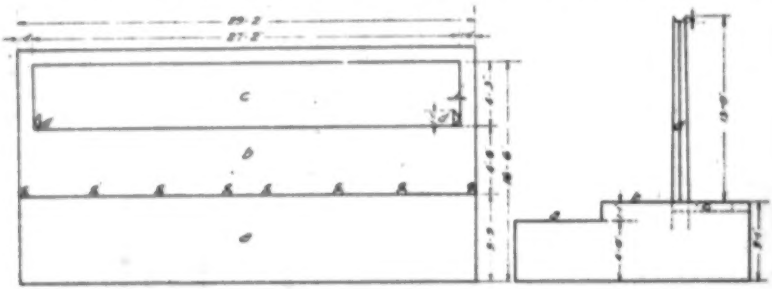

FIGURE 3.—Diagram of a house: *A*, ground plan; *B*, end view showing elevation of the paepae. The parts of the structure indicated are: *a*, paved space in front of the house; *b*, paved floor of house; *c*, bed; *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts.

Measurements of an end post from a typical dwelling house are: height, (from surface of *paepae*) 13 feet; width at bottom, 12¼ inches; width at top, 8 inches;

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thickness at center (bottom) 4½ inches; thickness at edges, 2 inches; depth of notch for ridgepole, 6 inches. The thickness of the edges remains fairly uniform for the entire length, but the central thickness decreases slightly toward the top. The end posts are planted at either end of the bed space, 6 to 8 inches within the line of the end wall of the house, their broadest sides being toward the interior of the house. In the houses of Hiva Oa the forward edges of the end posts rest against the rear edge of the paved house floor, but in those of Nuku Hiva the posts are placed a foot or more further back, giving the rear roof a much more abrupt pitch.

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In all the houses seen the ridgepole was hewn from a single log and ran the entire length of the house, projecting slightly beyond the end walls. Informants say that a palm log was formerly used for this member, but all those seen were of breadfruit wood. Much care was evidently expended in shaping the ridgepole properly. The ridgepoles seen in the Northern Division were round and had been rubbed down to a smooth surface, while those of Hiva Oa were polygonal in cross section with eight to twelve facets of approximately equal width, each of which ran the entire length of the timber. The ridgepole rested in the notches of the end posts, but was not attached to them in any way.

The front posts in ordinary dwellings varied in height from three to five feet, depending upon the size of the structure. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata they were commonly rectangular in cross section, but Stewart (59, pp. 233-236), who gives the best early description of Marquesas houses, says that those used in Nuku Hiva were round. The front posts of a large house on the island of Ua Pou were rectangular in the center, but tapered toward the top and bottom, and were almost round at the extremities. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata the central pair of posts, which formed the jambs of the door, were cut in such a way as to leave a projecting semicircular shelf at the top. When the posts were carved in the form of tiki a short cylindrical neck was usually left projecting above the head of the figure. The upper ends of the posts were either finished with a semicircular notch, like that on the large end posts, or with a neck which fitted into a hole pierced through the front stringer, or were simply left flat. It is probable that posts with notched ends or necks are ancient and that posts with flat ends were made after the introduction of metal tools.

There were usually six front posts, although houses with four and eight front posts were observed and large houses may have had more. The central pair were rather closely spaced, serving as the jambs of the door, while the others were placed at equal intervals between these and the ends of the house. In most of the structures visited the front posts were not planted in the platform; they were held in place at the bottoms by a deeply notched stringer running the entire

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 length of the house—probably a modern development. In the old house in Ua
335 Pou they were planted immediately behind the *ke'ctu* facing the raised house floor, and informants say that holes edged with flat stones were left for the front posts at the time the floor of the house was paved.

Three types of top stringer were used: A simple rectangular beam; a round log similar to the ridgepole, but of smaller size; and a peculiar L-shaped form, said to have been characteristic of the Southern Division in ancient times. Rectangular stringers were normal in recent structures and all those observed were either attached with nails to the flat tops of the front posts, or pierced with holes into which necks on the tops of the front posts fitted. The round stringers rested in semicircular notches in the tops of the front posts, and the only one seen in position was not attached to the posts in any way. The L-shaped stringers were hewn from single logs, and were placed outside the front posts, with their short arms against them and their tops level with the tops of the front posts. At each post the vertical part of the stringer was pierced with four holes, two above and two below, through which sennit lashings were passed back and forth around the front post. When the roof was in place these lashings were invisible from the outside. They were usually amplified on the inside to give an ornamental effect.

In a house at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, there was an arrangement of posts and stringers similar to that of the front wall across either end of the house, and a single rectangular beam, resting upon the rearmost posts of the end walls, ran along the under surface of the rear roof and was attached to it at eight points. It is almost certain that this feature is due to European influence. A peculiar form of end frame, said to be a modern development, is described on page 295.

THE HOUSE ROOF

342 The front roof of ordinary dwellings was supported by three heavy rafters which were commonly hewn and squared. One rafter was placed in the middle of the house over the doorway, and the other two halfway between it and the ends of the house. (See fig. 2.) There were no heavy rafters at the ends of the roof, where they might be expected. The lower ends of these rafters rested upon the stringer, and their upper ends againt the ridgepole, without extending beyond either. In well built houses the rafters were attached to both the stringer and the ridgepole by elaborate sennit lashings.

The framework thus formed was supplemented by additional rafters of bamboos, or peeled poles of fau, placed vertically at intervals of two or three inches, continuing above the ridgepole and crossing the small rafters of the rear roof. They also projected beyond the stringer and below the line of the front wall, forming narrow eaves. The light rafters were held in place by three longi-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tudinal poles, usually single bamboos, which ran the full length of the inside of the roof. The two outermost poles were placed eight inches to a foot above the stringer and below the ridgepole; the third pole was placed midway between them. They were attached to all the rafters by lashings of sennit or bark string. Both the front and rear roofs projected six inches to a foot beyond the end walls. 342

One house in Hiva Oa (Pl. XL. *C*) had a narrow porch supported by an additional row of posts, topped by a stringer. These posts were planted in the *paepae* about two feet in front of the house wall. The rafters of this porch were inclined at a lower angle than those of the roof. This feature was not observed elsewhere and was probably due to European influence.

The rear roof extended from the ridgepole to the ground. It was usually supported by eight main rafters, but these were not hewn so far as observed. They were simply peeled hibiscus poles of slightly larger diameter than those used for the remainder of the roof. In some houses all the rafters of the rear roof were identical in size and material. Between the main rafters were smaller poles placed two or three inches apart; at the peak they crossed the similar poles of the front roof forming a crotch. These smaller poles were secured in position on the rear roof by three cross poles of bamboo, the highest being opposite the top crosspiece of the front roof, the lowest about eighteen inches above the floor, and the third midway between them. All the rafters were lashed to these cross poles.

All the early descriptions of Marquesan houses mention the rear roof as perpendicular or descending at a very steep angle, and the old pictures show this feature, also a front roof inclined at less than forty-five degrees. Actual measurements prove that the old authors have exaggerated both these features. The pitch of the rear roofs ranges from eighty degrees in some of the houses of Nuku Hiva to as low as sixty-five degrees in an old dwelling on Hiva Oa. The pitch of the front roof seems to have been rarely, if ever, less than fifty degrees, with about sixty-five degrees as normal. In one old house in the valley of Hana Hehe, Hiva Oa, the pitch of the front and rear roofs is about sixty-five degrees for each.

The roofs of all Marquesan houses were thatched, and a variety of material was employed. In recent buildings coconut mats appear to be the most common, but two or even three sorts of thatch were not infrequently used on the same structure. The thatching mats, which were eight to twelve feet long and one foot to eighteen inches wide, were made by splitting a coconut frond down the midrib and interweaving the leaflets of either half to form a long narrow mat of checkerwork pattern. Mats of this sort are still in common use in most parts of Polynesia. The mats were placed on the roof either singly or in pairs, with the midrib edge up and were tied to every third or fourth rafter with loops or sennit or sewed on with bark string. A large wooden needle was used for sewing. The [624] [412]

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342 thatch was lashed to each rafter with a single cord running the height of the roof. The bottom tier of mats was laid on first, and the successive tiers were laid on shingle fashion, with a deep overlap. As the successive layers were rarely more than two or three inches to the weather, a well-made roof would be from four to eight mats thick.

342 An almost equally common form of thatch was made from leaves of the
824 breadfruit tree. Long straight upland reeds, or occasionally hard-wood shoots, were gathered and the leaves were strung on these by holes pierced at the juncture of the stem and leaf, the top of one leaf resting against the bottom of the next. These rods were then attached to the rafters in overlapping rows in the same manner as the mats. When in position the leaves stood edgewise on the roof. Thatch of this sort, although shaggy and rather unpleasing in appearance, is very effective and is said to outlast that of coconut mats. Where bread fruit leaves were used for thatching, coconut mats were usually substituted for the first two or three rows.

In ancient times a third form of thatch, made from palmetto leaves was used. The leaves were strung on light rods at intervals of twelve to eighteen inches, the rod passing from side to side through the juncture of the leaf and stem. The rods were tied to the rafters so that the leaves lay flat and overlapped like shingles. According to informants palmettó was commonly used to thatch the houses in *me'ae*, but was not tapu for other structures. The only example seen was on the front roof of an old chief's house in Ua Pou.

The use of pandanus for thatch is mentioned by Jardin (33, p. 51), who says that this material lasted longer than either coconut mats or breadfruit leaves, but the practice is now obsolete and only one fragment of doubtful authenticity was seen. This fragment, found in the debris of a house of Tahitian form, consisted of a hardwood rod over which the leaves had been doubled, with the two ends pinned together by a splinter a short distance below the rod. A somewhat similar technique is followed in the making of sugar cane thatch in Tonga.

Grass was very rarely used for thatch but the chief of Tetai, one of the small side valleys in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, is remembered as having occupied a grass-thatched house, the frame of which was of ordinary Marquesan form.

342 The method of closing the peak of the thatched roof was very simple and effective and is still employed for all thatched roofs. In the crotch formed by the crossing of the small rafters above the ridgepole, a small pole was laid with its top flush with the rafter ends. Several layers of coconut mats were then laid longitudinally over this and bent down on either side so that their lower edges extended some distance below the top of the last tier of thatching. These mats were then secured in place by long wooden splints passed through them from side to

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side between the main ridge pole and the small pole. On some houses a layer of pandanus leaves was laid over the ridgepole before the small pole was put on. These leaves were then secured by an additional pole on either side of the roof placed in the angle formed by the intersection of the small rafters. 342

THE HOUSE WALL

The Marquesan house was substantially an open shed with the rear roof extending to the ground. The walls merely served to close the openings in the structure and could be removed wholly or in part without effecting the stability of the house. Work sheds and cook houses were unwalled, and it is probable that in former times some more pretentious structures were also quite open, for several end posts were seen that were carved on both sides. The outer side would have been invisible in a walled house. Most buildings were provided with end walls, although many ceremonial structures and even dwellings were open in front. The framework of the end walls usually consisted of four or more light poles arranged like the sticks of an inverted fan, with one end resting on the edge of the *paepae*, the other against the ridge pole. The mats or leaf-packed rods used at thatch were tied to these poles just as they would be tied to the rafters. When the ends were not thatched a number of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter were lashed horizontally to the uprights. These poles were placed either touching or at intervals of about an inch, and were cut to fit accurately the width of the aperture. In some houses the upper part of the end walls was of thatch, the lower part of poles. (See Pl. XL, *C*.)

The entire front wall with the exception of the door space was occasionally covered with thatch, but the practice does not seem to have been common. In a house visited in Hokatu, Ua Huka, one-half of the front was thatched with coconut mats; the other half was left open. As a rule, however, the front wall consisted of a series of separate units or panels each of which filled the space between a pair of front posts. These panels were made of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter. In all the front walls seen the poles were placed side by side and fastened together by cords running over and under so as to form a sort of heavy pole-mat flexible laterally but not longitudinally. (Similar pole-mats were used as coffin covers in Hiva Oa and Fatu Hiva.) These mats were then strengthened by three crosspieces lashed to the back, at right angles to the poles and at equal intervals. The panels were usually placed between the posts in such way that the crosspieces were horizontal, and fitted into notches cut in the sides of the front posts, but occasionally they were placed with the braces vertically, the poles of the mat then being horizontal. In one house two light poles running from the door posts to the end of the house were added on the outside, but these were not attached to the panels.

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THE HOUSE DOOR

342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and placed between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae*, and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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of the owner of the house. Two short additional pieces of palm log sometimes were laid transversely at either end of the bed space, just within the bottoms of the end posts of the house; rarely the log along the back of the bed space was omitted. The space enclosed by the logs was first filled with a thick layer of tips of palm fronds, or with ferns. Over these were laid several coconut mats, similar to those used for thatching. The mats at the rear were occasionally placed over the back log and tied to the rafters at a height of about eight inches (Pl. XL, *E*). Over the coconut mats in turn were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips, three-eighths of an inch or more in width. Mats of this sort were tapu to men, and the use of the word *moena* as a term of reproach is known to have led to at least one murder in recent times. The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahua'a*, which was not tapu to men. The *kahua'a* was long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was so placed that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed. The outer edge of the *kahua'a* was tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head alone, called *pa'i pa'i*, was sometimes placed over the *kahua'a* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair.

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Occupants of the bed lay with their heads toward the wall, the *kahua'a* supporting the head and shoulders and the *moena* the lower part of the body. With persons of ordinary height the feet projected over the inner log and rested upon the bare stone pavement.

The elaborate pillows found in some parts of Polynesia were not used in the Marquesas, but a pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahua'a*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, made from bundles of shredded *fei* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

According to informants a special form of bed was used at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa in the houses of a fishermen's sacred place, and by at least some of the priests. This bed consisted of two or more pairs of short posts, connected at the top by crosspieces, supporting a layer of small closely spaced poles. The whole formed a long rectangular bench, or shelf, raised eighteen inches to two feet above the ground. Four elaborately carved wooden legs in the Bishop Museum may belong to a bed of this type. (See Pl. XLI, *A*.) In the fishermen's sacred place each of the houses, which were very small, contained two of these beds, one along either side. Priests, after they had eaten of the sacrifice, continued to live with their families when not engaged in religious rites, but slept in a separate raised bed built for them in the common dwelling. Only coconut mats were used upon the beds of priests and fishermen, due to the ceremonial uncleanness of bed mats

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352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*. (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *pacpac* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *pacpac* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *pacpac*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *pacpac* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *he'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

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346 the other front posts faced outward. A small figure on the end post of a mortu-
532 ary house also faced inward. It seems probable that this was the usual arrangement for end posts. The human figures were carved in full round, the convention employed being substantially the same as that used in the large idols of wood and stone. The heads were cylindrical, with flat faces upon which the highly conventionalized features were carved in low relief. They were finished at the top with a narrow horizontal band, above which a cylindrical neck considerably smaller in diameter than the head, supported the ridgepole or stringer. The ears, shaped like the chord of a circle, were shown as two thin flanges, projecting from either side of the head slightly behind its center. The forward surface of these flanges was carved with two scrolls of unequal length, the upper one being longer. The scrolls met at a point in line with the outer corner of the eye. In some figures a hole was pierced through the center of the lower scroll. A figure seen in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, differed considerably from these. The roof timber of this house had rested directly upon the head of the figure without any intervening band or neck. The head was narrow, and short vertically with a marked occipital projection. The face was directed upward at an angle of about 35 degrees, and the features, although much weathered, indicated a high nose and generally naturalistic treatment.

The heads of the figures in a building usually showed uniformity in treatment and size, but the proportions of the body varied considerably, not only between the end and front posts but even between individual front posts. In the end posts the bodies and legs were unnaturally elongated, the idea evidently being to have the figure cover as much of the post as possible. In the front posts (Pl. XLI, *B*) the bodies were long and the legs disproportionately short or even lacking. The bodies as a rule showed little attempt at modeling, and were formed by a few simple planes; the arms were usually at the sides with the hands resting on the stomach. Both the upper arm and forearms were disproportionately short, and showed no attempt at modeling. The space between the upper arm and body in most figures was pierced, while the forearm was carved in rather low relief upon the body. In one specimen the hand was raised to the mouth and the upper arm was shown in the usual vertical position while the forearm and hand were unnaturally elongated; the space between the forearm and chin was pierced. The legs were always shown in a semi-flexed position with the space between them pierced. The thigh was usually short and the lower leg disproportionately long and heavy, but in the specimen from Atu Ona, the legs are naturally proportioned and well modeled. The feet were rarely indicated. The sex was usually shown but conventionally and without exaggeration of the parts.

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

CARVINGS ON POSTS

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 53

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving.

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

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1. Straight horizontal lines. Bands of these were used to separate zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones. This motif with its variations is shown in Figure 4, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.
2. Straight diagonal lines. Used to fill zones (fig. 4, *e*).
3. Series of parallel zigzag lines running horizontally (fig. 4, *f*).
4. Bands of alternate interlocking triangles (fig. 4, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles whose bases are formed by the sides of the zone. The interiors of these triangles are filled with lines parallel to the base, lines parallel to one side, or a series of V's whose sides are parallel to those of the triangle (fig. 4, *j*).
6. Large diamond shaped figures covering the length and breadth of a zone, leaving four triangles at the corners (fig. 4, *k*).
7. Small diamond shaped figures arranged in close order to fill an entire zone (fig. 4, *h*).
8. Irregular combinations of diagonal lines (fig. 6, *d*).

The Marquesans appear to have never used checkerwork, patterns formed of groups of small triangles, or cross hatching, in their house post decorations.

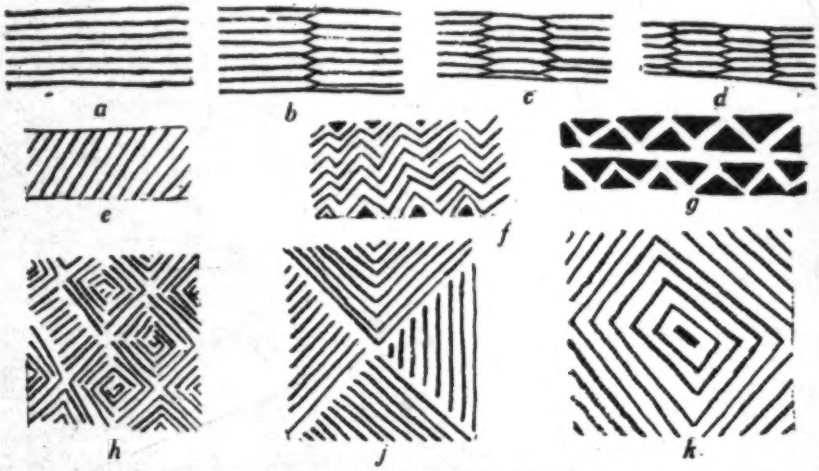

FIGURE 4.—Angular-geometric designs carved on house posts: *a*, straight horizontal grooves; *b*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-half the width of the post; *c*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post; *d*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth of the width of the post; *e*, diagonal lines; *f*, parallel zigzag lines; *g*, interlocking triangles; *h*, small diamond shaped figures; *j*, groups of four triangles; *k*, large diamond shaped figures. Reproduced from rubbings.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

The curvilinear designs used in house post decoration may be reduced to a few simple elements, but these are combined with each other and with angular-geometric designs to form a bewildering variety of patterns. The basic elements are:

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1. Circles, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *a*).
2. Ovals, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *b*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, either plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference, (fig. 5, *c*, *d*, *e*).
4. Series of parallel wavy lines (fig. 5, *b*.)
5. Irregular curves (fig. 5, *a*.)

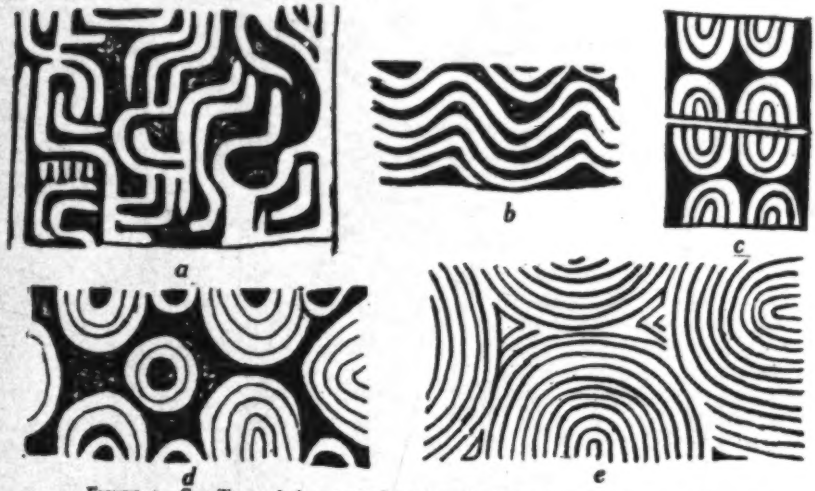

FIGURE 5.—Curvilinear designs carved on house posts: *a*, irregular curves: *c*, *d*, *e*, segments of circles or ovals; *b*, series of parallel wavy lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

When used in patterns the arrangement of these design elements is never perfectly symmetrical, although in some designs, notably those formed by four semicircles or semiovals (fig. 5, *a*), there is some approach to balance. Many of the patterns consist almost entirely of irregular curves and are completely unsymmetrical, no two elements corresponding in size or position. Interesting features of the curvilinear decoration are the complete absence of the conventionalized human faces used in all other forms of Marquesan carving and the practical absence of spiral forms.

COMBINED ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC AND CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

Angular-geometric and curvilinear designs frequently occur together in the same zone, the common arrangements being:

1. Curvilinear designs, especially concentric circles or ovals, superposed upon angular-geometric designs (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).
2. Curvilinear designs used to fill one or more of the elements of a geometric pattern.
3. Gradual transitions from angular-geometric to curvilinear designs, as in the case of some bands of parallel lines which grade imperceptably from zigzags at one end to wavy lines at the other. In all such combinations the angular-geometric motifs appear to be the basic ones.

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342 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed
531 lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

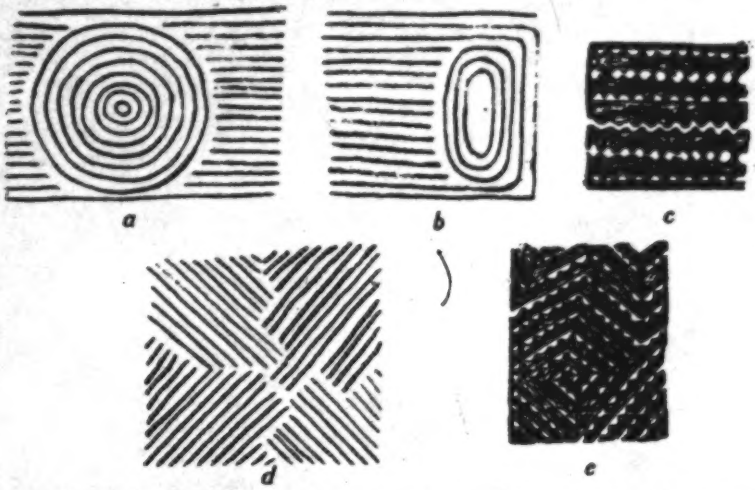

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations
531 for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the ma-
284 terials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

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The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

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The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

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342 left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the cross-
531 piece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical
position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical
strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and
284 behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from
slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first
loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the
original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind
the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at
the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was
passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the
crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the
black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front
of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord. This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left. Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

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352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

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and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anauu'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 824

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

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342 raising the entire house on posts, or by making the roof of disproportionate height. Houses of both types appear to have been used in all the islands, but the larger type shows more or less local variation in the form of the *pacpac*, in size, and in decoration. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *pacpac* was as a rule much wider in proportion to its length than in the islands further south and in Nuku Hiva many *pacpac* were provided with a pit for tapu objects. The use of cut stone as edging for the house floor, although of sporadic occurrence in all the islands, was most frequent in Nuku Hiva and least frequent in Fatu Hiva. The decoration of the dwelling *pacpac* with ornamental masonry appears to have been limited to Nuku Hiva, and its decoration with stone figures, to Hiva Oa, with a single doubtful example from Nuku Hiva. As a class the houses of Nuku Hiva were the largest in the group and those of Fatu Hiva, the smallest and most poorly built. Carved posts are said never to have been used in the dwellings of Ua Huka, were rare in Nuku Hiva, but were very common in Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. Ornamental lashings were used everywhere in the Marquesas, but appear to have played a more important part in the decoration of houses in the northern than in the southern part of the group.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN HOUSES

342 171 Structures corresponding to the Marquesan small house type (p. 271) are of rather wide occurrence in Polynesia. They are recorded from Hawaii, where they represent the original form from which the other house types were developed. They are also found in Tonga and in the Society Islands. The dwelling house type, as described on page 272, is characteristic of the Marquesas, and so far as known is peculiar to that group of islands.

It seems probable, therefore, that the original settlers of the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of the small house type and that the dwelling type is a later local development. The small house, while easily made, was inconvenient on account of the lack of head room and the large amount of waste space under the edges of the roof on either side. To develop the dwelling type from the small house type it was only necessary to raise the roof on one side and prop it up with posts placed along the outer edge. Even now small houses are occasionally enlarged in this way. The use of a stringer along the front of the house to keep the rafters from sagging between posts would be a step requiring no great inventive genius, while an increase in the pitch of the rear roof, cutting down the waste space along its lower edge, would soon follow. The complete absence in the Marquesas of houses with both front and rear walls is rather curious as the natives were in occasional contact with the Tuamotus and Society Islands, where walled houses were in regular use.

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On the basis of house type, Polynesia as a whole may be divided into two parts: a central part, including Tonga, Samoa, and to a lesser degree the Society Islands, in which the houses were oval, with rounded apses; and a marginal portion including New Zealand, the Marquesas and Hawaii, in which the houses were rectangular. In the central section there was no distinction between floor space and bed space, and the platform was unimportant. Some of the houses were furnished with wooden stools. Legged pillows of wood or bamboo were in regular use. In the marginal section there was a permanent division of bed and floor, a stone platform was used everywhere but in New Zealand and there was no furniture. 342 171

The Marquesan house had little in common with the central Polynesian type, and appears to be intermediate in form between the two varieties of the marginal type—that is, the Maori and the Hawaiian. In the arrangement of the frame and the common use of a stone platform and side entrance, it resembles the Hawaiian form. On the other hand the use of carved decoration links it with the Maori form, as does also the occurrence of a slide door. The *fata'a*, or store house on poles, finds no parallel in Hawaii or central Polynesia, but it closely resembles the Maori *pataka*. The use of ornamental lashings is absent in both Hawaii and New Zealand, but is highly developed in many parts of the central area. The best explanation for these facts appears to be that the Maori, Marquesan and Hawaiian forms are descended from a common ancestor, but that the Maori and Marquesan houses have been affected by some influence which introduced house carving and the *fata'a* type of structure, an influence which did not reach Hawaii. The Marquesan houses were then further modified by the introduction of ornamental lashings, a feature which did not reach either Hawaii or New Zealand.

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CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

MODERN CANOES

FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Taheku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

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indicates the speed with which new appliances of obvious value are accepted by the natives. 501
The new outrigger is indirect, and consists of three elements, the float, the uprights, and the 336
crosspieces. The float consists of a peeled log of fau wood four to five inches in diameter, [834]
slightly shorter than the canoe. This is usually sharpened at the forward end only, the cutting being done entirely from the lower side, but a few specimens were seen which had been sharpened at both ends, apparently with the idea of making the canoe completely reversible. The uprights, about two feet long, are usually made of small barrel staves. A triangular notch about two inches deep is cut in the upper end. Eight inches below this notch the uprights are pierced by a rectangular hole an inch and a half to two inches square. These uprights are permanently attached to the float. The unnotched ends of the staves are wedged into longitudinal slits near either end of the upper surface of the float. The crosspieces are peeled poles of fau or hard wood about eight feet long and three inches in diameter at the butt. Their outer ends are sharpened so that they will readily pass through the rectangular holes in the uprights.

The outrigger is assembled and attached as follows: The squared ends of the cross poles are fitted into the holes of the uprights, their points projecting about two inches on the outer side. The whole outrigger is then placed on the right side of the canoe, the crosspieces extending across it on the line of the hard wood plugs, with their butts projecting a few inches beyond the left gunwale. One end of a light rope is then fastened to the projecting end of the front crosspiece, outside the upright. The rope is then carried over the top of the upright, through the notch, and along the crosspiece to the inner side of the right gunwale. It is then passed back and forth diagonally over the crosspiece and around the inside and outside ends of the plug until the crosspiece is held rigidly. The rope then runs along the crosspiece to the left gunwale, where the same lashing is repeated. Some slack is then left in the canoe, and the left end of the rear crosspiece is lashed, the rope passing from there to the right gunwale lashing the crosspiece there, and out along the crosspiece and over the end of the upright to the outer end of the crosspiece, where it is tied. Any rope left over is carried back along the crosspiece and coiled in the canoe.

An outrigger of this sort can be attached or removed in a few moments, and the single rope used to lash it is available for other purposes when not in use on the canoe. When a canoe is beached the owner usually removes the outrigger at once and stores it in a safe place, thus making the canoe useless and safeguarding it from theft.

Small fishing canoes of the type described are rarely used for trips of any 502
length. They are not sailed but are commonly paddled by two men. One man sits on the stern crosspiece of the outrigger where it crosses the boat, while the other wedges himself between the thwarts amidships. Most of these canoes are completely reversible, and they are sometimes paddled with the outrigger on the left instead of the right. The narrowness of these craft, and their high center of gravity (for the paddlers sit practically on top of the canoe) make them very unstable, and in spite of the outrigger they frequently capsize. The natives right them by getting on the outrigger and forcing it down under the canoe and up the other side.

VAKA POTI

The *vaka poti*—a craft that appears to be a local development—is an inter- 501
esting example of the native adaptation of European ideas. It may be described as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 396 [824] As the name indicates, the *vaka poti* is a hybrid of canoe and boat, and is larger and more seaworthy than the fishing canoe, being twenty to twenty-five feet long with a maximum beam of two to two and a half feet. A long strip of breadfruit or temanu wood, eight inches to a foot in width, about four inches thick and tapering to a point at both ends, serves the double purpose of keel and bottom. It is smoothly rounded on the outside and slightly hollowed along the center of its upper surface. This is probably an extreme modification of the dugout underbody of the old built up canoes. Longitudinal slots are cut in either end of this keel and into these two flat, slightly curving pieces of temanu wood are bolted. These serve as the stem and sternposts of the boat, and are identical in form. Short light ribs are then bolted to the keel along both edges, their short lower arms resting upon its upper surface. The sides of the boat are built up with thin planks of commercial lumber which are laid on with an overlap from above downward—that is, the boat is clinker built. These planks are carefully dressed along the points of contact to insure a tight joint, and are fastened into grooves in the sides of the stem and sternpost. The gunwales are finished with a narrow flat strip of wood. At either end of the boat, immediately below this strip, a triangular piece of plank is put in, decking the last two or three feet of the bow and stern. The boat is braced by three broad flat thwarts which also serve as seats. One of these thwarts is placed in the middle and the other two at either end, two to three feet within the edges of the end deckings. The forward thwart is pierced with a hole three or four inches in diameter which, with a corresponding block on the keel, serves to step a mast. These crafts are always provided with an outrigger similar in shape and attachment to that of the fishing canoe, but of proportionately greater size.

Alexander, who visited Nuku Hiva in 1899, saw a slightly different form of outrigger in use with the *vaka poti*. He says (2, p. 746): "From the gunwale to the outrigger float of these canoes is an average of 7 feet. The outrigger frame consists of five pieces of wood, namely, two poles or crosspieces seized across the gunwales 4½ feet apart, one forward and the other aft of center; two stanchions connecting crosspieces of the outrigger float, and a brace which is seized to crosspieces just outside the gunwale. That part of the crosspieces between the gunwales answers the purpose of thwarts, the upper side being hewn to a flat surface. The outboard ends are sized to the perpendicular pieces, or stanchions, the length of which is, as a rule, the distance from the gunwale to the water line. These pieces are sized to the top side of the float, the sizings extending all the way around the float, but done so neatly as to offer little resistance to the water. The crosspieces, float, and stanchions are braced with withes to prevent them from being twisted and thrown out of position by coming in contact 924 with rocks. . . . The material used in sizing the outrigger frame together is coconut fiber twisted into a small line."

A *vaka poti* is normally handled by four men, one of whom sits in the stern and steers 502 with a paddle while the other three row with short oars of ordinary European form. The bow and stern oars are placed on the side opposite the outrigger, the middle oar on the outrigger side, working within it.

Every craft of this sort is provided with a leg of mutton sail of canvas like that commonly used on ships' boats. When not in use the sail is stored under the short deck at one end of the boat, while the poles which serve as mast and boom are lashed along the crosspieces of the outrigger. The heavier of these poles, which is about nine feet long, serves as the mast. When the sail is to be hoisted, the mast is passed through loops of string tied along one edge of the sail, the loop nearest the masthead being firmly tied to the pole. Two light ropes are then attached to the masthead opposite each other and the mast is stepped, the butt passing through the hole in the forward thwart and resting in the hollowed block in the keel. The two ropes from the masthead are then fastened to the forward outrigger crosspiece just outside the gunwales of the canoe. A third rope is sometimes run from the masthead to the prow, but this is not common. The lighter pole serves as the boom and passes through the loops along the lower edge of the sail. The outermost loop is firmly tied to the boom, and a rope is attached to its outer end. The boom is then gradually thrust outboard until the sail is fully spread and only the inner end of the boom rests against the mast. This end simply rests against the mast and is not attached to it.

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Vaka poti are rarely if ever used for inter-island voyages as most of the villages possess whale boats, which are more suitable for such trips. The natives, however, make fairly long coasting voyages in the *vaka poti*. They keep as close in shore as possible, rowing along the edge of the breakers in the narrow belt of comparatively calm water caused by the backwash from the cliffs. Even when there are large bays along the route they prefer to skirt the shore rather than to cut straight across. This custom of lying close inshore no doubt accounts in part for the indifferent way in which the boats are sailed. When the wind is astern the sheet is paid out on the side away from the outrigger, and as there is no way of reefing in case of a strong wind it is necessary for the occupants of the canoe to lean far out on the outrigger side or even climb out on the outrigger frame to keep the boat from capsizing. When the wind is on the port quarter the sheet is paid out on the outrigger side, but it is dangerous to sail this way as a sudden puff may drive the outrigger under and capsize the boat. When the wind is abeam the natives lower sail and row out against it for some distance, then spread sail and come in at a long slant with the wind on the quarter, repeating the maneuver whenever they get too close to the coast. They do not seem to understand tacking, and never sail except with a following wind. 502

ANCIENT CANOES

THE DUGOUT

Two ancient types of canoe are remembered by the natives, a small fishing canoe, and a built up war canoe. The small canoe is said to have been a simple dugout, identical with the modern fishing canoes already described except that it lacked the plank gunwales and had an outrigger of the ancient form (p. 309). Porter (49), who mentions these canoes, says that they were "commonly nothing more than the hollowed keels of the large ones after the upper works have been taken off." They appear to have been used only around the harbors, all longer voyages being made in canoes of the built up type. 501

BUILT UP CANOES

Large built up canoes have been obsolete for many years, as the Marquesans were quick to see the superiority of the European small craft and soon learned to imitate them. Even in 1838 Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the ancient canoes had been largely replaced by whale boats which the natives obtained from passing ships. Small built up canoes have, however, continued in use until comparatively recent times and a seaworthy example is still to be seen on the island of Fatu Hiva. The form of these smaller craft is well remembered by many living persons and from their descriptions, the numerous early [177]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

which had been worn out or damaged. The names of the Pua Ma'u canoes were Vaimakamaka, the largest and most important, Vaioto, Taipehe and Meaupiau. 996 501 [552]

The canoe normally consisted of nine parts, the underbody, bow piece, stern piece, two side planks, and four strips used to cover the side seams. Certain other parts were occasionally added. Each of the large sections was usually hewn from a single piece of wood, while the strips were made of bamboo.

The underbody of one large canoe and part of a second underbody, which had been made in two pieces, were seen in the valley of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva. The history of these objects had apparently been forgotten by the Hakaui natives, but according to Atu Ona informants one of the underbodies belonged to a canoe called Mo'ote which was made in that valley by a *tuhuna* named Kaneautia. This canoe was sent to the chief of Hakaui by a chief of Atu Ona in exchange for *enamoa*, a yellow paint or dye used for anointing the body, prepared in Nuku Hiva by a secret process. The debris of a great temanu tree from which this canoe is said to have been made is still to be seen in Atu Ona.

Hakaui informants said that the two underbodies had belonged to separate craft, not to a single double canoe. On the other hand Christian (10, p. 180) mentions two old canoes in this valley which, from their location, seem to be the same as those here referred to and gives a photograph of a large double canoe, unquestionably Marquesan, which he implies belongs with the reference. In this photograph each of the canoes appears to be complete in itself while the attachment consists of three cross poles, easily removable. It seems probable, therefore, that these canoes were used both singly and together.

A study of the complete underbody—which had been exposed to the weather and was much rotted and warped—brought out the following particulars:

It was 40 feet, 6 inches in length, with a maximum central width of 4 feet, which tapered to 2 feet, 6 inches at the ends. The original depth could not be accurately determined. The two ends of this underbody were identical.

The section of an underbody was much better preserved, having been stored under an overhanging cliff which protected it from the weather. If the underbody of which this had formed a part was similar to the complete specimen it must have been over 60 feet in length. Some old canoe models, which appear to be very accurate, clearly show that the two ends of underbodies were not always the same, the forward end often being made much broader and deeper to facilitate the firm attachment of the bow piece. The extreme shallowness and narrowness of the outer end of the section proves that it was the stern, and if we assume that the whole underbody was of the broad bowed type it is possible that it was not more than 40 to 45 feet in length. The dimensions of the section were as follows: Length 34 feet, 11 inches; maximum width (at a point 4 feet from the inner end of the section) 3 feet, 4 inches; width at stern, 1 foot, 6 inches; maximum depth (outside) 1 foot, 9 inches; depth at tip of stern 4½ inches. The walls were 1½ inches thick at the upper edge, increasing gradually to 2½ inches in the center of the bottom. The cavity of the underbody had, in cross section, the form of a rectangle with rounded corners. The middle of the canoe was flat bottomed, becoming gradually more rounded toward the stern.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 The rim of the underbody was flat and straight throughout its length, except for the last six feet of the stern where the walls of the underbody were thickened to form a longitudinal
501 ridge about two inches below the upper edge. (See Pl. XLII, *A*.) The lower part of this ridge curved smoothly into the corner of the bottom, while the upper part ran back in a flat bevel at an angle of about 40 degrees to the line of the outer edge of the flat rim. The bow and stern of all underbodies appear to have been finished in this way. The tip of the underbody was cut squarely across, and the outside was flat and vertical. The rim was somewhat broader here than along the sides and had, in the center of its interior surface, a broad, rounded point, left at the time of its excavation. This feature is shown in small canoe models, and both the bows and stern of underbodies were probably finished in this way. The projection corresponded to a similar projection on the under surface of the stern and bow pieces, and no doubt helped to strengthen and make rigid their juncture with the underbody.

The inner end of the canoe section observed at Hakaui was especially interesting as it showed the method of finishing a joint. The bottom was cut squarely across, and had no holes for lashings. The sides were cut back for a distance of two feet, the lower edge of the cut sloping upward gradually until its perpendicular inner end was only eight inches high. The surfaces of the side cuts were beveled, running to a thin edge on the inside, and were pierced with triangular holes for lashings. (See Pl. XLII, *B*.)

A row of similar holes was pierced through either side of the underbody about an inch below the rim. There were no holes at the ends. The lashing holes were an inch and a half in width and approximately an inch in depth, the base of the triangle being upward, and were placed at intervals of five to six inches.

Along each side of the section there was a row of three small projections which had been left at the time the canoe was hollowed out. These projections were six inches wide and five and a half inches high, the upper edges were two inches below the rim of the underbody. They had been carved into the form of squat human figures with disproportionately large heads, but the details had been practically obliterated. The projections were arranged in pairs, facing each other; the interval between pairs was 9 feet. 11 inches. The natives could give no information as to their purpose, but it seems certain that they served as supports for thwarts or seats. The complete underbody had no projections of this sort and these projections do not appear in any of the models studied.

224 Both underbodies were made of temanu wood and had been carefully rubbed down inside and out, obliterating all tool marks and giving the surface a finish as smooth as that of an ordinary bowl.

The Bow Piece

So far as known no bow pieces of Marquesan built up canoes have survived but excellent descriptions which check up with the accounts of early voyagers and the old canoe models were obtained from informants.

In a canoe with a forty-foot underbody the bow piece would be about fourteen feet long. Its shape (difficult to describe) can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a section of an old and apparently very accurate canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*). For the sake of convenience in description the bow piece may be divided into three parts, the deck, the neck and the figurehead. The deck was the rearmost section, which was enclosed between the ends of the side planks and bounded in front by a transverse flange, the breakwater, which kept head seas from entering the canoe. The deck of the bow piece was of the same width as the underbody, with a flat upper surface and vertical sides. The under surface was deeply hollowed, the lower edges being of the same width as the sides of the underbody upon which they rested. Triangular lashing holes were pierced through the sides a short distance above the lower edge,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

while two other holes, one on either side, were pierced through the angle formed by the top and sides about half-way between the breakwater and rear end of the deck. The upper lashing holes, which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks, did not pierce the cavity of the bow piece. 396 501

The neck, or portion lying between the breakwater and the figurehead, was two to three times the length of the deck. Its upper surface was flat, and was the same width as the deck immediately in front of the breakwater, tapering gradually toward the forward end. Its lower surface was hollowed for about one-half its length, the outer end of the excavation being cut to leave a semicircular projection like that already mentioned in the description of the ends of canoe underbodies. Beyond the end of the excavation a heavy flange projected downward, its lower edge being flush with the bottom of the end of the underbody when the bow piece was in position. On the outer side this flange curved up smoothly to the base of the figurehead. The lower edges of the sides of the excavated portion fitted accurately to those of the underbody, and were pierced with lashing poles. Above the edge, however, the sides sloped inward, the flat upper surface of the neck projecting beyond them on either side in a longitudinal flange.

The angle which the neck formed with the body of the canoe seems to have varied considerably. In the specimen photographed the neck is practically parallel to the upper edge of the underbody, and the early accounts and pictures would seem to indicate that this was usual. According to informants, however, it curved upward sharply beyond the end of the underbody, and all the recent canoe models show this feature in more or less exaggerated form. In the double canoe shown by Christian (10, p. 180), the neck of the bow piece of one canoe is of the form already described and curves upward at only a slight angle, while the neck of the other canoe curves up much more abruptly. In the second specimen the upper surface of the neck does not project over the sides, but curves down into them smoothly, as in the normal stern pieces.

The form of the figurehead and its relation to the neck can best be described by comparing it to a long handled shovel laid back up, the neck corresponding to the handle and the figurehead to the blade. The base of the figurehead projected out sharply from the neck on either side, while the forward end was semicircular or was bluntly pointed. The upper surface was convex, the point of greatest thickness being at the middle of the rear end. It was carved into a single, large, flat face, chin forward. The convention was the usual one except that the broad mouth was crescent shaped, and the ears were represented by thin semicircular flanges which projected from either side of the head just beyond its juncture with the neck. [532]

The Stern Piece

Two forms of stern piece were employed in the Marquesan built up canoe. The one shown in the accompanying picture (Pl. XLII, *E*) is apparently the commoner type. For the sake of convenience in description this form may be divided into three parts—the body, deck and tail.

The body of the stern piece was that part which rested upon the underbody of the canoe. It formed a third to a half of the total length of the stern piece, supporting the deck and tapering off into the tail at the rear. The lower surface of the body was deeply hollowed, while the outer sides curved inward gradually meeting in a distinct ridge along the median line of the upper surface. The lower edges were cut to conform accurately to the upper edges of the stern of the underbody, and were pierced with holes for lashings. The rear end of the body terminated in a heavy, downward projecting flange which rested against the stern of the underbody and was identical in form and arrangement with the corresponding flange on the bow piece.

The deck, although hewn in a single piece with the body, had the appearance of simply resting upon it, its sides and rear edge projecting beyond the sides of the body. Its upper

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 surface was flat and almost rectangular, curving up into a transverse flange at the rear. At
501 the forward edge of the body there was a narrow vertical flange, extending from its lower edge to the deck, which served to make a close joint between the stern piece and the side planks. The edges of the deck were pierced with two vertical lashing holes which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks. The inner end of the stern piece was sometimes considerably thicker than that of the bow piece, raising the level of the stern deck. When such was the case the height of the transverse flange at the rear end of the deck, really a stern breakwater, was less than that of the bow breakwater. The upper edges of the two breakwaters were always at the same level.

In the two oldest canoe models studied, a long oval projection with an almost circular depression in its upper surface extended from the center of the stern breakwater over the body. The only genuine stern piece seen did not show this feature and it is not found in the more recent canoe models. The purpose of the projection was not learned.

The stern piece narrowed rapidly to form the tail, a long flat projection, like a thick plank with the edge up, which rose from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees. It might be either straight or slightly curved, and was pierced near the outer end and along its length with two or more holes, or slots, which served for the attachment of various ornaments.

The stern piece of one of the large canoes in Hakaui referred to (p. 303), is said to have been eighteen feet long and of the type just described.

In the second form of stern piece (Pl. XLII, *C*) the deck and body parts were of the same form, but the rear end fitted down closely upon the stern of the underbody, without overlapping or projecting beyond it. Informants insisted that all canoes had the high tail piece, but were uncertain how it was attached to this form of stern. Fleurieu (23, pp. 131 to 132) says: "The stern is made of two planks four inches high, placed on edge and rising in the form of an elongated and flattened S." Stewart, an unusually trustworthy observer says: "From the keel on each side a light round timber extended, curving gradually upward like the runners in the front of a sleigh, and terminating in a broad flattened blade, six to eight feet above the water." (59, p. 244.) It seems probable, therefore, that in stern pieces of the sort just described the tail was made in two pieces which were lashed one on either side of the canoe.

Side Planks

The side plank of a Marquesan built up canoe was a flat piece of wood of the same thickness as the rim of the underbody and a foot to a foot and a half in width (Pl. XLII, *G*).

The upper edge was hewn into a narrow gunwale, the inside of which was flush with the surface of the plank, while the outside projected as a narrow flange. The lower half to two-thirds of the plank was cut away at either end in a long curve, so that while the length of the upper edge was equal to the distance between the outer surfaces of the breakwaters when the bow and stern pieces were in position, the length of the lower edge was only slightly greater than the distance between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. At the points of contact of the side planks with the end pieces, the inner surface of the planks was cut away to insure a tight joint, the cutting being deepest at the lower edge and becoming gradually shallower toward the top. As a result of this, the upper part of the side plank was forced out somewhat when it was in position so that the whole plank formed a slight angle with the sides of the underbody.

A series of triangular lashing holes, corresponding to those of the underbody in size and position but with the base down, were pierced through the side planks a short distance above its lower edge. Additional holes for the outrigger lashings were made through the upper edge immediately below the gunwale. There were usually three of these, the two outer holes being placed a short distance within the points of contact of the side plank with the bow and

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

stern pieces, while the third was midway between them. Other lashing holes were pierced through the lower edges of the projecting ends of the side plank and served to attach it to the bow and stern pieces, while still others were made under the gunwale at either end to serve for the attachment of bow and stern platforms. Where a supplementary breakwater was used, holes for its attachment were pierced through the forward ends of the side planks near their outer edges. 396 501

The Strips

Four strips were used to cover the seams between the underbody and the side planks, bow and stern pieces.

The strips were of unequal length, the two outside strips extending the full length of the underbody while the inside strips only covered the space between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. The upper edges of the inside strips were cut away for a short distance at either end so as to form a close joint with the lower corners of the bow and stern pieces. The strips were made either of soft wood or bamboo and were an inch to an inch and a half in width. When bamboo was used a stalk was split lengthwise and the divisions at the joints cut out. The wooden strips were rounded on the outside and hollowed longitudinally on the inner surface. On long canoes the strips were made in several sections, but there seems to have been no definite order in the arrangement of these. Although the edges of the strips were cut to fit the sides of the canoe as accurately as possible, their purpose appears to have been to protect the pad used between the underbody and the upper sections rather than to make the seam watertight.

Other Canoe Parts

Other elements were sometimes incorporated into the built up canoes.

A supplementary breakwater was in common use (Pl. XLII, *F*), consisting of a thin plank, in the form of a broad flat crescent with stubby points, which was sometimes attached to the upper edge of the bow breakwater. The lower edge of this plank rested upon the top of the breakwater and was accurately fitted to it, while the sides projected beyond the sides of the bow piece. It was attached by lashings to the center of the breakwater and at the ends of the side planks.

A second feature, of greater ethnological interest, was the use of bulkheads. No information was obtained from the natives in regard to bulkheads, but they are shown in certain canoe models and are mentioned by Porter in his description of the Ua Huka canoes. He says: "Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing." (49, p. 79.) Judging from the models, these planks were cut to fit accurately the interior of the canoe, being notched on either side to accommodate the strip covering the side seam. The tops were flush with gunwales to which, in one model, they were fastened by single lashings near the top on either side.

It is probable that thwarts designed simply to strengthen the canoe were not used, but the war canoes had seats for paddlers. According to informants the seats were flat planks resting upon the top of the inside strips. Large canoes might have as many as ten seats.

ASSEMBLING THE CANOE

In some of the larger valleys the canoes were kept in special houses on the beach, and were probably left assembled at all times. According to informants in other places, canoes were usually taken to pieces as soon as they were beached and the parts carried up into the valley. A highly probable explanation of this

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 [237] The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

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with feathers, beaten in. Langsdorff (38, p. 173) says that the seams were covered with the gum of the breadfruit tree, but this was not mentioned by informants or by any other early visitor. All accounts agree that the craft leaked so badly that one or two men were kept constantly employed bailing.

THE OUTRIGGER

All canoes, when not fastened together in pairs, were provided with outriggers. Quiros (50, p. 28) says that they had "outriggers of cane on either side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys." Porter (49, p. 102) also mentions the use of double outriggers in connection with large canoes differing somewhat from the type now under discussion. Canoes appear, however, to have been normally fitted with a single outrigger on the right side.

This outrigger was of indirect type, consisting of crosspieces, uprights and a float. In the smaller craft two crosspieces only were used, in the larger canoes there were three, the third being in the middle. These crosspieces passed over the canoe, their right ends projecting beyond it, and were lashed firmly to the side planks by cords passed through holes in the upper edges of the side planks.

Each of the uprights consisted of four or six small sticks or splints. When four sticks were used they were placed two on either side of the crosspiece, and the lower ends of each pair rested together, the upper ends being some inches apart so that they formed a V. Each of these V's in turn sloped outward from the crosspieces; their attachments to the float were a foot or more apart. Informants say that this form of upright, although much more difficult to make than the modern one, was superior to it. In landing through a heavy surf the forward end of the float often strikes bottom, and with the modern heavy upright the canoe is turned end over end. When the old upright was used the thin sticks of which it was composed broke easily, and the canoe would land without capsizing. The lower ends of the uprights were wedged into slots in the upper surface of the float, which consisted of a hibiscus log sharpened at the forward end.

CANOE PLATFORMS

According to old accounts the large war canoes were provided with platforms at bow and stern, while Porter (49, p. 101) mentions an additional central platform on which the chief sat. The use of such platforms is only vaguely remembered by the natives and these platforms are not shown in the newer models. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that the platform was made of small sticks and covered with a mat, and that the stern platform was considerably higher than the one in the bow. In two old models the stern platforms are made as follows:

Two rather large peeled sticks were laid across the canoe, the inner stick being close behind the forward end of the stern piece while the outer was just in front of the breakwater. Two other poles were then laid across the ends of these, lengthwise of the canoe, and the whole lashed to the side planks with bark rope passed through holes in the canoe. The rear ends of the second pair of poles projected slightly beyond the stern breakwater. Two more cross poles were laid on the ends of these, above which two very long poles were placed lengthwise, their tips projecting back almost to the tip of the upward curving tail. The four upper poles were then lashed to the frame formed by the four lower ones. The bow platform was built on the same principle except that the tops of the second set of poles were flush with

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396 501 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental 591 lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual 501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with 592 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

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The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were 501
painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the 531
tevake bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were [237]
held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds 501
which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower 531
edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed 824
along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung [237]
on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip 501
of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-* 531
hina (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one [824]
of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any [727]
enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small 502
canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the informa- 501
tion obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

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501 were temporarily fastened in pairs. They were fastened together by heavy poles, corresponding in position to the crosspieces of the outrigger. The space between the canoes was covered with a temporary platform. In some stories mention is made of a railing around this platform. (Handy, personal correspondence.) Double canoes of this sort were used for inter-island trips and for long fishing trips, when the crew expected to be away for several days. Double canoes, made from [724] fishing canoes, are said to have accompanied the war canoes on long raids to carry supplies.

Porter (49, pp. 102-103) mentions still another type of craft which is so remarkable that it seems best to give the quotation in full. He says:

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With these they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net and with the hook and line. . . . The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes and are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat. . . . These are also worked during a calm with paddles and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner.

No other author mentions craft of this large type but the quotation just given is preceded by a detailed and accurate account of the built up canoes and, except for a tendency to exaggerate dimensions, Porter's accounts of material culture seem to be thoroughly trustworthy. It seems certain that at the time of his visit the Marquesans had some vessel of much larger size than the built up canoe and differing from it in construction.

Informants made no mention of craft of this sort, and the type probably became extinct at an early time. Even at the time of Porter's visit the natives had had considerable contact with Europeans, and there were white sailors settled among them. They are, as a race, quick to see the advantages of mechanical improvements, and the rapid adoption of the present type of outrigger shows the speed with which a new idea may spread among them. They had undoubtedly seen many ships' boats, and it is quite possible that they had already developed a hybrid form intended to embody the advantages of both ships' boat and canoe. We have seen that in 1838, twenty-five years after Porter's visit, whale boats had supplanted most of the large canoes, so that the life of the new type would have been short.

On the other hand, Porter specifically says that the large double canoes were of this type, a strong evidence that it was pre-European. Moreover, his

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brief description of the manner of propulsion applies perfectly to the Tongan method of sculling large craft. It would be practically impossible to build a boat six feet wide and of the same depth on the lines of the built up canoes already described, and it seems certain that these boats were made either of planks or of many pieces. Plank canoes were used in the Society and Tuamoto groups and the Marquesans could hardly have been ignorant of this form of boat. 501

In a legend of the migration of one of the tribes of Hiva Oa, which was driven out by its neighbors and went to seek new land, it is stated that they departed on large bamboo rafts. The tribe in question lived on the plateau and were said to have used these craft because they had no wood suitable for canoes. No details as to the construction could be obtained. [824]

Porter (49, p. 103) says:

"[The natives] use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board. . . . These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbor."

SAILS

The aboriginal type of sail became obsolete at an early date and it is doubtful whether any of the living natives have seen a genuine ancient sail. Informants insisted that they were like those in use at the present time except that the boom sloped upward instead of being horizontal and that the sail itself was made of coconut mats instead of canvas (pandanus mats were tapu for sails). This agrees perfectly with the brief mention of Porter and the picture given by Cook. Porter (49, pp. 102-103) says: 501 285 [824]

Double canoes ". . . are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat, similar to that called a shoulder-of-mutton sail but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom.

The drawing published by Cook (14, p. 307) shows a single canoe provided with a mast of rough timber and a triangular sail of matting along the lower edge of which there is a boom also of rough timber. The boom is set at an angle of about forty-five degrees, the apex of the triangular sail being at the juncture of the boom and mast. The upper edge of the sail is concave, and the tips of the mast and boom project for some distance beyond the fabric of the sail. The mast is stayed by a rope running from a little below the masthead to the center of the bow projection, and by three other ropes two of which run to the stern outrigger crosspiece a short distance outside the gunwales of the canoe, while the third is attached to the crosspiece near its outer tip. In the picture the sail is directly over the canoe, between the two inner stays, a system impossible in practice. It seems probable that the author placed it in this position in order to better show

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501 the arrangement of the stays. A slack line is shown running from the outer end
285 of the boom to the stern seat to control the sheet. In the drawing the lower end of the boom is concealed, but it seems probable that, as in the modern sail, it was not attached to the mast. In the background of the picture there are two small distant canoes one of which is shown under way with the sheet paid out. The side stays are fastened to the bow instead of to the stern outrigger crosspiece, while the bow stay is replaced by a single stern stay. The second canoe is shown with the sail furled, apparently by bringing the boom up against the mast. The method of stepping the masts of the ancient canoes was not ascertained. According to information obtained by Handy, a square rail was used, with a spar at the top and bottom.

PADDLES

Porter's mention of "paddles more resembling an oar" (49, p. 152) would
501 imply that more than one type of paddle was in use in the Marquesas, but all the specimens seen or described by informants belong to a single well defined type.

[824] The paddles were made of rose wood, and were often decorated with carving. The manufacture of small highly ornamented paddles of somewhat degenerate form intended for sale as curios has continued until the present time, but the natives have lost the skill necessary for the manufacture of the large genuine specimens; the only ones seen in actual use were old.

The peculiar shape of Marquesan paddles makes them easily recognizable in any collection. (See Pl. XLIII, *B*.) In length they range from 4 feet, 8 inches to 5 feet, 8 inches, although the steering paddles used on war canoes were probably still longer. The average length is slightly over 5 feet. For convenience in description they may be divided into three parts, the shaft, the blade, and the terminal knob, a projection below the blade.

The shaft is approximately circular in cross section and tapers very slightly toward the upper and lower ends. In some old specimens the central part is somewhat flattened laterally, but this may be due to long use. The upper end terminates in a cylindrical knob, slightly thicker than the shaft, or in a flat expanded transverse grip with a concave upper surface. Only one specimen of this sort was seen, the grip in this having been originally two inches in width. At the lower end the shaft passes imperceptibly into the blade.

The total length of the blade, exclusive of the terminal knob, is one foot to 15 inches, with a maximum width of 6 to 7 inches. The wings of the blade curve outward gradually from the shaft to the point of maximum width, which in a blade one foot long is slightly less than 11 inches from the upper end. From this point they curve inward sharply toward the base of the terminal knob. The thickness of the wings at the edges is about ¼ inch, this thickness remaining uniform for the entire length of the blade. The center of the blade has a thickness of ¼ to ⅜ inch, gradually increasing toward the ends. The outer surface of the blade is convex, either smoothly rounded or with a slight longitudinal ridge along the center. The inner surface is concave, the center, at the point of greatest depth, being sometimes as much as ⅜ inch below the level of the wing edges.

The form of the terminal knob may be seen from Plate XLIII, *B*. The knob is connected with the blade by a short neck which curves upward and backward. The inner side of this neck bears a rather sharp longitudinal ridge which continues for a short distance up the blade. The outer surface is flat or bears a much lower longitudinal ridge which continues for a short

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distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *mio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [532]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
531 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe models. At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

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on the other hand are decorated only on those parts which were decorated in the actual ancient canoe and show a close attention to all details, even those hidden when the canoe was assembled, which is good evidence that the maker attempted a replica of the actual craft. At the present time the natives make models of the European vessels which visit the group and these models are properly proportioned and surprisingly accurate as to detail, the original of any model being at once recognizable. It seems probable, therefore, that the old models reproduce the real canoes with similar exactness, and it seems justifiable to use them for illustration and for the settlement of doubtful points. 501

Probably the earliest model now preserved is that in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., which was made before 1820. (See Pl. XLIV, *A*.) As may be seen from the photograph it differs somewhat from the descriptions obtained. There are no separate bow and stern piece, the figurehead rests directly on the top of the cutwater, and the outrigger is unusual in form with a direct attachment. It is possible that it reproduces a special type, now forgotten, but it is equally possible that its extremely small size has led to the omission of certain features. Next in age to this model are two preserved in the Bishop Museum (Pl. XLIV, *C*) which agree in every way with the descriptions given, and appear to be accurate replicas of the ancient craft. The highly decorated example (Pl. XLIV, *B*) is comparatively new, and was probably made for sale to Europeans.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CANOES

The simple dugout is of such widespread use among primitive peoples that a consideration of its occurrance is of little or no comparative value. Quite the reverse is true, however, of the built up canoe, as such craft offer a wide field for possible variation. If we study the Polynesian canoes of this sort we find that in Tonga and Samoa, and from there eastward to the Society Islands, these craft were built up of many sections, each cut to fit its position in the whole. These sections were fastened together by cords passed not through the body of the plank, but through oblique holes cut in flanges or projections left on the inner side of each section at the time it was hewn. No lashings were visible on the outer surface, which, after the boat was assembled, was rubbed down to an even finish. The sections were so accurately fitted that it was often difficult to detect the joints. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand, the built up canoe consisted of five parts, an underbody—hewn when possible from a single log—bow and stern pieces, and side planks. These were attached by lashings passed through holes in the body of the plank so that they were exposed on the outside. The Samoan and Tongan craft had a sharp cutwater and were flat at bow and stern. Certain parts of the larger Samoan canoes were carved but the bow and stern decorations were limited to knobs carved on the flat upper surface or on the 501 171

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50/ 171 edges of the gunwales. Only one Samoan form, said to be a result of foreign influence, had an upward curved projection at bow and stern. In the Hawaiian canoes we find no distinct cutwater as the bottom curves upward and narrows to a point. The bow is unornamented but has a short projection. In the Marquesas and New Zealand the bow and stern of the underbody are of the form just described for Hawaii. The bow piece extends for some distance beyond the end of the underbody while the stern piece curves upward to form a high tail. In the Society Islands the canoes were built of many pieces. The entire hull curved upward at the stern rising almost vertically for some distance, and was crowned with carved figures. At the bow there was a second projection which on some was decorated.

The sails used in Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand were made in the form of a triangle, with the apex at the foot of the mast and the boom along the lower edge. In Tonga and Samoa, on the other hand, the sail was supported by a yard, or yards, hung from the masthead. The Society Islands sail was fundamentally of the first mentioned type, but differed in having the upper end of the boom recurved.

Bailers appear to have been much the same everywhere in Polynesia, but were decorated with carving only in New Zealand and the Marquesas. Marquesan paddles appear to have no exact oceanic parallels, but resemble somewhat those from Easter Island and Mangareva. It is interesting to note in this connection that many of the Hawaiian paddles have on either side, near the tip of the blade, a short rib which serves no practical purpose. It seems possible that this is a survival of an earlier knob or end projection.

It is apparent that in the canoes, as in the houses, there are clear indications of an eastern and a western type. The eastern type is characterized by the use of only five essential parts, bound together by lashings which are visible externally, and by the use of a triangular sail and boom. The western is characterized by the use of many parts bound together by lashings, invisible externally, and by the use of a sail with a movable yard hung from the masthead. The use of ornate bow and stern pieces is unknown in the western area, with a single possible exception, but is normal in the eastern area except Hawaii.

If we compare the Maori and Marquesan canoes we find a series of resemblances so striking that they argue a close cultural relationship. Both boats are basicly the same in the form and arrangement of the parts, and in both the bow piece terminates in a figurehead. In the smaller Maori canoes this figurehead is a simple face borne on the end of a constricted neck, as in the Marquesan form. In the more elaborate Maori forms the figurehead is carved into a full figure, but the high vertical ornament of the Maori bow pieces finds a parallel

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in the pierced planks placed along the center of the Marquesan bow piece. In both we have the high ornamental stern projection. In both, the upper edges of the side planks were expanded to form flat gunwales and the planks themselves were often decorated with carving. In both the Maori and Marquesan canoes, the strips covering the outside of the seams between underbody and side plank were blackened and were decorated with tufts of white feathers at the lashings. Among the Maori, the feathers for this seam decoration were obtained from the shearwater, and although the species of bird from which the Marquesans obtained their feathers for this purpose was not identified, the native descriptions of the habits of the birds makes it almost certain that these people also obtained their decorations from the shearwater.

The resemblances just noted are too close and numerous to be the result of independent evolution, and although the canoes of the two groups differed in certain minor structural details, the conclusion is inevitable that they represent divergent developments of a single type. The existence of such closely related forms at almost opposite ends of the Polynesian crescent, when the space between is occupied by forms which differ from both more widely than the Maori and Marquesan canoes differ from each other, is best explained by the assumption that they represent marginal survivals of a form which had been diffused over the whole eastern area, but which has been destroyed or overlaid in the intervening regions. The Society Island canoes, with their combination of high stern and prow with many piece construction, are probably a hybrid type resulting from the superposition of the western style of construction upon the Maori-Marquesan form. The exact relation of the Hawaiian canoe to this Maori-Marquesan form is difficult to establish. Basicly they are the same, but the Hawiian canoe lacks all the ornamental features of the other type. It seems probable that both are descended from a common ancestor while the relatively greater simplicity of the Hawaiian canoe suggests that it stands nearer to this original form. The features which distinguish the Maori-Marquesan type—the high bow and stern and profuse decoration—are strongly suggestive of Melanesia, and it seems probable that they are a result of Melanesian influence.

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STONE ARTIFACTS

412 The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of ef-
324 fective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make
[325] the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to in-
dicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been
[321] of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities
in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the
Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the
simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant
[135] exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but
they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The pre-
sence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an
abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking,
grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits
of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there
was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all
the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each
locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons,
with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are
a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences
are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F.*)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

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counts of informants it appears probable that the stone was obtained from rock slides and bowlders in the river beds. According to information obtained by Handy in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, a boy's first adz was made from a fragment of a special black stone which was kept for that purpose in the *me'ae*. Informants were ignorant of the original source of these stones, and of how they were replaced when used up. No objects which might answer this description were seen in any of the *me'ae* visited.

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The only large adz workshops visited were on the island of Ei Ao. During the late prehistoric period this island was a tributary of one of the tribes of Nuku Hiva, and the adzes made there were brought to Nuku Hiva and from there distributed in trade to all the other islands of the group. The area of these workshops, and the quantity of chips and rejects, would indicate a highly developed, long continued industry. No regular quarries were known to natives familiar with the island, but a few bowlders of phonolite suitable for adz making were seen. Small workshops are scattered all over the island, but curiously enough the center of the industry appears to have been on the top of a high ridge running along the southern side of the island, at a considerable distance from any source of material. Two striking features of the workshops of Ei Ao are the preponderance among the rejects of small thin forms, and the lack of ground specimens and grinding stones. This would seem to indicate that the trade called for chisels and carving tools rather than for large adzes and that the blades were exported unground.

The only tools employed in adz manufacture were hammerstones and grinding stones. The grinding stones consisted of smooth surfaced natural rocks of varying grain upon which the adzes were rubbed. Large natural bowlders whose surfaces have been worn into pits and grooves by adz grinding are still visible in the neighborhood of many settlements. The grinding of the gouges must have been done with some sort of small whetstone, but no examples were seen. Chants collected by Handy (personal correspondence) mention the use of sand in either the grinding or finishing of adzes, and it seems probable that the sand was placed in the grooves and hollows already worn in the large grinding rocks to hasten the abrasion.

The processes employed in adz manufacture were chipping and grinding, with a limited use of pecking. This last appears to have been used only in connection with a single specialized adz type, the *toki aa*. It is evident from rejects that the adz makers were especially skillful in chipping, bringing the implement to approximately its final form by this method. The chipping upon the bits of adzes is especially fine, the work approaching in excellence that done elsewhere by the pressure flaking process. The cutting edge of the adz was always ground

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412 but the finish on other parts of the implement was extremely variable, used speci-
324 mens showing all conditions from simple chipping to complete grinding and high polish. According to one of the chants already mentioned the finished adz was honed on the thigh to produce a final polish. The making of a boy's first adz was accompanied by various religious observances which have been described by Handy (32).

The collections of the Bishop Museum contain nearly fifty Marquesan adzes and chisels, and an approximately equal number have been studied elsewhere. From this series it is evident that in the Marquesas these artifacts show a higher degree of variation than in any other part of Polynesia with the possible exception of New Zealand. As a whole they fall at once into two main groups, distinguished by the presence or absence of a tang, while the tanged adzes may be further divided into simple adzes, *toki aa* and *toki kouma*.

SIMPLE TANGED ADZES

The blades of the simple tanged adz are distinguished by a broad straight bit, a cross section varying from rectangular to triangular and sides which slope inward toward the poll. In the quadrangular examples the inner surface may be either flat or slightly concave. The tang is formed by chipping away a portion of the upper end of the outer surface. It can not be distinguished on the inner surface. In some of the triangular specimens the sides of the tang are also chipped away, giving the blade a slight shoulder, but this is not a common feature. As a rule these blades are ground only on the bit and outer surface, exclusive of the tang. In all the quadrangular examples the width of the inner surface is equal to or less than that of the outer surface, never greater. Many of the rectangular specimens of this type agree so closely in form and finish with the normal adzes of the Hawaiian group that in a mixed collection it would be impossible to distinguish them. (See Pl. XLV, *D*.) The triangular adzes of this type, on the other hand, are practically identical with those normal for the Society Islands. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.) The bulk of the specimens fall between these two extremes.

TOKI AA

Blades of the *toki aa* type are recognized as a separate class by the natives themselves. They are characterized by a distinct tang, a heavy blade of rectangular cross section, and a more or less complete grinding of all the surfaces. Practically all the specimens of this class are large. The most striking features of the type are the great thickness of the blade portion, which in many adzes exceeds the width of the cutting edge, and the high angle formed by the two faces of the bit, usually fifty degrees or more. The *toki aa* appear to have been the only adzes in whose manufacture the pecking process was employed. In one of the Bishop

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Museum specimens, No. B3070, the tang has evidently been shaped by this method, while an unfinished specimen, No. B3074, is pecked at the bit. *Toki oa* are said by the natives to have been used for the final dressing of planks. (See Pl. XLV, *E, F.*) 412 324

TOKI KOUMA

The *toki kouma* are also recognized by the natives as a distinct class. They are characterized by a long narrow blade of triangular cross section, a well marked tang whose outer surface is often concave, and a narrow bit. In many examples the whole implement has a slight backward curve, the inner surface, which forms the base of the triangle, is more or less concave. The bit is formed by grinding away the base and a varying proportion of the apex of the triangular blade, and by partially grinding the sides adjacent to it. When seen from the front, the bit has the appearance of a shallow angular U with divergent sides, and the implement makes a cut resembling that of a gouge rather than an adz. In a few specimens the inner side of the bit is more or less hollowed, as in European gouges. (See Pl. XLV, *G, H.*)

Adzes of the *toki kouma* type are relatively common in the Marquesas, forming about 30 percent of all the specimens observed. They are of all sizes and were employed for a variety of purposes from the hollowing of canoes and containers to cutting ornamental designs on canoes and house posts. One specimen, said to have been used for fine carving, is 7 inches long, with a width of about ¼ of an inch at the bit. It seems certain that heavy, narrow-bitted *toki kouma* were also used in quarrying and dressing the large stone slabs employed in many Marquesan structures.

TANGLESS ADZES

The tangless adzes include a great variety of blades. The larger ones are probably true adzes while the smaller may have been either adzes or chisels. In cross section they range from nearly rectangular to triangular and in finish from a high polish on all surfaces to a simple grinding of the bit. In all examples seen the sides converge more or less toward the poll, which in some specimens is rounded or almost pointed. The bevel of the edge is in every case ground from the narrow side of the implement, which rests against the haft. In the larger specimens, the whole implement frequently has a well marked backward curve. (See Pl. XLVI, *A.*)

Adzes of this type are more numerous in the Marquesas than those of any other class. They are variable in size, outline, and cross section and appear to grade imperceptibly into the simple tanged adzes. The tangs of some specimens are so slight that it is difficult to determine in which class they should be placed.

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UNCLASSIFIED ADZES

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There are a few Marquesan adzes which defy classification and deserve individual descriptions.

A large adz 8⅞ inches long with a maximum thickness of 1½ inches is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 1. The poll is 2½ inches wide and has across its center a well marked ridge. The bit has the remarkable width of 7¼ inches. The blade is rectangular in cross section and has been smoothly ground on all surfaces. The bevel is ground at a long angle, making a thin blade unsuitable for heavy work and it is hard to see for what purpose an implement of this sort could have been employed. The specimen is heavily patinated, indicating a considerable age.

The adz illustrated in Plate XLVI, *B*, 4 has a thin, flat, completely polished blade of beautiful workmanship. It is 3 inches long, with a thickness of less than ⅜ of an inch and a width of about one inch at the top and 1⅜ inches at the bit. The edge is ground with a flat well-marked bevel, and the angles formed by the juncture of the sides with the inner surface have been rounded off.

A large adz of remarkably fine workmanship is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2. In general outline and form of tang it conforms to the *toki kouma* type, but the sides below the tang diverge rather rapidly, forming a broad bit instead of the narrow one normal in implements of that type. The lower side of the bit is considerably hollowed, giving to the cutting edge a well marked curve. The dimensions are: length, 11½ inches; length of tang, 4 inches; maximum thickness of blade, 2¾ inches; width at upper end, 2 inches; width at bit, 3¼ inches. This specimen was purchased in the island of Ua Huka and is said to be of local material and workmanship.

The still more curious adz shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 3, is the largest Marquesan adz known to the author, being 14½ inches long and weighing slightly over 6 pounds. The upper end is formed into a well marked tang 4½ inches long. Below this tang the shaft is triangular in cross section and of uniform size to within 4¾ inches of the bit. From this point the inner surface slopes forward at an angle of 40 degrees, while the sides broaden out and the outer edge slopes slightly backward. As a result of this the inner ground surface of the bit is oblong, the outer triangular. The whole surface is heavily patinated indicating an age greater than that of most of the specimens in the collection.

On Plate XLVI, 5 is shown a small and crudely made blade 3¼ inches long, one inch wide and one inch thick. The shaft is triangular, but with the base of the triangle forming one side of the implement so that its plane is across that of the cutting edge. The bit appears to be ground equally from both sides, as in an axe, and the cutting edge forms a distinct angle with the axis of the implement, as in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a turner's chisel. The shaft, either from accident or intention, is curved to fit the hand accurately, and the whole surface shows a slight but even polish of the sort acquired through wear, so that it is probable that the implement was never hafted. 412 324

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN ADZES WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

A thorough comparative study of Oceanic adzes would, the author believes, yield results of great ethnological value. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, but it seems well to point out the features which distinguish Polynesian adzes as a class from those used in Melanesia, and to indicate the distribution of the various Polynesian types. No satisfactory information is available for some parts of Polynesia, but the conditions appear to be as follows: 412 171

Melanesian adzes as a class are oval or eliptical in cross section, with smoothly rounded contours, and nearly all of them are completely ground and polished. The use of a distinct tang is unknown. Polynesian adzes, on the other hand, are triangular to rectangular in crosssection with surfaces composed of a few large planes meeting at sharp angles. New Zealand appears to have been the only locality in which the grinding and polishing of all surfaces was normal. Fully ground specimens are fairly common from Tonga, the Society, Austral and Cook groups, and from Easter and Chatham Islands, but are less numerous in collections than those which are at least partially rough. In Hawaii and Samoa fully ground adzes are almost unknown, while in the Marquesas complete grinding is practically limited to the *toki aa* type. In Tonga there appear to be two quite distinct types, one of which is clearly Melanesian while the other is an angular tangless blade of Polynesian character. Adzes of Melanesian contour and finish are present in collections from New Zealand, Easter Island, Chatham Island and rarely from the Society Islands. It thus appears that, broadly speaking, adzes of Melanesian type are present in all those localities in which there is a marked tendency toward complete grinding of recognizably Polynesian forms, while they are lacking in regions where complete grinding is rare or absent. It seems probable, therefore, that this feature is everywhere referable to a Melanesian influence, either direct or transmitted, and that the original Polynesian implement was ground, at most, upon the bit and outer face.

The angular Polynesian adzes may be divided into two main classes, tanged and tangless, each of which contains a number of subtypes. Tanged adzes are present in all the marginal Polynesian areas and extend as far west as the Cook Islands but they are rare in Samoa and absent in Tonga. They are divided into well marked local types: the Hawaiian type, the Southwestern type and the New Zealand type.

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The Hawaiian type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, relatively thick blade, and grinding upon the bit, or the bit and outer surface only. Fully 90 per cent of the Hawaiian specimens have this form, but its only occurrence outside that group appears to be in the Marquesas, where it is one of the rarer forms (Pl. XLV, *D*).

The southeastern type is characterized by a triangular or subtriangular cross section, a relatively thin blade with a long bevel, and a more or less distinct shoulder where the blade meets the tang. It is often completely ground, and is normally better finished than the Hawaiian type. This is the dominant form in the Society, Austral and Cook islands, and in Easter Island, and is not uncommon in the Marquesas, although the specimens from that locality are inferior in finish to those from further south. Several examples of this type are known from New Zealand but it is lacking in the Chatham Islands and in Hawaii. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.)

The New Zealand type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, approaching in this respect the Hawaiian type. It is distinguished from the Hawaiian type by its thinner blade, rounded tang, and by a more or less complete grinding of all surfaces. It does not seem to occur in any other part of Polynesia although certain large adzes from the Chatham Islands may be a variant of this type.

The *toki aa* appears to be about equally common in the Society Islands and the Marquesas with related forms in the Cook and Austral islands and possibly in Easter Island. It is lacking in New Zealand and Hawaii. It is impossible to fix its point of origin, but the complete grinding characteristic of the type is at variance with the ordinary Marquesan practice and it seems probable that it was introduced into that group from the south.

The *toki kouma*, with slight modifications, is found throughout the same range as the *toki aa*. A very few examples come from New Zealand. It is entirely lacking in Hawaii although a few chisels from that locality have a slightly similar blade and bit form. Some examples from southeastern Polynesia and New Zealand are completely ground. The type is numerically important only in the Marquesas, and this, coupled with the fact that all Marquesan *toki kouma* show the rough finish characteristic of the group, may indicate that it was developed there. The occurrence of adzes like that shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2, in which a blade and tang of *toki kouma* type are coupled with a broad bit, lend support to this theory.

The *toki kouma* is sharply set off from all other Polynesian adz types by the fact that it was hafted with the base of the cross section triangle against the handle, a reversal of the ordinary practice. Among true adzes the nearest

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oceanic approach to the *toki houma* form of blade and bit seems to be found in certain shell specimens from Micronesia. 4/2

Tangless adzes have been reported from every part of Polynesia for which there is satisfactory information. In New Zealand a well marked local type had been developed, with a thin blade of rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section ground on all surfaces. In Tonga also there appears to have been a distinct local type, characterized by a short, broad blade, relatively thin, and completely ground. The bulk of the Tongan specimens, and of the tangless adzes from all other parts of Polynesia, show such uniformity that one is forced to conclude that all were made after an established pattern. This universal type is characterized by quadrangular to subtriangular cross section, sides which converge toward the poll, and grinding upon the bit and outer face only. (See Pl. XLVII, *A*.) 171

The dominance of the two main adz types—that is, tanged and tangless—shows the same distinction between Samoa and Tonga on the one hand and marginal Polynesia on the other, which we have already noted in our study of houses and canoes. The tanged adz is dominant everywhere in marginal Polynesia, and lacking in the Samoa and Tonga. The tangless adzes throughout marginal Polynesia may be explained as a result of western Polynesian influence, but their comparative rarity in the Society Islands where western Polynesian influence is strong, and their frequency in the Marquesas, where such influence appears slight, is an argument against this. The wide distribution of tangless adzes, their relative simplicity and ease of manufacture, and their remarkable uniformity wherever found, suggest that they represent a primitive type originally known to all the Polynesians. Specimens collected in the Marquesas link the tangless adzes with both the rectangular and triangular tanged forms and both probably have been developed from the tangless adz.

The Polynesian distribution of the Marquesan adz types would seem to indicate more or less contact with the Society Islands and Southeastern Polynesia in general, while the remarkable similarity of some of the specimens to normal Hawaiian forms suggests an influence from that group also. The importance of the tangless adz may indicate a western Polynesian influence, but is more easily explained as a primitive survival.

METHODS OF HAFTING

Different methods were employed in the hafting of chisels and adzes. No really ancient specimens of either type were seen but the hafted adzes studied agree with the descriptions of informants and are almost identical with the iron bladed adzes still in ordinary use throughout the group, so they are probably good reproductions of the ancient form. The data in regard to the hafting of 4/2

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so
284 arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of
[824] three plait coconut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental
[531] lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

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of the haft, brought out, and pulled taut. In the third specimen, which was made by the Atu Ona informant, the lashings were laid on in alternate diagonal loops beginning at the bottom. These loops crossed each other along the line of the middle of the tang, giving an ornamental effect. The last two binding loops at the top were horizontal, while two more loops were passed around the haft above the blade. The end was made fast by tucking it under the last few turns of cord on the right side. (See Pl. XLVIII, *A*.) The maker insisted that this form of lashing was the ancient one and it is probable that several forms of ornamental lashing were originally in use. One of these, mentioned in a chant for the making of a boy's first adz, was called the ***humua tane oa,*** and was probably derived from a string figure of the same name. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412 284

Adz blades were rarely if ever set at right angles to the handle, the included angle in modern specimens being 70 degrees or less. The handles of ordinary adzes were short, those used at the present time are commonly less than a foot long, but blades used for heavy work, such as roughing out canoes were formerly provided with long hafts. In Nuku Hiva an adz with a four foot handle is said to have been used for this purpose. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412

The adjustable socket, common in Micronesia and in some parts of Melanesia, seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas, although it was known and used to a limited extent in Hawaii. It is lacking in other parts of Polynesia, and the Hawaiian examples are probably referable to a Micronesian influence.

Chisel Hafting

No specimen of the ancient Marquesan chisel hafts was found, and the following description is based on information obtained in the group and upon two reproductions made by Hapuani, of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. In both these reproductions the handle consists of a straight rectangular stick of wood between 10 inches and 11 inches long, 1 inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The wood in one is fau, in the other temanu. A socket for the blade is cut on one side of the lower end of the shaft. When in position the blades project beyond the handle for about two-thirds of their length. The lashings are of sennit, arranged as in the more elaborate form of adz lashing, except that the cord is passed around the handle several times above the socket. (See Pl. XLVIII, *B*.) [284]

Use of Adzes and Chisels

No stone adzes have been used in the Marquesas for many years, but as the form of the modern iron-bladed tools is almost identical with that of the ancient ones it seems probable that the method of use was the same. At the present time every skilled workman owns two or more adzes, at least one of which has a

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412 curved edge. Each of these adzes has its special use and in doing any piece of work, as the shaping of a bowl, great care seems to be taken to use the proper
412 tool for each stage of manufacture. In working any surface a series of light
322 glancing blows are struck instead of two or three heavy ones. Informants agree that this was also the ancient system. The blade of a stone adz could easily be shattered by a heavy direct blow, and it is related that when a *tuhuna* who had been employed to make some object became dissatisfied with his pay or working conditions he would strike a heavy blow, breaking his adz, and with this as an excuse, refuse to finish.

The small straight bladed adzes are also used as planes. The handle is grasped at the curve, with the blade below the hand, edge forward, and the tool is pushed along the surface of the wood, removing a thin shaving. Stone adzes are said to have been used in the same manner.

Very little data could be obtained on the method of using the hafted chisels other than that they were used to hollow drums and cut the lashing holes
[824] in canoe parts. They were struck upon the upper end of the shaft with a *toa* wood mallet like that used in caulking canoes. (See Pl. LVI, *B*.)

GOUGES

412 The Marquesan collection in the Bishop Museum includes four implements uncommon to the group, and it has been thought best to describe them separately under the head of gouges although it can not be said with certainty that they were not hafted and used as adzes. The implement shown in Plate XLVII, *B*, 2 is 6¾ inches long, 1¾ inches wide at the bit and 1¼ inches wide at the upper end. It is almost semicircular in cross section. The cutting edge is curved, but the lower side of the bit, which is ground with a well marked bevel, is flat. The implement fits the hand well and does not appear to have been hafted.

Only slightly smaller than No. 2 and with a similar bit, gouge No. 3 shown on the same plate is distinguished from it by having parallel sides.

No. 4 on the same plate shows a small specimen whose shaft has been broken. The bit has a width of 11/16 inches and its lower surface is slightly concave. The body of this gouge is almost circular in cross section and well polished throughout, although the marks of the chipping have not been completely obliterated. The bit shows use and sharpening, and the implement was probably a carving tool.

No. 1 on this plate is completely ground and has a narrow upper and broad lower surface, both of which are flat, while the sides are somewhat rounded. The upper surface narrows toward the rear so that the blade is almost triangular at the butt (the point of greatest thickness) and the whole shape is reminiscent of

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the lower part of a narrow *toki kouma* whose tang has been broken off. The implement appears to be complete however, and shows no signs of hafting. It is possible that this implement marks a transition from *toki kouma* to gouges and that the two classes of implements are related. 412

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

Marquesan knives were usually made from bamboo or shell, and shells were used as scrapers, but stone knives and scrapers also existed. In the absence of iron tools, stone knives have been used as a makeshift until comparatively recent times. Pere Simeon Delmar, head of the Catholic Mission in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, has witnessed the manufacture of stone knives. He says that the knives, often six to eight inches in length, were made from flakes of a special variety of phonolite, which were detached from a core by a single sharp blow with a rounded stone held in the hand. The natural fracture gave a fairly sharp edge to the flake and it was used without retouching or hafting. When the edge became dull from use, the implement was thrown away. In M. Delmar's experience these stone knives were used only to open and scale fish. Many phonolite flakes were found in old village sites, but their certain identification as knives is impossible. (See Pl. XLVIII, *G*.) [824] [321]

Two stone artifacts were collected which appear to have been scrapers. One of these, found in an old village site, is a large semicircular spall of some basaltic rock which has evidently been retouched along its lower edge. Its form is not unlike that of some of the shell scrapers used for tapa making. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 1.)

The second specimen was collected on the island of Ei Ao. It is a thin spall of phonolite which has been worked into rectangular form and dressed along the outer end and one side with an abrupt retouch. This implement appears to be complete, and is much too thin and carefully worked to be a reject from the adz workshops. It was identified by natives as a scraper. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 2.)

RUBBING STONES

The Marquesans used rubbing stones in the manufacture of various wooden objects and in dressing the large stone slabs which are a common feature of their masonry. The large rocks upon which adzes were ground and polished have already been described (p. 321) and mention has been made of the probable use of whetstones, but it is uncertain whether rubbing stones were used in the manufacture of other stone artifacts. The modern makers of *popoi* pounders deny their use, and none of the ancient artifacts show a finish which could not have been produced by careful pecking and a final polishing with sand. The large flat 412 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 surfaces and true angles of the stone slabs, on the other hand, could hardly have
324 been produced with any other implement. No information as to the form or material of these stone dressing tools was obtained, but it seems probable that they were fragments of cellular lava having a more or less flat, natural surface.

412 The rubbing stones used in wood working were of two types, abrasive stones, which were used to obliterate the marks of coarser tools and to some ex-
322 tent to shape the object, and burnishing stones, which were used to give a final high polish. All the abrasive stones seen were made from more or less water-worn lumps of coral or coraline limestone, but it appears probable that pebbles of the finer grained cellular lavas were also employed. The texture varied considerably and at least one specimen was so hard and smooth that it could have had little abrasive effect. Several rubbing stones of increasingly fine grain were used in finishing a given object, the last grinding stone being followed by the burnisher. (See Pl. XLVIII, *C*.)

Burnishing stones were small pebbles of even-textured, rather soft rock which were used only in the final stage of manufacture and had no abrasive effect. They were rubbed rapidly back and forth upon the surface to be polished, the workmen exerting a fairly heavy, even pressure. In time they acquired a peculiar glassy polish resembling that of a gastrolith. The smoother the implement the better the finish which it could impart to a bowl, so old specimens were highly prized. (See Pl. XLVIII, *D*.)

PERFORATED STONE DISKS

324 Two perforated stone disks were collected by the expedition, one, of unknown history, being obtained in the valley of Hane, Ua Huka, while the second was found lying among some skulls in a *me'ae* in the valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. Both specimens are made of rather porous lava. (See Pl. L, *A*, 1-2.) The dimensions are as follows: No. 1, length 3⅜ inches, width 2⅞ inches, thickness 1 inch, width of perforation at surface 1 inch, width of perforation at center 3-16 of an inch. No. 2, length 4 inches, width 3½ inches, maximum thickness 1¾ inches, minimum thickness 1½ inches, width of perforation at surface 1⅜ inches, width of perforation at center ⅜ of an inch. The perforation in No. 1 is almost perfectly centered, that in No. 2 noticeably nearer one end than the other. In both, the perforation appears to have been pecked rather than drilled, and is formed by two conical pits which meet in the middle of the objects in a rough edged orifice. The surfaces of both specimens are rather carefully smoothed.

Both objects were identified by an Atu Ona informant as weights for pump drills, but this explanation does not appear entirely satisfactory. The pump drill was a common Marquesan tool, and if such weights were used one would

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

expect to find many specimens, whereas perforated stone disks are so rare that most natives had never seen one and could offer no suggestion as to their use. The actual specimens are, moreover, poorly adapted for this purpose as No. 2 is quite asymmetrical while the perforation of No. 1 is much too narrow to admit a drill shaft. Perforated disks of this sort are also found in Hawaii as a rare form. 324

SINKERS

Stone sinkers were used with at least one of the Marquesan types of fish-net, but specimens deliberately shaped for this purpose are extremely rare. Only one object which could be identified as a net sinker was seen. This was a rather crudely finished specimen of coarse lava having an almost globular body terminating in a short knob with a somewhat expanded outer end, in which a shallow transverse groove was pecked. It was about 2¾ inches long and 1¾ inches in diameter. The neck and the single groove across the center of the top are said to have served for the attachment of cords. According to the owner of this specimen, an unusually intelligent native, sinkers of this type were attached to the lower edge of the long seins used in turtle fishing. 227

A second specimen, clearly related to this form but of such fine finish that its purpose was probably ceremonial rather than utilitarian, was seen in a collection in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. The body was between 3 and 4 inches in diameter and almost perfectly spherical. The neck was very short and oval in cross section and each of the two parts into which the end was divided had been carved into a flat tiki face directed upward. The specimen appeared to be made of phonolite or some other equally hard and fine grained stone and had been carefully polished on all surfaces. Its heavy patination indicated a considerable age. This sinker, if it is a sinker, bears a remarkable resemblance to certain specimens found near the East Cape of New Zealand, which are identical in outline and in having two heads carved upon the projections at the top. A crudely made object of the same type, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, is shown in Plate XLIX, *A-B*. The New Zealand sinkers differ from the Marquesan examples in having the body of the sinker covered with elaborate carving. [171]

A stone object in the collection of Mme. Maleius, in Ta'aoa Hiva Oa, can probably be classed as a sinker. It is oval in outline, with one flat and one convex side. Down the center of the convex side a groove has been pecked, giving the whole much the form of a coffee bean. The material is a rather coarse lava, and the whole finish is rough. As far as known no other object of this sort has been reported from the Marquesas and the owner, who was thoroughly conversant with native matters, could offer no suggestion as to its use.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

By far the most elaborate pipe seen was in the possession of Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. It is shaped like the bowl and fore-stem of an ordinary straight brier pipe, but has a tiki figure carved against the curve of the bowl in three-quarter round. (See Pl. XLIX, *D.*) The convention of this little figure is curious; the eyes are indicated by raised circles on either side of the head, and there is no distinct mouth or nose. A small beak-like projection at the bottom of the head, between the eyes, suggests that it may represent a bird. A hole has been drilled between the figure and the pipe bowl at about the level of the waist. This pipe is known to be very old and has been in the possession of a single family in Atu Ona for at least three generations. 276 532

BOWLS AND TRAYS

Stone bowls and trays are rare in the Marquesas, and the few specimens extant vary greatly in form and finish. The larger objects of this sort are usually quite crude. Some of the smaller bowls, on the other hand, show great skill in manufacture and are well finished and even decorated. 415 [324]

The largest object of this sort seen was a so-called tray which was built into the upper edge of a small platform in the *tohua* of Hutuhu'u, valley of Taipi-Vai, Nuku Hiva. It appeared to be a large fragment of a lava bubble which had been smoothed and slightly excavated on the inner surface, the outside being left rough. It was 3 feet, 6 inches long, with an average width of 2 feet, and an external depth of from 6 to 9 inches. Its form was likened by the natives to that of a canoe, a small natural projection at one end being pointed out as the prow, but the depression was really roughly rectangular. It is said that the bodies of victims who were to be eaten were laid upon this tray; but no other data could be obtained.

Another large bowl or tray of an altogether different form and use, was seen in the island of Tahu Ata. It apparently had been made from an oval water-worn bowlder, the outer surface left unworked. It was seen in the course of a visit so brief that exact measurements were impossible but the dimensions were approximately as follows: length 2 feet, 6 inches, width 20 inches, external depth 18 inches. The depression was circular, narrowing toward the bottom, and was about 14 inches in diameter and one foot deep. The rim was flat and rather carefully smoothed. Upon one end of the rim there was a cylindrical projection about 3 inches in diameter, and of the same height, which was said to be the base of a small tiki figure about one foot in height which was carved in one piece with the bowl. This little figure had been broken off and carried away many years ago. The bowl was built into the pavement of a large dwelling *paepae*, but informants were not certain that this was its original position. It

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 was so heavy, however, that several men would have been required to move it and it must have been fixed in some special place. It was said to have been used [384] to dye tapa with saffron.

A third stone bowl was seen in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, and is known to have been the property of the last queen of that valley. It was made of red tuffa of the sort ordinarily employed for large stone slabs, and was very roughly finished. The dimensions were as follows: diameter, 18 inches; external depth, 14 inches; thickness of rim, 3 inches. It was said by the owner to have been used to keep fire in, in the house at night, but this seems to have been an unusual practise and no other bowls of the sort were known to the natives.

A peculiar stone tray was collected in the valley of Taipi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This specimen is made of rather coarse lava, worked all over but poorly finished. The outside is decidedly asymmetrical—somewhat oblong in shape with rounded ends. One end of the tray has a curious flat projection running from a short distance below the rim down the outside of the bowl to the bottom. This projection is 5½ inches long, 3¼ inches wide at the upper end and 2 inches wide at the lower end, at the top it is 1 inch thick, at the bottom ½ an inch. The upper end and sides of the projection are somewhat undercut, and a shallow transverse groove runs across the lower end ¾ of an inch above its tip. The internal depression of the tray is nearly rectangular, 11 inches long, 7¼ inches wide and ¾ of an inch deep. The bottom is flat, the sides curving upward abruptly. The outer surfaces of the tray recurve slightly at the rim. The dimensions of the tray are: length, 14⅝ inches; width, 9¼ inches; maximum thickness, 4½ inches. This tray was used by its owner to grate saffron root and was described by him as an heirloom. There is good evidence, however, that he found it while clearing land only a short time before its purchase and its ancient use remains uncertain. (See Pl. 1, *B-C*.)

The specimens described have all been of large size and rather crude workmanship. Certain fragments in the collection of the Bishop Museum, however, prove that there were in the group small and finely made stone bowls. No. B3699A is a fragment of a bowl or tray, its size being too small to make exact determination possible. The material is some soft, rather close-grained, grey stone, and the whole surface, including the fracture, is heavily patinated. The walls are about ⅞ of an inch thick, and the internal depression ⅜ of an inch deep at the rim. The rim is flat, and the object appears to have been finely finished on all surfaces. Another fragment (No. B3699B) is of a small circular bowl about 6¾ inches in diameter and 2¾ inches deep. The walls are ⅜ of an inch thick at the rim and about 1¼ inches thick at the bottom. The outer sides recurve slightly at the rim, which is flat with rounded edges. This

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

bowl was made of some rather hard close grained stone and was finely finished inside and out. Still another specimen (B3699C) appears to be a fragmnet of a rather shallow bowl 8 to 10 inches in diameter. It is made of a soft grey stone, possibly an indurated ash. At the lower end of the curve it bears a chevron carved in high relief along whose center there is a single incised line. It seems probable that this formed part of a zigzag band running around the bowl, but the fragment is too narrow to tell certainly. No. B3699D is a fragment from the side of a rather large and heavy bowl or tray having a bottom thickness of about one inch. The outer surface was smoothly finished and decorated with closely spaced incised lines forming simple curvilinear designs. (See Pl. XLIX, *E*.) 415

POUNDERS

INTRODUCTION

Pounders were, with the possible exception of adzes, the commonest of Marquesan stone artifacts, and they still form a regular part of the domestic equipment of all native households. In ancient times they appear to have been manufactured to some extent in all the valleys but even in prehistoric days the superiority of the stone found in Ua Pou and Ua Huka had led to a localization of the industry. The finished implements were traded from these islands to the rest of the group. The manufacture of *popoi* pounders has continued in Ua Huka down to the present time, and shortly before the war large numbers are said to have been made for a German trading company which sold them in their stores throughout the group and even in Tahiti. 412

At the present time the making of *popoi* pounders appears to be essentially a spare time industry, the natives working upon them when they have nothing more pressing to do. 412 32

For the pounders three varieties of stone were formerly used, all of which appear to have been rather soft, even grained magmatic rocks. The best grade was called *ovao*, a grey rock, fine grained, strong and light. The second best was called *puhite'a*, and the third best *patuko*. All these varieties are said to have been obtained from the high part of the island lying to the east of the valley of Hokatu, but as bowlders in two other valleys were pointed out as good pounder stone, it is probable that the deposits were rather wide spread. The stone does not appear to have been regularly quarried, but was obtained from rock slides and stream beds.

The only tool used in making modern *popoi* pounders is an ordinary steel axe, and even the finishing touches are given with this unwieldy instrument. The process of manufacture is as follows:

An irregular piece of stone about three times the size of the finished implement is roughed out with heavy blows of the axe until it becomes a cone. (See Pl. LI, *A*, 1.) This cone is then worked down by light blows on all sides until the general form of the finished implement is produced. This is then smoothed by light, even blows with the corner of the axe until all the contours are perfect. The neck and body of the implement are then shaved with the edge of the axe until the scratches left by the last process are obliterated. The head

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/2 and base are left rough. The smooth surface of some new and unused specimens would seem
to indicate the use of some sort of abrasive for the final finishing, but informants who were
324 themselves makers insisted that this was not the case. The body of the implement is some-
times rubbed with a mixture of coconut charcoal and oil which gives it a shiny black finish
contrasting pleasantly with the grey of the head.

Informants of Ua Huka insist that the ancient process of manufacture was essentially the same except that stone adzes were employed instead of the modern steel axe. The stone used on Ua Huka could probably have been worked in this way and the information may be correct for this locality, but in other islands a variety of rock was employed, some of which could hardly have been worked with stone adzes. The heads of many of the old pounders show marks which make it seem certain that they were finished by pecking.

MODERN POUNDERS

The modern commercial pounders all conform to a single well-marked type
4/2 (Pl. LI, *A*, 2).

The pounders are characterized by a neck of oval cross section which expands to form the head and the body of the implement. There is no clear line of demarkation between these parts and it is impossible to say where one ends and another begins. From the neck the body flares outward toward the base, which is circular, so that when seen in profile the sides of the pounder appear concave. The bottom is convex, with a rather low curve, and is always left rough. The head is oval in horizontal cross section, the lower part contracting gradually toward the neck. The upper part has the form of a high rounded dome and is divided into two equal lobes by a transverse groove which extends down either side almost to the point of maximum width of the head. The surface of these lobes is left rough, apparently with ornamental intent, and the whole form is clearly phallic.

ANCIENT POUNDERS

The natives themselves classify pounders according to use, recognizing four distinct classes as follows: (1) *popoi* pounders, (2) pounders for infant food, (3) salt pounders, (4) children's pounders. They also recognize certain of these implements as forming a fifth distinct class whose use has been forgotten. As these native classifications according to use are correlated with differences in the size and form of the implements, they will serve as the basis for the present descriptions.

POPOI POUNDERS

Popoi pounders are numerically much more important than those of any other class, practically all large pounders belonging under this head. They are divided by the natives on the basis of size and weight into men's and women's pounders, the larger implements being used by the men. All *popoi* pounders are known by the generic term *kea tuki popoi* (stone to beat *popoi*) but those having flat heads are also known as *opu* (stomach). The phallic forms do not appear to have had special names. The term applied to the tiki-headed pounders was descriptive, meaning carved pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

All *popoi* pounders agree with the commercial pounders in the form of the body and base. The necks range in cross section from oval to round, but the differences appear to be more or less accidental and are not correlated with other features. The range in size does not appear to have been very great, the ancient specimens seen varying in height from 7 to 8½ inches and in base diameter from 4½ to 5¼ inches. The variation is about the same in all subtypes. The subtypes are therefore based entirely upon differences in the form and decoration of the head. 412

The simplest form of *popoi* pounder appears to be the flat topped type called *opu*. In the plainest specimen collected (Pl. LI, *B*, 2) the neck is circular in cross section and expands only slightly at the top, the upper end being slightly convex. The curve of the bottom is unusually high. More commonly in this type the neck is more or less oval in cross section and the upper end shows a more marked expansion, its surface being flat or slightly concave. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 1.) In one specimen, which could not be obtained, the ends of the oval head projected beyond the neck in finely made flat flanges not more than one-fourth inch thick. A further modification of the *opu* type consisted in encircling the neck some distance below its upper end with a raised ring. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 3.) In view of the shape of one of the specimens of phallic form it seems probable that the idea here is phallic also. *Popoi* pounders of the *opu* type were seen only in the island of Hiva Oa, and as all the specimens were of local rock it seems possible that this was peculiar to Hiva Oa. [83]

The phallic type of pounder is much more common than the *opu* type and appears to have been the dominant form throughout the Marquesas. It may be subdivided into simple phallic representations, and the tiki headed pounders, which are clearly derived from the simple phallic form.

A single specimen (Pl. LII, *C*) may link the phallic pounders with the ringed specimens of the *opu* type. The neck of this implement is encircled a short distance below its upper end by a raised, smoothly rounded ring. The space above this ring is dome shaped and ungrooved. The whole appears to be a phallic representation.

The normal form of phallic pounder is well illustrated by the specimen shown on Plate LII, *A*. In this the neck expands smoothly to form a head of almost rectangular cross section, there being no line of demarkation between the two parts. The transverse groove is deep and the sides slope inward steeply. The ends are almost vertical and the top on either side of the groove is flat. The whole surface is treated as a series of slightly convex planes which meet in well marked angles. This angularity is most pronounced in No. 1. Most of the phallic pounders seen had this form and it is probably the prototype from which both the modern commercial and tiki headed pounders have been developed.

Two phallic pounders, shown on Plate LII, *B*, differ slightly from this normal type. The head of No. 1 is oval in cross section, the sides slope inward

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 rather abruptly, and the ends are almost vertical. The top bears a longitudinal groove instead of the usual transverse one. In No. 2 the head is smoothly rounded, with a short transverse groove.

Tiki Headed Pounders

412 531 Tiki headed *popoi* pounders represent the highest development of Marquesan stone working, the only objects which approach them in excellence being certain of the small stone figures. The expedition was fortunate enough to obtain five perfect specimens and the carved head of a sixth, while ten others were studied in private collections or from photographs. In all of these pounders the carving followed one or the other of two well-marked conventions and the series appears large enough to make possible a fairly accurate study of the type. In spite of their fine workmanship and present rarity tiki headed pounders were, and in some cases still are, used as ordinary household utensils. All informants agree that the carvings are purely decorative and have no religious significance.

In general form the tiki headed pounders agree perfectly with the angular headed type of phallic pounder already described, and it seems certain that they have been developed from these implements. According to informants the carving was done with sharks' teeth or rats' teeth, but the form of the carving tools and the method of employment have been forgotten. In the actual specimens the grooves of the carving are semicircular in cross section and exhibit a high polish. [324]

The decoration consists of two heads, formed by carving a face upon each of the lobes of a phallic pounder of normal angular type. In carving these faces two distinct conventions were employed, one of which appears to have been rare, being shown by only three of the sixteen specimens. In the normal convention the features are carved in low relief and the decorated top is set off from the neck of the pounder by a well marked groove. Each of the faces covers the entire surface of a lobe, its center line being in the middle of the outer end. The mouths are broad, in the form of long narrow ovals with rounded ends. The tongue is shown as a narrow longitudinal ridge, and the lips are broad, with a flat or slightly concave surface. In one specimen there is a narrow band between the lips and the tongue, which may represent the teeth. Immediately behind each corner of the mouth a small decoration in the form of a "V" is sometimes carved. The nose is broad and flat, with almost semicircular nostrils. The eyes are carved on the upper corners of the lobe and are directed toward the side rather than forward, and the space between them is disproportionately wide. The eyes are of the usual spectacle form—a raised ring encircling a convex center—and are connected to the base of the nose at the inner end and to the ear at the outer end by narrow raised bands. As a rule the eyes are horizontal, but some specimens show a slight upward or downward inclination. The ears are represented as double scrolls, and are so placed that their outer edges fall along the line of the inner edge of each lobe. There is a well marked groove above either eye. The top of the head may be either rounded or pointed, while in one specimen broad flat grooves have been carved along either side above the eye groove, giving the head a sharp central keel. The space on the side of the pounder below the ears and between the corners of the mouths of the two faces is filled with either one or two small block figures bearing incised designs. In one specimen (not shown) a small block figure of this sort is placed in the middle of the forehead of either face.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¾ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large, with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to these on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

considerable age. Of the carved specimens, one large and one small specimen are from Nuku Hiva and the other two from Hiva Oa. 412 531

In all five pounders the material appears to be local, and as the use of carved decoration on pounders is limited to the Marquesas, the theory of importation may be discarded. The heads carved on the small examples show a slight resemblance to those carved on the rarer type of tiki headed pounders, but the angularity of the features on the larger specimens finds no parallel in other Marquesan work. A similar angularity was noted, however, in some of the wood carvings in the Society Islands. The form of these specimens also finds a fairly close parallel in certain small specimens from Tahiti and in certain pounders of coral rock from the Austral Islands. The similarity of the decoration on all Marquesan conical pounders seems good evidence that it represents a distinct convention which was in some way linked with the conical form. The best explanation of these facts seems to be that the conical pounders are hybrids which owe their shape, and to a lesser degree the convention employed in their decoration, to a Southeastern Polynesian influence. An alternative explanation is that the conical pounders are archaic and that their carving shows a technique which is more primitive than the historic Marquesan convention.

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN POUNDERS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

Stone pounders appear to be entirely lacking in Melanesia unless we include under this head certain heavy, bottle-shaped implements used for cracking nuts in the Solomon Islands and some archaeological finds in New Guinea. In Micronesia, stone pounders were used in the Marshall and Caroline Islands but seem to be lacking in the Gilbert Islands. In the Marshall Islands at least, they were used side by side with wooden pounders of identical shape. All the Micronesian pounders appear to be of one type, with some minor variations in the treatment of the upper surface of the head. They have been frequently described and figured. 412 171

The pounders of Polynesia must not be confused with the pestles which were found in many parts of Polynesia, but seem to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

Stone pounders do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga but are found everywhere in marginal Polynesia with the possible exception of Easter and Chatham Islands. The New Zealand pounders appear to be pestles rather than true pounders and bear little resemblance to the other Polynesian forms. The absence of broad based pounders in New Zealand is of little significance in a comparative study, for these were specialized implements used principally for crushing breadfruit or taro and would have been of little use there,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to in-
171 dicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kaual in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fish-
778 ermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

None of these fish figures were obtained by the expedition and they are rare in collections. Those seen were for the most part of cylindrical or flat oval form, poorly finished and having incised upon one end a rude representation of a fish's head. In one specimen the only feature indicated was the curve of the gill cover. A single very fine specimen in the collection of M. George La Garde of Tahiti has a flat base and high back which slopes upward almost to a point. It is highly polished all over, and bears upon one end a carved head of human or semi-human type. 532

The small human figures were of two types, single and double. They were used in healing the sick, and also as real votive offerings. They were made by special *tuhuna*, and were carried to the *me'ae* of the god invoked and there left by persons desiring success in any enterprise. (Handy, personal correspondence.) [778]

The single figures show more or less variation, but all appear to fall between the extremes represented by two specimens in the Bishop Museum's collections. Plate LV, *A* shows a short squat figure having a large head with a projecting jaw.

The features are like those of the heads of tiki headed *popoi* pounders of normal type except that the ears are represented as simple knobs. The head is set directly on the shoulders, and the bottom of the jaw is some distance below the level of the top of the shoulders. The arms are thin and unmodeled with short upper and long lower parts, and are shown flexed, with the hands resting upon either side of the body in front. The space between the upper arm and the body is pierced, while the lower arm is carved in high relief and the hand in low relief. The fingers are barely indicated. The back of the figure is concave with a well marked ridge across the shoulders. The breast slopes outward and downward from the head to the level of the hands, and the stomach, between the hands, is shown as a rounded protuberance. The legs are short and are shown in a flexed position, the upper edge of the thighs being parallel to the forearms. The thighs are thin and the buttocks project in the rear as a flange. The lower leg is very heavy, and is separated from the thigh by a horizontal groove which runs across the back and around to the middle of the outer side of either leg. The space between the legs is pierced nearly to the level of the knee. The lower leg tapers slightly toward the foot, which is represented by a thin flange, longest in front. In the middle of the side just above this flange, there is a small knob, probably representing the ankle bone. The sex of this figure is not indicated. A raised band, running from the back of the head to the middle of the shoulders, is pierced with a transverse hole which probably served for the attachment of a cord. The dimensions are: height, 7 inches; maximum width, 4 inches; shoulder width, 3 inches; length of head, 2⅗ inches; width of head, 2½ inches. The whole surface appears originally to have been polished, even the bottoms of the deepest cuts being rubbed smooth.

It is evident that the maker of this figure possessed remarkable technical skill, and its grotesque proportions can only be explained by the assumption that he was not attempting to represent an actual human being, but to reproduce an established convention. The majority of the small stone figures agree more closely with this specimen, especially in facial type, than with the one about to be described.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

532 Figure *B*, on the same plate is also highly conventionalized, but it appears less grotesque. It is of nearly the same height, but the figure is more slender and the proportions more nearly approach those of the human body.

The head is large and is set directly upon the body, but the mouth is smaller than in *A* and the nose is rather small and naturalistic, with a high bridge. The eyes are shown as long ovals having a raised rim and central ridge, and are connected with the nose by narrow bands. Above each eye there is a raised band whose inner end connects with the base of the nose while the outer end, behind the eye, thickens to form a small ear flange. The arms are carried in the same position as those of *A* and are unmodeled, but the proportions of upper arm and fore-arm are almost natural. The fingers are not indicated. The body is proportionally much longer than that of *A*, its sides are rounded, and the whole treatment is surprisingly naturalistic. The back of the body is nearly straight. Along the middle of the top of the shoulder there is a well marked ridge running from the head to the shoulder tip. From the tip of the shoulder a second ridge slopes downward and forward across the chest, its inner end curving upward abruptly toward the throat. This probably represents the line of the collar bone. A short distance below this line there are two small smoothly rounded protuberances which represent the breasts, while the navel is shown by a small circular pit placed midway between the hands. The sex, male, is indicated by a small conical knob. The short legs are flexed, but the thigh is rounded and the buttocks project to only a natural degree. The lower leg is thick and heavy, and the foot is large. The ankle bone projection is well marked. The back of the head was pierced for suspension by boring two holes, one downward from the top, and the other upward and forward from the bottom.

The convention of the double figure (Pl. LV, C) corresponds approximately to that of the single figures just described.

The two figures are placed back to back and joined at the buttocks and at the shoulders or backs of the heads. The form of the head differs somewhat from that of the other two figures described, and one figure has a hand to the mouth, a pose not uncommon in Marquesan art.

A curious object shown on Plate LV, *D*, which may have been a votive offering or have represented a deity, was found in an old *me'ae*.

This article is a roughly conical piece of cellular lava which appears water worn and shows no signs of working except at the upper end where it has been carved into two heads, set back to back and separated by a groove. The stone is so coarse that it is impossible to determine the convention of the carving. The lower end of the object is smoothly rounded, and but for its size and weight the whole might be taken for a very crude *popoi* pounder. Natives could throw no light on its use.

Stone figures appear to be entirely lacking in Samoa and Tonga, but small figures are found throughout most of marginal Polynesia. They are numerous only in the Marquesas. Fish figures are found in Hawaii, the Marquesas and Society Islands, although there is little information as to their use and significance in Hawaii. Small human figures occur in Hawaii and the Society Islands, but are rare in these localities. The little kumara gods of New Zealand are well known and appear to be fairly common. The figures from the different localities seem to conform in every case to the local convention and have little in common.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/12 and the method of hafting is problematical. The objects carved with rats' [324] teeth indicate that the work was done by continued rubbing rather than by strokes of the chisel, as the bottoms of the carved lines show a high polish.

The most important wooden tool appears to have been the mallet. This was employed with the chisel in shaping and carving wooden objects, and was also used with caulking tools. Mallets were made of *toa* wood, and were short [324] and heavy. The specimen shown (Pl. LVI, *B*) is 11 inches long, with a maximum width at the head of 4 inches, and a maximum thickness of 1¾ inches. The handle of the mallet was round or rectangular and was frequently pierced near the outer end for the attachment of a wrist loop. The head was pear shaped in outline, expanding and thickening gradually toward the outer end. The sides and end of the head were flat, with a surface at right angles to that of the broad surfaces. In use the blow was struck with the broad face, not with the edge.

No specimens of the ancient caulking tools were seen, but those used on the bow and stern seams of canoes are said to have been wedge shaped. Those used for the lashing holes along the sides were simply pointed sticks with a flat upper end. The favorite material for these implements was *toa* wood.

A long needle of hard wood (Pl. LVI, *C*) was used to sew on house thatch and to pass the cord used in canoe lashings through the lashing holes. The specimen collected is slightly over a foot in length. On one side of the point there is a short barb. The butt has a small knob, to which the cord was attached.

The pump drill was the most elaborate of the Marquesan tools. Apparently no examples have been preserved, but their form and method of use are still remembered by the older natives. The Marquesan drills appear to have been identical with those used elsewhere in Polynesia, although there are indications that some of them were equipped with stone whorls, a rare feature. According to informants, drill points were made in ancient times from a sliver of stone, a shark's tooth, or a rat's tooth. All these materials were replaced at a very early date by iron nails obtained from Europeans.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

This section deals with the artifacts, other than containers, which formed 128
part of the equipment of a Marquesan household. The implements were for the most part used either in the collection or preparation of food.

TOOLS FOR FIRE MAKING

Fire was made in ancient times in the Marquesas by means of the fire 372
plow, a method common to all Polynesia. The fire plow consisted of two parts, the bed and the plow (Pl. LVI, *G*.)

The favorite material for the bed was a large dry stem of the fruit cluster of the coconut palm which, being fibrous, aided in the collection and retention of dust upon which the [824]
success of the operation depended. The second best material was fau wood. The bed was not as a rule shaped, but in the better specimens its top was flattened slightly to prevent the plow from slipping during the first few srokes. A little earth was sometimes rubbed on the bed at the beginning of the operation to increase the friction.

The plow was simply a short stick, usually of fau wood, sharpened to a straight or slightly convex edge, about one-fourth of an inch wide.

In fire making two men were usually employed, one of whom held the bed firm while the other manipulated the plow (Pl. LVI, *H*).

The bed was placed upon the ground with the end toward the plowman slightly elevated. The plow was grasped in both hands, forming an angle of about 45 degrees with the bed, and was rubbed rapidly back and forth, care being taken to stop each downward stroke at exactly the same point. As the rubbing continued, a groove was formed in the bed and a small pile of wood dust collected in the lower end of this groove. The speed of the rubbing was gradually increased until both groove and plow were smoking; then, at the right instant, the point of the plow was driven slightly beyond the end of the previous strokes and buried in the dust. A spark was thus kindled and gently blown to a coal, then dumped off into tinder made from tree cotton or shredded coconut fiber. A new groove was made each time fire was to be kindled.

In spite of the introduction of matches practically all adult Marquesans can still make fire by this process, and the time required is surprisingly short. One expert individual repeatedly made fire in between 25 and 30 seconds. The process requires a perfect muscular control which is only acquired with long practise, the trick lying in stopping all the strokes at exactly the same point and lengthening the last only enough to bury the plow in the dust without scattering it.

Native informants insisted that fire was kindled in ancient times by striking sparks from two stones, but it seems probable that this process was borrowed from Europeans at such an early time that its origin has been forgotten. Fire making sets consisting of quartz crystals, a piece of steel, and a section of bamboo filled with tree cotton are still used by the poorer natives.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or *umu*. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 The *popoi* trough is usually made from breadfruit wood. An average specimen is 5 feet
252 long and 16 inches wide, with square ends, straight sides, and a rounded lower and slightly excavated upper surface. In new specimens the depth of the hollow rarely exceeds 1½ inches but in old specimens it may be as much as 3 inches deep in the center, due to wear. In one very old *popoi* trough, evidently made with stone tools, the interior had been hollowed with fire. The dimensions of individual *popoi* troughs vary considerably, but those used in Nuku Hiva are on the whole shorter and broader than those used in the southern islands.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING COCONUTS

412 Coconuts rank next to breadfruit in the Marquesan dietary, but they
252 seem to have been somewhat less important in pre-European times. They are gathered by hand, without special appliances. The first step in their preparation is to remove the thick husk. This is done by means of a pointed stake, about two inches in diameter, which is fixed rigidly in the ground, point up. To husk the nut it is grasped in both hands, struck sharply upon the point of the stake, and twisted away from it, removing a sliver of the husk, the process being repeated until only the inner shell remains. The process appears easy, but it calls for a considerable skill in manipulation. Nuts are usually husked where gathered, to avoid carrying unnecessary weight.

Nuts other than the thinnest shelled drinking nuts are opened by a few sharp blows of a stone given along the line of greatest diameter, an expert being able to break a nut into two almost equal halves in this way. The water in the cavity of old nuts is thrown away, and the flesh itself, rarely eaten, is grated to extract the milk. Coconut graters vary considerably in the details of form, but are all made upon a single principle.

The graters consist of a stool, or seat of some sort, from one end of which an arm projects more or less horizontally. At the end of the arm the actual scraper is fastened. In ancient times this consisted of a piece of rough coral, or of a strip of shell with the upper edge cut into teeth. Much care is expended upon the seat portion of some of these scrapers, which appears the more remarkable as the furniture of a Marquesan home rarely includes stools or other raised seats. To use the scraper the workman places himself astride the seat, and rubs the nut rapidly over the end of the arm, with a downward and outward motion. A bowl placed below catches the fragments of meat as they fall. When a sufficient quantity of the grated meat has collected, water is added and the whole mixed to a paste.

A strainer is then brought into play to separate the milk from the meat.

This strainer is nothing more than a thick bundle of fiber, about one foot in length and two to three inches in diameter, which is spread out and drawn across the bowl toward the workman, gathering up part of the paste. The ends of the strainer are then twisted in opposite directions, enclosing the paste, and the whole lifted from the bowl and wrung out, the liquid expressed falling back in the bowl. The dry meat remaining in the strainer is thrown away and the process repeated until only a thick creamy white fluid remains in the bowl. Two species of fiber are used for strainers, the commoner is that from the husk of the coconut. The finer strain-
[824] ers are made from the fibers of the stem of a long-leaves plant, which in leaf form and habit of growth resembles large garlic, and from a reference in Jardin (33) is probably *Cyperus macrilema*. No attempt is made to separate the fiber from the substance, the stems are simply split into long strips. (This fiber is also commonly employed for kava strainers, but there is a con-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ¾ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and taro pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of [824] bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dis- [782] patch human victims for sacrifice.

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells [824] cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear [171] never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections. 415 [314]

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated. [322] [531]

COCONUT SHELLS

The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut 415 327 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 cups were rather dull, but with handling they acquired a beautiful glossy polish. Many cups were provided with a cord handle by which they were hung up when not in use. This handle consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole a short distance below the rim, the inner end being kept from slipping back either by a knot or by a small disk of pearl shell, like a button. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 1.) The finer grade of cups were used principally in kava drinking, which gave the inner surface of the cup a coating of glossy yellow enamel, like lacquer.

It is difficult to draw any line between cups proper and bowls, as the two classes grade imperceptibly into each other. As a rule the bowls are larger and thicker walled, and most specimens have recurved rims, that is, they are made from more than half a nut. Most of these bowls are provided with handles by which they can be suspended horizontally. One specimen in the Bishop Museum has the handle cut in one piece with the body of the bowl (Pl. LVIII, *A*, 2), but as the bowl is evidently unused it seems doubtful whether this is an ancient form. The handles of old specimens are of cord and appear to conform to a single type. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 3.) They were made as follows:

A pair of holes were pierced through either side of the shell a short distance below the rim. A loop of sennit cord was passed through each pair of holes, the ends protruding on the outside. A large black seed was then threaded upon each end of the loop and pushed down against the outer surface of the utensil. A cylinder of human bone, carved with horizontal grooves, was next threaded on, followed by another seed. The two strands of cord were then brought together and passed through a short thick ornament cut from the shaft of a human humerous, carved into a tiki figure. Above this ornament both strands were threaded through a single black seed and closely wrapped with a strand of fine sennit, giving them the appearance of a single cord. The ends of the loops were either tied together above the center of the bowl or interwoven and enclosed in a continuous wrapping which concealed the point of juncture. Bowls arranged for suspension in this way were frequently provided with carved wooden covers like those used for gourds. Bowls were usually rougher in finish than cups and were rarely carved.

Coconut bottles were made from the whole nut, the kernel was removed by a simple but ingenious method. (See Pl. LVIII, *C*.)

[825] A large ripe nut was husked and the shell around the largest eye ground away to form an aperture about one inch in diameter. The nut was then placed in some stream where fresh water shrimps were plentiful and was left for a few days. The shrimps, entering through the aperture, picked the interior of the shell clean and left it ready for use. One of the smaller eyes was then pierced with a pointed stick and a loop of heavy cord passed through and secured on the inside, the outer end of the loop serving as a handle for the bottle. A wooden stopper for the large aperture completed the utensil, which appears never to have been decorated.

A slightly different type of bottle was used for the storage of scented oil for the hair (Pl. LVIII, *B*).

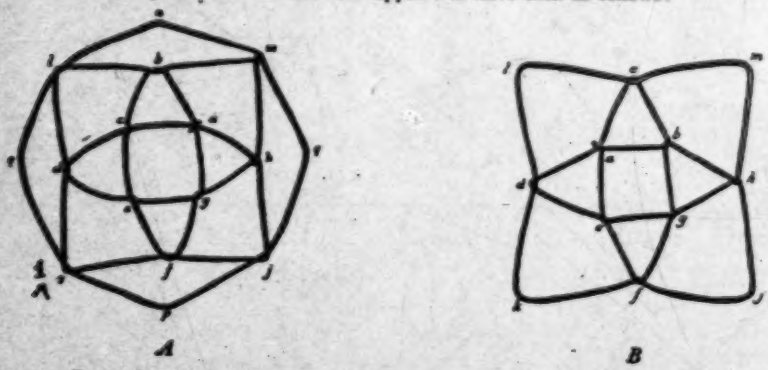
These utensils were made from small, thick shelled nuts having a more or less pointed stem end, which was ground off to below the eyes. The kernel was removed by the method just described. Most bottles of this sort were elaborately carved, some of the specimens ranking among the finest products of the native art.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*). 415 [824] [531]

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows: 415 286



A *B*

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

[97]

1 [this should be k, in light of description on page 358—Analyst]

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghjf*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *kpj*, and *jgm*[1] made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¾ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

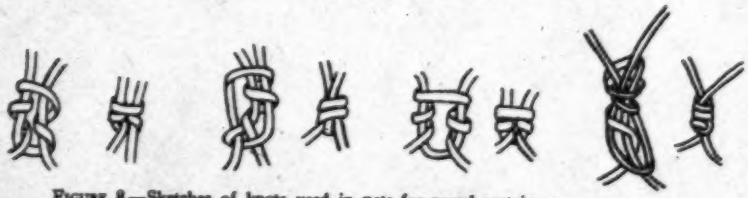


FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

415 Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [531] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[98]

1 [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. —Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

WOODEN CONTAINERS

The Marquesans made a great variety of wooden containers all of which may be placed in one or the other of two main groups: boxes, and bowls or dishes. The objects of each of these classes show considerable individual variation, and in the case of covered containers it is often difficult to say whether a given specimen is a bowl or a box. 415

BOXES

Wooden boxes, used for the storage of valuables, formed part of the equipment of every well-to-do Marquesan family. Such boxes were hewn from large pieces of wood by the processes described under bowl manufacture. (See p. 360.) The favorite materials were breadfruit, temanu and *mio*. The boxes varied greatly in size and in minor details of form and decoration, but all the specimens seen were clearly of a single type. They were made in two parts, a body and a lid. (See Pl. LIX, *A*.) [824]

The body was oval in outline, with a more or less rounded bottom and considerably recurved sides; the upper edge was finished in a narrow flat rim which was broadened at either end. At one end of the body a large knob projected above the rim, while at the opposite end the body was either flattened or bore a short flat-ended horizontal projection. The lid was rounded on the outside, excavated inside, and bore along the inner edge of its rim a thin downward projecting flange which accurately fitted the orifice of the body. The end which rested against the knob of the body when the lid was in position was either flat or notched. The opposite end was elongated and provided on the under side with a short downward projection like a thick blunt hook, which rested against the outside of the body.

In one specimen, which differs in other details from the normal type, the rear end of the lid bears an upward projection corresponding to the knob of the body. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) In well made boxes the lid fits the body so closely that it is frequently difficult to remove it. The whole utensil appears to be a more or less modified bird form, the body knob representing the head; the horizontal projection of the lid, the tail. (See Pl. LIX, *C*.) Boxes were frequently carved and the designs were usually the same as those used upon bowls. The first step apparently was to carve the body knob into a tiki face, and specimens in which this constitutes the sole decoration are not uncommon, although the more ornate examples are carved all over. In one crudely carved specimen in the Bishop Museum the designs show a preponderance of angular-geometric figures coupled with small line representations of human beings which are not of tiki type. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) 415 531

BOWLS AND DISHES

Wooden bowls and dishes are probably more numerous in ethnological collections than any other objects of Marquesan manufacture, as the elaborate carvings with which many of them are decorated make them eagerly sought after by collectors. They still form part of the equipment of every native household 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 and are manufactured in considerable numbers. No lathes have ever been introduced into the Marquesas, and all wooden utensils are still made by aboriginal
[322] processes modified only by the introduction of metal tools. The modern makers have ceased to reproduce the more elaborate ancient forms and ordinary utensils are rarely carved at the present time; but skillful carvers are still found in Nuka Hiva and Hiva Oa, and especially in Fatu Hiva, which was formerly the artistic center of the group.

415 The Marquesans employed a great variety of woods for their utensils, the favorite being *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*). This tree has a dark brown heart
824 wood and white sap wood, while its softness and even texture make it especially easy to carve. Next in importance came the temanu. This wood is light red to yellow in color and somewhat harder and less even grained than the *mio*, but still well adapted to the purpose. The trees attain a very large size, and on this account temanu appears always to have been used in ancient times for feast bowls and other large vessels. Most modern utensils are made of this wood, as the supply of large *mio* is practically exhausted. *Mei* (breadfruit) was used to a limited extent, but was considered an inferior material. Fau wood, when taken from old trees, was occasionally used, and small more or less ornamental vessels were made from sandal wood or *toa*. *Toa* was especially difficult to work on account of its hardness and its tendency to split, and objects made from it seem to have been primarily intended to show the skill of the workman. A number of other woods were sometimes used for special purposes or in the absence of better material, but according to informants, *voi*, a close grained red wood which appears well adapted to bowl making, was never used because it would split when exposed to the sun.

415 Modern bowl makers shape their utensils with adzes and knives, but knives are little used. The adzes are provided with iron blades made either from
322 plane irons or from sections of iron pipe, which has replaced the stone blades of the *toki kouma* type. (See p. 323.)

A well equipped workman employs a whole series of adzes of diminishing size, the last used being miniatures only a few inches in length. Green wood is used when possible, as it is softer and easier to work, but seasoned wood can also be used for bowls after it has been soaked in the river for several weeks. A block considerably larger than the intended object is first roughed out from the log, and is then worked down with the adz until the desired outline has been obtained. In all the examples seen approximately the final form was given to the exterior before the excavation of the interior was begun. In making round bowls a pair of European compasses are now used to outline the rim, but the shaping of the body is done entirely by eye. In shaping the exterior a light glancing blow is used, the chips detached being of such uniform size that a well made bowl just prior to polishing is covered with a multitude of small regular facets like those on a bowl of beaten brass. In excavating the interior the workman begins at the center, and gradually works back to the edges, hollowing the whole interior to the depth of about an inch. He then begins at the center once more and excavates another level, continuing until the desired depth is reached. The inside of an unfinished bowl

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

that consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years. 415 322

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary: 415 531

Kotipo. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities). 415
Koitha. Dish. 192
Kopoha. Kind of native dish.
Kokoma. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kohipo. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapa. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipa. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kapo. Vase for kava.
Kaipa. All vases.
Ipo. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hoa. All vases with large openings.
Hoa maoi. Calabash.
Tipoui. Dish.
Thiaro, Thiaroharo. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Taroa. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahoha. Small dish.
Tahoa. Oblong dish.
Tahoha. Large dish for popoi.
Pure hoa. Small dish.
Piharo, Pieroharo. Native dish.
Pupu hoiua. Covered dish for popoi.
Hoao tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Aiaiapoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants. 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal, but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *hipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a [824] large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *mio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

415 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *hue po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

[266] This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *tipoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them. 415 [581]

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round. [177]

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3⅛ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact. [177]

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

415 all four sides. Square utensils appear to have been unknown, those which were not round being oval or oblong. In most of the oblong specimens the sides are more or less convex, the difference between them and the oval forms lying in the degree of flattening at the ends.

Two specimens of a very curious oblong type not observed elsewhere were seen in the Valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. These utensils were flat bottomed, with shallowly convex sides and ends which met in well marked angles. The [171] whole form bore a remarkable resemblance to the type of food dish commonest among the Haida of the Northwest Coast of North America. The utensils were evidently of recent manufacture and the natives could give no name for the type and were uncertain whether it was ancient.

Oblong trays and dishes appear to have been in rather common use in ancient times, although few specimens have survived. Those seen were provided with low vertical sides and almost flat interior bottoms. The exterior was smoothly rounded. The troughs for beating *popoi* are really very large oblong trays (p. 352).

Several well marked types of oval dishes may be distinguished, of which the long narrow flat ended containers, called *toto*, are the most important. Except for the proportions of the different parts and the inward curve of the sides toward the rim, the form of these utensils is almost identical with that of the underbodies of the large built up canoes. The ends of the vessel are straight, the sides convex, so that the greatest width is in the center. The sides also show a vertical convexity, and the maximum width of the utensil both internally and externally is about midway between the bottom and rim. (See Pl. LX, *B*.)

Most of the *toto* are large. Bowls long enough for a man to lie in are remembered by the older natives. The smallest example seen was 18 inches long, with a maximum central width of 8⅝ inches. Usually no handles were used with this type, but this small specimen was provided with a handle consisting of two loops of sennit passed through holes bored vertically in the corners and tied together above the center.

[482] *Toto* are said to have been used principally for the transportation of prepared food at the time of feasts, and according to natives their shape was designed to make them easier to carry upon the shoulders. They were carried transversely, resting upon both shoulders and the nape of the neck, the bearer's head being bowed upon his chest.

Small oval *kava* bowls, with nearly parallel sides and rounded or pointed ends appear to have been fairly common and probably constitute a distinct type. Some of these bowls were provided with a suspension loop or handle attached to the center of one side. (See Pl. LX, *A*, 2-3.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.) 415

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived. [531]

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong. 415 531

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old 415 177

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 CX6 Marquesas CX6

415 European residents of the group and many natives believe that they were copied
177 from them. Other natives declare that the form is ancient. In view of the containers mentioned in the preceding paragraph it seems most probable that this type has been developed from an aboriginal one by the addition of a base and that the obvious resemblance of the resulting utensil to a soup tureen has given rise to the belief that the European utensil was copied entire. The question of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base in primitive Marquesan utensils is of considerable ethnological interest, but the native evidence is conflicting and very few really old utensils have been preserved. In view of the practical absence of this feature elsewhere in Polynesia it seems safest to ascribe it to European influence.

415 Legged containers appear to be entirely absent in the Marquesas, the nearest approach being a low transverse flange carved near either end of the bottom. This feature was observed in only one specimen, and there is good reason to believe that it was not aboriginal. In view of the importance of utensils with legs in the Society Islands and their occasional occurrence in Hawaii, their absence in the Marquesas is rather curious.

Two bowls of unusual form are shown on Plate LXI, *C*. No. 1 seems to be an imitation of a long cupped leaf, the short upturned handle representing the stem. In both specimens there is a deep channel at the smaller end evidently intended to direct the flow of the fluid in pouring. In No. 1 this channel ends in a well marked lip. The interior of No. 2 is coated with *kava* enamel and it is probable that both were used as *kava* bowls.

An end channel similar to that in No. 2 is a common feature of the large four-legged Tahitian bowls, while bowls with lips were occasionally made by the Maori. Elsewhere in Polynesia these features appear to be rare or lacking.

COMPARISON OF CONTAINERS

A comparison of Polynesian containers could not fail to throw a great
415 deal of light on the relations of the different groups, but anything like a satis-
171 factory study is impossible at present. Regions in which the containers are poorly made or undecorated are often entirely unrepresented in Museums, while many others are represented by two or three specimens at most. Under the circumstances it is only possible to point out a few obvious similarities and differences. Long oval boxes with covers were numerous in the Marquesas and New Zealand, but appear to have been unknown in Hawaii and Western Polynesia. Round boxes with tight fitting covers are found throughout Western Polynesia and in Hawaii, but are lacking in the Marquesas and New Zealand. They appear to have been rare in Hawaii, and it seems safe to assign the long

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

box to the marginal, and the round box to the western culture. Vessels with legs are common in Western Polynesia and in the Society Islands, but are rare in Hawaii. They are absent in the Marquesas, and the only utensils which approach this form in New Zealand are certain large gourds used for potting birds which, according to Tregear (82, p. 98), were fitted with three or four legs to make them stand upright. It is probable, therefore, that the use of legs cut in one piece with the utensil was a feature of the western culture, their absence a feature of the eastern. 415 171

A comparison of Marquesan and Micronesian containers yields some interesting results. The Micronesian containers are uniformly flat bottomed and many are provided with bases. The Marquesan containers are round bottomed and the aboriginal use of a base is questionable. The bases of modern utensils appear identical with those used in the Pelew group. (Kubary, 76, Plates 23-7.) Bird shaped containers similar to those of the Marquesas were used in Pelew and the Caroline Islands. (See Finsch, 73, p 321, and Wilson, 83, p. 102.) These bird forms are not found in any other part of Polynesia or Micronesia.

Melanesian containers have never been studied or described as a whole, but it seems certain that the long oval box, which is a feature of eastern Polynesian culture, does not occur in this region. Legged utensils on the other hand are rather common, being most numerous in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji. Bases similar to those of the Pelew and Marquesas Islands seem to have been rather common in the Solomon Islands.

DECORATION OF CONTAINERS

Marquesan containers were decorated by several methods of which carving was the most important. The handles were decorated with seeds and bone tubes, and feathers or locks of hair seem to have been attached to the bodies of some of the containers. The lids of some bowls were covered with an incrustation of red or black seeds imbedded in breadfruit gum. Single red seeds, applied here and there, were used to heighten the effect of the carving, especially when the container was made of the dark colored *mio* wood. These seeds were either wedged in deep grooves of the carving or partly imbedded in the wood. This imbedding of seeds is an approach to inlaying, but it is significant that in spite of the strong aesthetic sense of the Marquesans and their extensive use of bone and mother of pearl in personal ornaments, they appear never to have inlaid wood with these materials. 415 531

The elaborate carved decoration of many Marquesan containers made them much sought after by collectors, and the demand for objects of this sort has led to a persistence of the art, although in a rather decadent form. In pre-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In pre-
415 European times the carving was done with sharks' teeth, rats' teeth, or shells, but
531 for nearly a century these implements have been replaced by implements of iron.
322 Practically all the tools now used by carvers are home-made and are crude, but effective. They consist of small chisels, made from large nails ground to a straight edge; curved chisels, also made from nails, and small gouges, which are usually made from umbrella ribs. Knives are apparently never used for carving.

Containers are always completely shaped and polished as if for use before carving, a practise which increases the difficulties of the artist as it makes it impossible to conceal any slips of the chisel. The bowl to be carved is soaked in a stream for some time to soften the wood, and when not being worked on is usually kept in water. Only beginners draw the designs upon the utensil before carving; the skilled workman carves entirely free hand and arranges the spacing of even the most intricate designs entirely by eye. The chisel, usually fixed in a rough wooden handle, is held with the bit below the hand, and the carver appears to work with equal facility either toward or away from the body. The incision is first marked out by pressing the chisel into the wood vertically, and is then made by pushing the tool along horizontally, with one corner of the bit at the bottom of the original vertical cut and the edge, sloping upward to the surface of the bowl at a variable angle. A long triangular sliver is thus removed; any irregularities in the cutting are dressed down with small chisels. In a very large proportion of the carved specimens all the incisions have this triangular form, but when wide spaces are to be cut away they are outlined by two cuts of the sort just described, the wood between is removed, and the bottom of the space dressed flat or left with a low central ridge. Curved chisels are used to dress the vertical sides of incisions in curved designs, while the gouges are used principally for small details or shallow designs which are incised rather than carved.

Modern carvers have a strong tendency to enlarge and simplify the details of the designs and broaden the incisions in order to increase the speed of production.

415 Carved decoration appears to have been most commonly used upon round
531 bowls, next in frequency being the boxes and the tureen-like covered dishes. At least some of the other forms were probably carved in pre-European times but no carved *toto* or oval bowls, with the exception of the bird effigies, are known. Bird effigies and some boxes were carved only upon the projecting knob, and a few bowls and dishes were decorated with a carved band below the rim, but as a rule the carving covered the entire outside of the utensil. In applying the designs the surface was rarely, if ever, treated as a whole, being broken up into a number of sections which were treated as separate units. In the actual process of carving the outlining of these sections upon the bowl was the first step, and the filling designs were applied afterward. A symmetrical arrangement of the sections appears to have always been intended, and there is usually more or less agreement between the filling designs of corresponding sections. In decorating a circular bowl the bottom was usually treated as a single unit, although it was sometimes divided into two or more parts. The sides were divided either into horizontal zones or vertical sections, and the boundaries marked either by plain

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

grooves or by narrow bands of design. On account of the shape of the vessel the vertical sections were wider at the top than at the bottom. Some specimens show both horizontal and vertical divisions. On boxes and other oval containers the arrangement of the sections appears to have been variable. 415 531

CLASSIFICATION OF DESIGNS

The material available for a study of container designs is limited. Only one of the carved containers studied appears to belong to other than the later period of European contact, and the bulk of the specimens in museums are unquestionably commercial products. Most of the modern work indicates a sacrifice of quality to quantity of production, which shows itself in slipshod work, simplification of the designs used, and an increasing tendency toward angularity. Each of the modern carvers has a tendency to ignore all but a few motifs, which he has learned to reproduce rapidly and accurately. As a result of this the work of a given carver, or that of his pupils, can at once be distinguished in a mixed collection. The style of many of the older specimens seems to indicate that a similar individual specialization in designs existed at least thirty or forty years ago, but it is impossible to say definitely that such was the case. It is probable that distinct local or individual schools of decoration existed in pre-European times; but if so, their content and differences can not now be established. The modern carvers appear to have borrowed few, if any, European motifs, and the present art is a simplified rather than a mixed one.

The simple division of designs into angular-geometric and curvilinear, used in the study of house post decorations, is unsatisfactory for containers. The best classification appears to be as follows: (1) band decorations, (2) angular-geometric designs used to fill sections, (3) design elements, (4) motifs, (5) representations of natural objects.

(1) BAND DECORATIONS

Band decorations consist of various arrangements of dots, straight lines and angles, with one arrangement of spirals, employed upon the spaces separating sections of design, and to some extent upon design elements. Bands appear rarely, if ever, to have been used to fill sections. Band designs are shown on Plate LXII as follows:

A. Straight parallel lines.
B. Straight rows of dots, used either singly or in parallel.
C. Parallel diagonal lines.
D. Herringbone patterns.
E. Cross-hatching.
F. Zigzag parallel lines, either longitudinal or transverse.
G and *H.* Alternate interlocking triangles, solid or filled with V's or with lines parallel to one side.

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J. Alternate interlocking triangles separated by parallel diagonal lines.
K. Two rows of opposed triangles, the spaces between being filled with concentric diamonds or broken scrolls.
L. Bands of oblongs placed transversely at intervals equal to their width.
M. A combination of *L* with a row of inverted triangles, the apex of each triangle resting against the end of an oblong.
N. A combination of *L* with a zigzag line, apparently a modification of *M*.
O. Rows of pointed half ovals, each oval containing a spiral.

(2) ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS

Angular-geometric designs were rarely used to fill sections. The collection included only two specimens decorated in this way. One of these is a large feast bowl from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, decorated entirely with simple angular-geometric designs, most of which are like those used upon house posts. The other is a crudely carved box, locality unknown, which bears very few designs of ordinary container type. The designs used are shown on Plate XLII, *P*.

1. Four triangles meeting at the apex, their interiors being filled with V's.
2. Groups of diamonds filled with concentric diamonds or angular scrolls.

(3) DESIGN ELEMENTS

The designs here described (Pl. LXIII, *A*), although sometimes enlarged to fill entire sections, were usually incorporated into complex motifs or used to fill in the parts of a section not covered by the main motif.

A. Spirals are the commonest element of Marquesan bowl design. Both single and double spirals are employed. A few examples are true spirals of nearly circular outline. Some are triangular but the greatest number are rectangular. The double spirals appear in several forms with the turns both in the same and opposite directions. (Drawings 1-5.)

B. Circles appear to have been normally used only to outline the section of decoration covering the bottom of round bowls. Only one example of a series of concentric circle used to fill a section was found. (Drawing 6.)

C. Ovals and rectangles grade imperceptibly into each other and it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other. Both were employed either as fill, or in enlarged form, to decorate entire sections. The interiors of these figures were usually filled with concentric ovals or rectangles. (Drawings 7 and 9.)

D. Pointed ovals were ordinarily used only as parts of more complex motifs and were less common than the ovals of class 7. They were filled either with concentric ovals or with herringbone patterns. (Drawing 8.)

E. Segments of ovals were extensively employed as fill and as portions of more elaborate motifs. They were usually filled with either concentric half or quarter ovals or with hooks. (Drawings 10-12.)

F. Combs, half ovals or half rectangles whose interiors were filled with short parallel lines perpendicular to the long axis of the figure, were employed principally as details of larger motifs. (Drawings 13 and 14.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

G. Pokaa is the name given a small circle, oval or rectangle broken at some point in its circumference. In the container designs *pokaa* figures grade imperceptibly into small circles bisected by a groove or bar, and from these into various forms of double spiral and scroll. The term is used here to include all figures of this class not certainly spirals or scrolls although its native application is probably more limited. The extent of the variation can be seen from the accompanying plate taken from those used upon commercial clubs. The *pokaa* was used to a minor degree upon bowls, and is fairly common in modern carving, but appears to have been primarily a tattooing design. It was also used on ancient war clubs. Arrangements of two *pokaa* placed back to back and joined by a bar do not appear to have been used in tattooing, but are found in the carving. (See drawings 15 to 20.) 415 531

H. The natives designate a series of concentric circles, ovals or rectangles broken by a bar or groove extending from the center to beyond the rim as *cipuoto*. These figures grade into *pokaa* and the two motifs are closely related. They are of only minor importance upon bowls, but appear in tattooing, upon house posts, and as petroglyphs. From their use in rock carvings it seems probable that these designs have a special significance, being possibly a conventionalized representation of a vagina and phallus. (See drawings 21-27.)

I. The use of hooks of characteristic form does much to give Marquesan art its distinctive quality. These hooks are of two types: One hook has a short vertical and a long horizontal arm meeting at right angles. The sides of the vertical arm are parallel; the lower side of the horizontal arm is straight and the upper irregularly convex. The end of the horizontal end is pointed. (See drawing 28.) The second hook contains either two or three sections which meet approximately at right angles, the sides being parallel throughout and the ends straight or rounded. (See drawing 29.) The pointed hooks are rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing. The other type of hook is constantly used in container design, ranking even before the spiral in frequency. It is used principally to fill segments of ovals or rectangles, and the arrangement is more or less stereotyped. In filling a half oval a series of three section hooks are placed with their bases resting upon the straight edge of the figure and their points at alternate ends. The innermost hooks are usually of two sections only. (See drawing 30.) In filling a quarter oval two sections are employed, the bases of alternate hooks resting against first one and then the other of the straight sides of the segment. (See drawing 31.) The hooks are always incised and the raised surface left between the cuts forms a continuous scroll which will be referred to as a hook scroll.

J. Crosses. Both plain (drawing 32) and staggered (drawing 33) crosses were employed, but always in connection with other designs which filled the spaces between their arms and the edges of the section.

K. Triangles rarely appear outside of the band decorations. They are used principally upon the bottoms of bowls and are filled either with angular spirals or with concentric triangles (drawing 34).

(4) MOTIFS

Motifs include the various standardization combinations of design elements other than those which appear to be representations of natural objects. These are illustrated in Plate LXIII, *B* as follows:

1. Crosses, either plain or staggered, with arms continued into hook scrolls which fill the four quarters of the section.

2. *Kaake*, broad, straight-ended elbow figures with ends and bodies decorated with designs. (The *kaake* motif is common in tattooing, but rare in container decoration.)

3. *Mata.* The simplest form of the *mata* consists of two half ovals (convex side downward) each of which is filled with hooks or concentric half ovals, below which centrally there is some variant of the *pokaa*. The space on either side of the *pokaa*, below the half ovals, is usually filled with small designs not connected with these main elements. The whole arrangement apparently represents a highly conventionalized face in which the half ovals serve as eyes and the *pokaa* as nose. Some forms of double spiral seem to be related to the *mata* motif. *Mata* are rather rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing.

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(5) REPRESENTATIONS OF NATURAL OBJECTS

The Marquesans appear rarely to have carved representations of natural objects other than human beings upon their containers, although a statement of Langsdorff that they carved upon their bowls "little figures of human faces, of fish and of birds" (38, p. 172) may indicate that this was done in former times. The representations of natural objects upon the containers examined may all be assigned to some one of three classes: representations of human beings, representations of animals or insects, floral designs. With the exception of the human figures carved upon one box, all such representations are highly conventionalized and are linked by intermediate forms to various purely decorative designs.

(6) REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS

The decorations on Plate LXIV, *A* may be divided into three classes: more or less naturalistic figures, which occur only upon the specimen mentioned in the preceding paragraph; angular-geometric figures; and figures carved according to the tiki convention.

The naturalistic figures (drawings No. 1) are crudely executed, resembling the drawings made by a child. The persons are represented with the legs apart and the arms akimbo. The body and limbs are shown as simple lines or bands. In one example the toes are indicated. The heads are disproportionately large and the features, when shown, are grotesque. Curiously enough the faces have little or no resemblance to those of figures of the tiki type.

Angular-geometric representations of human beings appear to have been employed exclusively in the form of narrow bands (drawing No. 2) The representations consist of an inverted triangle, representing the head, below which there is a cross line for the shoulders, with three vertical lines, representing the body and arms. No other features are indicated. Representations of this sort sometimes occur in the same bands with decorations *L*, *M* and *N*, shown on Plate LXII, and it is possible that those band decorations originated from representations of human figures.

Human figures carved in the round or in relief appear to have been almost never used upon containers; but flat figures, which stand to the true tikis in the relation of a line drawing to a bas-relief or statue, were extensively employed. They evince a strong tendency to modify the body by substituting decorative elements for its various parts, or to eliminate the body altogether. The convention used for depicting the features was essentially the same as that of the true tikis, and a suggestion of the relief form is usually retained in the modeling of the eyes within and above the rings. (Drawings No. 3.)

The eyes are shown by two rings joined at the inner ends and continued at the outer ends into horizontal bars which terminate in double spirals or scrolls, representing the ear. The

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bridge of the nose is usually indicated by a straight line, and the nostrils by semi-circles or semi-ovals. The mouth is shown as a simple oblong or narrow oval with a longitudinal central ridge, and in a few designs the teeth are indicated by short transverse grooves. There is usually a horizontal ridge across the eye ball, but in some figures the eye ball is smoothly rounded and in one specimen there is a distinct central disk, like a pupil. The most interesting feature in connection with the use of tiki figures is the gradual elimination of details. Not only is there a strong tendency to omit the body, but the features of the face are discarded one by one. The first to be lost is the mouth, followed, with equal frequency by the nose or ears. In a few carvings only the linked ovals of the eyes remain, and in some designs a single unmistakable tiki eye, with an attached ear, is used as a separate element.

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(7) REPRESENTATIONS OF AXIMALS OR INSECTS

Three motifs appear to be highly conventionalized representations of some animal or insect. (Pl. LXIV, *B*.) Two of these motifs each occur upon one specimen only, while the third, with many modifications and variations, plays an important part in bowl design.

The simpler of the rare motifs (drawing No. 1), found in only one specimen, consists of a broad straight groove ending in a circle or semi-circle and having along either edge a fringe of diagonal lines. The whole form suggests a centipede, but it can not even be said with certainty that a representation of a natural object is intended.

A second rare motif, also found upon one specimen only, has a long narrow body in the form of a pointed oval, at one extremity of which are placed forelegs and a head and at the other hind legs with a suggestion of a tail.

The body is decorated with a single longitudinal groove and has on either side a number of short transverse grooves, apparently representing a spine and ribs (drawing No. 2). Each pair of legs, with the head or tail, is treated practically as a separate unit, the form suggesting the crosses shown in Plate LXIII, *B*, 1. The space along either side of the body is filled in the original with unassociated designs carved at a lower level. The whole treatment is so conventional that identification is difficult, but it seems probable that a lizard is intended.

The third motif is comparatively common in the modern commercial work from Fatu Hiva and shows a more or less standard form, with many examples which have been modified in various ways. The standard figure and various modifications are shown on Plate LXIV, *B*, 3.

The standard figure consists of a long oval with which are connected three pairs of spirals, two being attached at either end and the third pair somewhere along the sides. There is usually a suggestion of a head at one or both ends.

A more or less standardized variation, which may have been originally a separate motif (Pl. LXIV, *B*, 4) has a shorter and broader oval body, with or without a head, from the upper end of which spring two broad curved bands, while to the lower end are connected two spirals or separate scrolls. This form grades imperceptibly into purely decorative designs with no suggestion of representation.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FLORAL DESIGNS

415 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are
532 represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs play-
531 ed a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *haake* are rare, while *pokaa* and *cipuoto* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in
531 western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chat-
171 ham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[9] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Hans Cranner (71). Only the most important points will be mentioned here.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

development in the Marquesas. A superficial study of the designs employed in the regions of their occurrence shows the following: 415 531 171

In southeastern Polynesia, to judge from the few examples available for study, we have a division of the surface to be decorated into a number of small sections or bands which are filled with small angular geometric motifs. These motifs are usually applied in bands, and are not as a rule combined to form larger designs. The only curvilinear form is the concentric circle.

In the Marquesas we have a division of the surface to be decorated into sections of relatively large size which are often separated by bands of simple design. These sections are treated as units, being filled with large designs formed by the combination of several design elements. Both curvilinear and angular-geometric designs are employed, but curvilinear designs are clearly dominant in container decoration. There is a tendency to give angularity to basicly curvilinear forms, such as the spiral, but there is an equally strong tendency to round the angles of basicly angular forms, such as the oblong.

In northern New Zealand the surface to be decorated is either treated as a whole, or divided into a very few large sections by bands of narrow design. Only curvilinear designs are employed, the dominant motif being the spiral. An important feature of the technique is the use of a beaded interline.

If we compare the southeastern Polynesian carvings with those on western Polynesian weapons, the most elaborately carved objects from that region, we are at once struck by a basic similarity in design and execut'on. There is the same division of the surface into many bands or sections which are filled with small angular-geometric motifs. The southeastern Polynesian examples show an additional motif, the concentric circle, and show superior workmanship, but the carvings from both regions resemble each other much more closely than they do those of either the Marquesans or Maoris.

The Marquesan and Maori carvings have little superficial resemblance, but they possess two features in common which are foreign to the regions just compared; a predominance of curvilinear designs, and an extensive use of the spiral. The toothed line, important in New Zealand, occurs in the Marquesas but is rare there. The practise of dividing the surface to be decorated into sections, constant in the Marquesas, is rare among the northern Maori, but angular-geometric designs seem to have been used in carving in some parts of New Zealand.

It appears that there existed originally in marginal Polynesia, exclusive of Hawaii, a predominantly curvilinear art which treated surfaces as a whole or in large sections. The original western Polynesian art was angular-geometric, with a division of the surfaces treated into many small sections. In the Cook Islands, Austral Islands and Society Islands, the original marginal art was almost de-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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stroyed by an invasion of western culture. The strong evidences of such an invasion have already been pointed out in the case of other elements of material culture. On the side of pure decoration the original art modified that of the invaders to a very small degree. Northern New Zealand, because of its location, was practically unaffected by the western Polynesian art. The Marquesas, on the other hand, received a moderately strong influence resulting either in the introduction of sectional treatment of surfaces and angular-geometric designs on in the strengthening of these features if they were present in the original complex.

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FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string. 283 [B24]

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tona* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them. [231]

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth [292]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[283] The cords of the large fish net (opena) were dyed red with earth
[286] called *ha'ore* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

[824] Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber. This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the [222] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *paruhina* and as [534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

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Finished three plait cord is stored in long cylindrical rolls wound to give an ornamental effect. Many strand cord on the other hand is said to have been commonly wound in thin flat rolls like European tape. (See Pl. LXV, *B*.) 283

The only dyed coconut fiber cord collected was of the three strand variety, but it is probable that the more intricate plaits were also occasionally colored. All the specimens seen were reddish brown, tan or black, but red is mentioned in native stories and Stewart, a reliable authority, speaks of yellow and white sennit used in house lashings. The reddish brown and tan sennit appears to be natural. The Tongan method of deepening the color by baking, if originally known to the natives, has been forgotten. The lightest shade of tan sennit was made from fiber of the leaf sheath. Three methods of coloring the black sennit were described. 283 386

The bark of the *mafi* tree was beaten up with stones and the juice squeezed into large wooden bowls. The finished sennit was then steeped in the juice for several days, until it became black. It was then removed and buried for three days in the mud of a taro patch, washed, and dried. A second method consisted of burying it in the mud for a longer period without the preliminary dyeing, while a third method consisted of rubbing the finished cord with a mixture of *ooa* nut soot and water.

It seems probable that when mention is made to red sennit the darker shades of red brown are referred to, but at least some red sennit was made by painting the fiber, apparently after plaiting, with the seeds of the arnotto (*Bixa orellana*). Yellow sennit was colored with saffron, the cord probably being made from the light colored fiber of the leaf sheath. White sennit must, from the nature of the fiber, have been incrusted or painted rather than dyed, and it is quite possible that it was produced by rubbing the finished cord with a paste made from shell lime or from a fine white earth, extensive deposits of which occur in Nuku Hiva. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that fans were whitened in this way.

Although most Marquesan cordage was made from either fau bark or coconut fiber a number of other fiber plants were known and used. The most important of these seems to have been the pineapple. Pineapple fiber is still used for thread and for very small fish lines, and is prepared as follows: 283 824

The fresh green leaves are taken one by one, laid across a banana log, and scraped longitudinally with any sharp-edged instrument. The bowl of an ordinary metal spoon was seen used for this purpose. Continued scraping removes all the flesh of the leaf, leaving a few soft fibers which are then dried in the sun. The women convert these fibers into thread by rolling them upon the bare thigh with the palm of the hand. To make fish lines either two or three strands of this thread are twisted together, the finished line being passed rapidly through a flame to singe off the lint.

Banana fiber is said to have formerly been used for certain kinds of cord, but this material has not been employed for many years. To prepare the fiber,

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203 banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber
824 was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe or* string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amoenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *manomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

204 A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cord-
177 age and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

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MATTING AND BASKETRY

MATS

The twin arts of matting and basketry appear to have been less developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of tropical Polynesia and both have been nearly destroyed by European contact. No mats of the better sort are now manufactured and the processes employed are unknown to most of the natives. Only three materials appear to have been used for mats, ti leaves, coconut fronds, and the leaves of the pandanus. Mats made from ti leaves were small crude affairs, hardly deserving the name. They were used only to line and cover *ma* pits. (See Pl. LXVI, *A*.) They were made as follows: 285 [824]

A quantity of the leaves were collected and the stems and heavy portion of the midrib removed, without breaking the inner surface of the leaf. These stemmed leaves were laid in bundles of three or four, the face of each leaf being against the back of the one below. These bundles were then placed side by side with a wide regular overlap, always from the same direction, and were pinned together with splints about two inches long made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet or from bamboo. Three of these splints were used to join each pair of bundles, one being placed in the middle and the other two near either end. In doing the work a long splint was used; a portion of the end of the splint was broken off each time and left as a pin. The resultant mat was as wide as the length of the leaves and could be extended indefinitely by pinning on new bundles.

Coconut mats are still regularly made in the Marquesas; the work is done by men and women indiscriminately. They are employed mainly as thatching for houses, to cover large earth oven and in ancient times they were used on beds, under the fine mats. The coconut mats are made as follows: [352]

A coconut frond, usually that of a young tree, is split longitudinally and the midrib, to which the leaflets of either half are attached, is pared thin enough to be rather flexible. Alternate leaflets are then directed forward and backward and interwoven in a simple checkerwork. The outer edge of the mat is finished by braiding the tips of the leaflets together in a continuous longitudinal strip. The size of these mats naturally depends upon that of the frond from which they are made, ordinary specimens being 14 to 20 inches wide and 6 to 12 feet long. A common variation of this technique is to employ two half fronds placed side by side, the midribs being joined together by twisting a leaflet around both at intervals of one to two feet. The leaflets of both fronds are then interwoven to form a mat of single thickness like that just described. A still further variation consists in placing two half leaves together with the midribs at opposite edges and interweaving the leaflets in checkerwork. This last technique is rarely used at the present time.

The better Marquesan mats, used principally upon beds, were made from pandanus. These bed mats were as a rule long and comparatively narrow, being intended to cover the space between the two coconut logs. They were of two sorts, the distinction being apparently one of shape and use. The mats upon which the legs rested were called *moena*, those upon which the body rested *hakuau*, those for the head *p'ai p'ai*. (For shape and arrangements of these mats 285 352

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285 see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind
[352] of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *hcnu* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re-weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but
531 one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal
[302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that
285 mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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to friends, that she had gathered a few of the women together and was teaching 285
them to weave coarse mats. This statement is so remarkable, implying as it does an ignorance of the art, that it is difficult to account for unless mat weaving, like certain other industries, had become more or less localized so that the valley in which the missionaries settled bought its mats ready made.

BASKETS

The manufacture of all but the simplest baskets had been discontinued in the Marquesas in 1920 and only two types of basket were remembered by the informants questioned. Both of these were made from coconut fronds. The [824]
simplest type *koaho* (Pl. LXVI, *D*) is still manufactured, and is made as follows:

Four short sections of coconut midrib, to each of which three leaflets are attached, are placed two at either end of the proposed basket and the leaflets interwoven in checkerwork to form the broad, oval bottom. Four similar sections, bearing two or three leaflets each, are then placed in pairs above the first four and their leaflets interwoven with the ends of those forming the bottom, making the sides. Three of the bottom leaflets are left projecting beyond the basket at either end and these are braided and the braid carried up over the outside of the basket to the rim. The rim is finished like the edge of an ordinary mat. When the body of the basket is finished, a bunch of tips project from either end. The braids from the bottom are combined with these tips and the whole plaited into a broad flat cord. The cords from the two ends are tied together above the center of the basket to form a handle, and the receptacle is ready for use. Baskets of this sort can be made in a few minutes. They are used principally for carrying fruit.

The more elaborate type of coconut basket called *hakete* (Pl. LXVI, *E*) is no longer regularly manufactured; the specimen figured was made to order by an old woman who remembered the process:

Young fronds, just beginning to unfold were used and the two sides of each leaflet were folded together before weaving so that the midrib lay along one edge of the strip. The basket was made as follows: The frond was taken and prepared as for mat weaving. Sections 3 to 5 feet long, depending on the size of the desired basket, were then cut from the corresponding portions of the two halves, and the leaflets of each section interwoven tightly at the base, each leaflet passing over two in the direction of its natural angle with the midrib. All the leaflets of each section thus ran in the same direction. The midribs of the two sections were then placed together in such a way that the leaflets of one ran at right angles to the leaflets of the other and were bent into a long oval, their ends being tied together with short pieces of bark string. This formed the rim of the basket. The leaflets of the two sections were then interwoven in a twilled pattern, over three and under three, those of one section forming the warp and those of the other section the weft. This weaving was continued down to the juncture of the bottom with the sides, where there was a narrow strip twilled over two and under two. The bottom, which was very narrow, was made in two thicknesses. The inner layer was formed by interweaving the warp strips of the two sides in a simple checkerwork, their tips being bent back and plaited together in a long strip beneath the checkerwork. The outer layer of the bottom was formed by bringing the weft strips of the two sides together along the middle of the bottom and there plaiting them into a flat braid. The braids from both the inner and outer layers were concealed between the two sections of the double bottom, but their tips projected upward, one at either end, on the inside of the basket. No handle was made, the basket being suspended by cords passed under the rim at either end. Baskets of this sort were used principally for carrying fish.

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285 Edge Partington (20, p. 46) figures a closely woven basket of coconut leaves of still a different type. It is oval in outline, with a flat bottom, vertical sides and a flat recurved top, making the opening considerably smaller in diameter than the body of the basket. No baskets of this sort are now in use and the form seems to have been forgotten.

[415] In the collection of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge there are two rather curious sacks from the Marquesas..

The material is split pandanus similar to that employed in mat weaving. The sacks are almost identical in size and construction and are rectangular, 14½ inches long and 11 inches deep. The form is that of an envelope with a triangular flap. The body of the sack is of double thickness, the outside layer being made of strips ¼ inch wide except for the last 3 inches below the top. The sack above this point, the flap, and the inner layer, are woven from much finer strips produced by splitting each of the ¼ inch strips in three. The technique is a simple checkerwork. A loop of twisted coconut fiber is attached to the center of the lip of the sack and passes up through a hole in the flap, protruding for 2 to 3 inches when the sack is closed. There is no information as to the use of these objects.

Jardin (33, p. 36) says that the natives wove coarse baskets from the flexible shoots of the *tutu* (Ceanothus asiatious), but gives no data to their form or the technique employed.

FANS

293 Marquesan fans were of two sorts, ordinary fans, which are still manufactured and used, and chiefs' fans, which were carried by persons of importance and were intended for show rather than use. The chiefs' fans are now obsolete, and no examples have been preserved in the group. They are fairly numerous in collections, however, and the type may be accurately described.

The coconut fans have a broad straight outer end and sides which are nearly parallel at the tip and curve inward smoothly at the base. All the specimens seen were more or less asymmetrical (Pl. LXVI, *F*), but this did not appear to be intentional. They are made as follows:

Young coconut leaflets are folded so that the midrib lies along one edge of the woven strip. The weaving is begun at the outer end, a flat band, twilled over two and under two and as long as the width of the proposed fan, being woven first. The twill in this band is longitudinal, and the whole is rarely more than seven elements wide. The direction of the twill is then changed to vertical, and the fan woven down to the upper end of the handle. To form the handle the two leaflets which are central at that point are crossed and carried down vertically, each succeeding pair being similarly detached from the weaving, crossed and braided in with those already detached until all have been included. The ends of these leaflets, which extend some distance below the fan, are then packed closely together, wrapped with bark string, and cut off squarely at the tips, the whole forming the handle.

The following description of chiefs' fans (Pl. LXVII, *A*, *B*) is based upon an examination of specimens in the possession of M. George La Garde of Papeete, and in various American museums. The weaving appears to have been uniform; the technique being as follows:

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The outer end of the fan, which was similar in shape to the coconut fans just described, was finished with a straight band twilled over three and under three. The body of the fan was also twilled, but the weft strands passed under one and over two. The warp strands radiated from the outer end, those next the handle being vertical and parallel while those of the wings diverged more and more as the tips were approached. The exact method of finishing the edges could not be determined. The upper end of the handle was provided with a long spike which was incorporated into the fan, the weft threads being interwoven about it. Near its base it was encircled by ornamental lashings of fine sennit laid on in a simple diamond pattern. The strips used in the woven part of the fan were one-eighth of an inch or less in width. The lower end of the handle might be either a continuation of the wooden spike or a separate piece of human bone or whale ivory. In most cases it was elaborately carved with four small tiki figures arranged in two pairs, superposed upon one another, the figures of each pair being back to back. These fan handles rank among the finest products of the Marquesan artist and it would be difficult for Europeans to better some of them either in design or execution. The woven portion of the fan was whitened by rubbing with lime or with a white clay found in Nuku Hiva, the application being heavy enough in many cases to fill the interstices of the weaving and make determination of the technique and material difficult. The material appears to have usually been the young leaflets of the coconut palm, but it is possible that pandanus was also used in a few instances. 293

These elaborate fans were made by special *tuhuna* and seem to have had a distinct ceremonial significance, being carried by chiefesses at *koina*, and by chiefs and *ta'ua*. Those of chiefesses at least were inherited in the female line, and appear to have been almost insignia of rank.

It seems well to describe here a very curious fan of tortoise shell, collected in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. (See Pl. LXVII, *C*.) [237]

The fan consists of a rather rough wooden handle to which plates of tortoise shell have been attached. The object is in bad condition, but the original shape appears to have been rectangular. The handle is decorated with a few tresses of human hair tied with coconut fiber, like those used in hair ornaments. Fans of this sort are said to have been used to keep flies off a dead body while it was undergoing mummification. The specimen obtained had been partially cut up for the sake of the tortoise shell, a good indication that these objects had no religious significance.

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ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 526 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 481 526 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

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The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step. 481 526

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. [171]

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen. 526

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wrapped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

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526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says: 524

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

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but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems 526
probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No 411
Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise.

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the 411
warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war.

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained [324]
rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe.

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411 No satisfactory information in regard to the form of the ancient slings was obtained from the natives, but specimens preserved in the Peabody Museums at Cambridge and at Salem, prove that two forms were in use. (See Pl. LXX, *A*.)

The simpler of these, represented by a single specimen, consisted of a broad flat plait of coconut fiber, between five and six feet long, without a pocket. The cord tapered at either end, one extremity being finished with a loop for the fingers and the other with a simple knot. In another form the two cords were slender and there was a pocket of coconut fiber about five inches long with a central width of about two inches tapering toward either end. The end of the sling that was retained in throwing was also made from coconut fiber, while the release cord might be made either of coconut fiber or of twisted fau bark. A short distance from the end of the retained cord a loop two to three inches long was formed by dividing the braid into two strands which were again interwoven beyond it.

In a specimen in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (20, p. 46, No. 2) the end of the retained cord was finished with a small tiki figure of human bone from which hung a hair tassel. As may be seen from the photograph the pockets were often elaborately and beautifully woven. Some specimens of the second type are over five feet in length when ready for action, giving the thrower great range but little accuracy.

A warrior going into battle carried his sling wrapped around his hand and Langsdorff (38, pp. 150-160) says that natives from other valleys, when attending feasts, "commonly have with them a sling for stones, but it is bound around the head so as to have rather the appearance of an ornament than a weapon of defence."

Most early visitors agree that the Marquesan slingers were poor marksmen, but Porter, who fought against them, says (49, p. 87)—"The stones are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy as to render them almost equal to musketry." Evidence of the force of slung stones is offered by a missile of this sort in the valley of Omoa, Fatu Hiva. The stone has been driven into a crack between two rocks so solidly that the repeated efforts of curio hunters have failed to dislodge it.

SPEARS AND LANCES

Several types of spears and lances were employed by the Marquesans, but very few examples have been preserved. There are no authentic specimens in the museums of the Atlantic Coast. The only spear remaining in the group, as far as known, is a short javelin preserved as an heirloom in the family of the chief of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa. This spear is approximately five feet long with an average shaft diameter of three-quarters of an inch. The lower end tapers to a blunt point, while the upper end is flattened and expanded laterally to form a sharp edged blade whose form may be seen from the accompanying illustration drawn by Mrs. E. S. Handy (fig. 10). An entirely different type of throwing spear is mentioned by Porter (49, pp. 86-87) who says: "The other kind [of spears] are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy

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to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract." 411

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long, Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant, [824]

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.) [227]

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this 411 531

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411 type are elaborately carved according to a set convention, the decoration of the numerous
531 specimens examined varying only in minor details (Pl. LXIX, *A*).

Each side of the club is treated as a separate unit, but the arrangement and position of the various decorative elements on the two sides, and to a lesser degree the designs employed, correspond. The carvings upon a single side are arranged as follows:

At the lower end of the expanded portion, next the handle, there is a broad transverse band composed of decorative designs. Above this is placed a tiki face, minus the mouth, whose ears rest against either edge of the club. Above this face in turn, filling the space between it and the bottom of the knobs, is a narrow band of carving broken in the center. The inner ends of the sections are connected by narrow curved bands, or the space between them is filled with one or two small detached designs. Above this band, on the line of the lateral knobs, a small tiki face in high relief is carved centrally. The section above the lateral knobs is divided into two equal parts by a low longitudinal keel and upon each of the halves thus formed is carved a large circle or oval having in the center a head in high relief from which lines run radially to its circumference. Above these circles, on the extreme end of the club, a flat tiki face is carved centrally. The curve of the thick outer end of the club extends upon either side to within about two inches of the lateral knobs and in a few specimens small faces, directed laterally, are carved at its lower extremities.

Practically all old *uu* have a glossy black finish given by burying the finished implement for some time in the mud of a taro patch and then rubbing and polishing with scented coconut oil (*pani*).

The *uu* have always been much sought after by collectors and this demand
411 has resulted in their continued manufacture although the best modern examples are only caricatures of the ancient specimens. The carefully worked out contours of the old clubs have given place to flat surfaces and angles, and the simple and rigidly conventionalized decoration to elaborate and meaningless carvings. The finish of the modern specimens is usually rough, and the wood is always left the natural color, making them easily distinguishable. (Pl. LXIX, *B*.)

The second type of Marquesan club, called *parahua* (Dordillon, 17) is also well represented in collections. It has a handle identical with that of the *uu* but the elaborately worked out head is replaced by a sharp edged blade closely similar in form to that of a modern American canoe paddle (Pl. LXIX, *E*). Weapons of this type appear never to have been carved or blackened, and are as a whole longer than the *uu*. Some of these paddle clubs are remarkable for their size and weight, one specimen in the Bishop Museum being 7 feet, 9¼ inches long with a blade length of 2 feet, 10½ inches and a maximum blade width of 7 inches.

In many *uu* and *parahu* there is a small hole pierced through the expanded lower end of the handle, probably for the attachment of a wrist loop, and in some specimens the grip is wrapped for a distance of 5 to 8 inches with fine plaited

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord. to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals. 411

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouvai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouvai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one. 411 293

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompom of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown. 411

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says: 727

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727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and passes under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In
171 New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

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The Hawaiian and Micronesian slings are much cruder in construction than the Marquesan slings, and have little in common with them. The Marquesan and Society slings, on the other hand, are practically identical, corresponding not only in form, but even in such minor details as the occasional use of fau bark for the release cord. It is rather curious that such close correspondence should be coupled with the use of prepared stones in the Marquesas and their absence in the Society Islands. 411 171

The information on Marquesan spears is too incomplete to justify extensive comparison, but it is suggestive that the practise of cutting or piercing the shafts of javelines so that the head would break off in the wound appears to have been limited to the Marquesas and New Zealand. The thrusting spear with long easily broken barbs appears to have no Polynesian parallel, but is rather suggestive of certain north Australian forms.

A comparison of Polynesian club forms is especially interesting. The Hawaiians seem to have made only secondary use of the club, and the Hawaiian examples for the most part are short bludgeon-like weapons of rather inferior workmanship. There are some indications that a longer bat-like type was also in use, but it seems to have been numerically unimportant. The Marquesans seem to have entirely lacked short clubs, both their types, the *uu* and paddle club, being heavy and of unwieldy length. The natives of the Society Islands used clubs of two types, one a short bludgeon, the other a long club with a sharp edged lozenge shaped head. Examples of the long club examined strongly resemble the spears of the Cook Islands which in turn, appear to be copies of metal prototypes. The Maoris used several types of club which seem to fall into two classes, long staves and short, sharp edged weapons, such as the mere. The Maori weapons are well known. In Samoa and Tonga we find a great variety of clubs, most of which are of types also found in Fiji. These weapons have been fully described by Churchill (69). As a whole they show little resemblance to the forms found in marginal Polynesia. Even the nuclear Polynesian paddle clubs bear much less resemblance to those of the Marquesas than the Marquesan ones show to some Melanesian weapons, notably those from the Solomon Islands.

No clubs at all resembling the Marquesan *uu* appear in other parts of Oceania, and it seems certain that it is a local development. If we ignore its decoration we find that the *uu* differs from the paddle club only in the thickening of the end and the lateral knobs. The handles of the two types are identical, and in both the head has a rounded outline, flat oval cross section, and sharp edges. It is evident that the *uu* as a whole represents a highly conventionalized face to which the knobs bear the relation of ears. As projecting ears are a common fea- 411 171 532

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411 ture of Marquesan figures it is quite possible that the knobs might be added to
171 a paddle form on which a face had been carved with the idea of rendering the
532 human likeness more complete. The thickening of the end is more difficult to account for, but this also may have arisen from the native artistic convention which calls for wide curves over the eyes. It is but a slight step from the paddle club to the *uu*. Evidence of the priority of the paddle club is offered by the use of small replicas as chiefs' insignia.

411 The distribution of narrow-bladed staves is especially interesting. In Polynesia their use appears to have been limited to two localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand, with a related form in Easter Island. The Marquesan staves are as a rule longer than those from New Zealand, but the blade form is practically identical, the differences between the two types lying in the treatment of the upper end, or head, which in New Zealand was usually carved into a head with a projecting, pointed tongue, and in the Marquesas was finished with a pompom of human hair. In both, the shaft immediately below the head was covered with a woven sleeve. The Easter Island implements are clearly related to these staves, but differ from them in having a broader blade, no sleeve, and an upper end carved into two heads placed back to back. The Marquesan staves grade into the paddle clubs, although they always retain the characteristic decoration of the head. As paddle clubs appear to be lacking in both New Zealand and Easter Island it seems improbable that the stave was developed from this weapon. Certain Melanesian digging sticks now in the Field Museum are identical in blade form with the Maori and Marquesan staves, and there are even a few examples in which the upper ends are carved and decorated. A. B. Lewis of the Field Museum says that he has frequently seen digging sticks employed as staves by the older men in Melanesia, and it would appear not improbable that the staves of the Maori and Marquesans have been derived from some such tool. The fact that the Maori stave was an important weapon does not militate against this assumption, as even among the Maori digging sticks were sometimes used as weapons while many of the Melanesian examples are known to have been used interchangeably as tools and clubs. The Fijian chiefs' staves lack the flattened blade, just as do many of the Fijian digging sticks.

It is rather curious that large weapons edged with sharks' teeth appear to have been entirely lacking in the Marquesas, although at least two forms were in use in the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 297, p. 413).

Weapons resembling the Marquesan double pointed spike (*ake henua*), were rather common in Hawaii, while a related form was important in the Society Islands. Their use in Samoa and Tonga seems doubtful, although the data from those islands is still too incomplete to allow of a definite statement.

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APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fāfaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

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HOOK AND LINE

227 Line fishing was carried on both from the rocks and from canoes. On the southern side of Hiva Oa the natives resorted to submerged banks which lay several miles off shore, and fishing expeditions to the various uninhabited islands of the group were not uncommon. The lines used in deep sea fishing were made either of fau bark or coconut fiber; those used by the women in fishing for small fish were made of pineapple fiber. (See p. 379.)

A variety of hooks were used, their size and material varying with the nature of the fishing. A tiny hook, made from a single thorn from the edge of a pandanus leaf, was used to catch the little fish in the rock pools. Larger hooks were made either from pearl shell or human bone or a combination of the two. Simple shell hooks (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 1) were laboriously ground out of a thick [321] pearl shell. The gleam of the nacre served as a lure and made bait unnecessary. Such hooks were barbless with only slightly recurved points and had much the shape of a "J." The upper end was slightly notched on one or both sides for the attachment of the line. A more elaborate form of one piece hook is shown (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 2). A composite hook made entirely of pearl shell was also employed. (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 3.) One section of this hook corresponds to the one-piece hook except for slightly greater angularity at the bend. The second piece consisted of a simple band of shell of the same width and length as the shank of the first piece. It was bound to the shank with lashings near the top and bottom, the nacre sides of the two pieces being brought together so that the surface of the completed hook was dark except at the barb. The type is represented only by several specimens in the Salem Museum, and no information in regard to it was obtained in the Marquesas. This form seems to be a purely local development and does not occur in other parts of Polynesia.

One-piece hooks of human bone were occasionally used, made from the curve of the lower jaw. Desgraz (15, p. 285) says that they were sharper than the pearl hooks and that their form was angular rather than oval, but as no specimens have been preserved in American collections exact description is impossible.

Composite hooks of shell and human bone were used to troll for bonito. The ancient form with only slight modifications continues in use to the present date. (See Pl. LXXI, *B*.)

The body of a hook of this sort consists of a strip of shell 3½ to 4½ inches long and about ⅜ of an inch wide, pointed at one end and square at the other. In making this strip the pointed end is ground from the valve. Some strips are as much as ⅜ of an inch thick at the point while the body of the strip is rarely over 3/16 of an inch thick. The outside of the shell, which forms the bottom of the strip, is ground down until it shows a good luster with a pink, yellow or brown tint. The color is very important, for the strip serves as a lure, and fish refuse to take hooks which are not of the right shade. The thick point of the strip is pierced

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a single horizontal or vertical hole. The square end has along either side two to six notches which are used to facilitate tight lashing of the bone barb. In the specimens examined there was also a short longitudinal groove in the center of the lower surface which served no practical purpose. The point of the hook is of bone, with a slight but well marked barb just behind the tip on the lower side. The modern Tahitian and Tuamotuan hooks of the same type are usually barbless. The base of the bone point is pierced with two holes. The point is attached to the strip by close lashings, formerly of coconut fiber cord. The ends of the lashings are gathered together into a single strand at the forward end of the bone point and carried along the upper surface of the strip to its pointed end, where they are again attached to it by lashings passed through the hole in the strip. The strand is continued beyond the hook and serves to attach the whole to the line. As the lashings at the inner end of the hook are loose enough to allow some play, the pull of the line comes directly at the base of the bone point. When a fish strikes, the pull is said to draw the point slightly downward and inward, making escape more difficult. This movement, if it occurs at all, is negligible, but the pull coming at this point does serve to tighten the lashings and prevent the point from slipping on the strip. The bark upon the point is of little value, and unless a tight line is kept the fish will escape. 227

In some hooks of this type a small bunch of pig's hair is tied transversely at the rear end of the strip as an additional lure but this is not a constant feature (Pl. LXXI, *B*, 1). In one specimen collected an additional strip of shell is tied to the upper side of the main strip, probably with the idea of strengthening and weighting the hook. [23]

That sinkers were employed in line fishing is shown by two terms given by Dordillon (17): *pokau*, which is defined as a sinker, and *pokoe*, which is defined as a stone twisted with a fish hook which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths. It seems probable that such sinkers were unworked pebbles.

Dordillon also gives a term (*pe'ctai*) which he translates as "to fish with a line while swimming" but this method is now obsolete and no information was obtained in regard to it.

NETS

Net fishing was probably the most important of the Marquesan methods of fishing, and a considerable variety of nets were employed. Very few of these nets have been preserved in collections, however. The only specimens studied were two imperfect fragments in the Bishop Museum. One of these fragments evidently formed part of a small net in the form of a flat pouch or envelope with square corners. (Pl. LXXI, *C*). 227 286

The net is woven of two-strand fau bark cord hardly more than 1/32 of an inch in diameter with a very small mesh decreasing in size from 3/8 of an inch at the bottom to 3/16 of an inch at the top. The upper edge is finished with a single strand of twisted fau bark cord about three times as heavy as that forming the body of the net. Immediately below this edging a second cord of the same weight runs around the net, apparently serving as a drawstring. The second fragment is so badly torn that the original form of the net cannot be determined. It is woven of extremely fine two-strand pineapple fiber cord scarcely heavier than carpet thread, with a uniform mesh of 5/8 of an inch. The form of knot employed in both nets may be seen from the accompanying drawing (fig. 11).

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227 The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from
286 commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

226 The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly
227 made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either fau bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Maa:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohe to'o:** Same as *maa*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohe* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Pafio:** Same as the *ho'ohe to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Pafio Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Pafio ihe:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *ihe*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

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(8) **Paoa:** A long seine of fau bark. This form could be used at Pua Ma'u, where the beach shelves gradually, but was useless in most localities. One end of the seine was carried out from the beach by men wading or swimming and then brought back to the beach again at a point 75 to 100 yards away. It was then drawn in from both ends, with all the fish within the circle trapped. Such seines were provided with light wood floats along the upper edge and stone sinkers on the bottom. 226 227

(9) **Fifi:** Probably the same as the *fi'ifi'i* of Dordillon's Dictionary, which he defines as a small net to catch turtles. According to native informants this was a very strong, large meshed seine made of cord twisted from the fiber of the coconut spathe. It was much wider than the *paoa* but like it was provided with floats and sinkers. The method of use was as follows: The net was set a short distance off any rocky place where the turtles were abundant, its line running more or less parallel to the shore. When in place, a number of men jumped into the water between the net and the shore and frightened the turtles, which, in their efforts to escape, became entangled in the net. As soon as it was evident from the movement of the floats that one had been caught a man dived down, disentangled the turtle, and tied it with fau bark cords, bringing it to the surface and giving it to the men in one of the canoes. The net was not drawn until the fishing was ended. From ten to twenty turtles were sometimes caught in this way in a single day.

(10) **Upena:** By far the most important of the Marquesan net forms. Descriptions obtained by Handy in Atu Ona and by the author in Pua Ma'u differ in some details. According to Pua Ma'u informants the cords composing it were made of fau bark twisted by rolling them on a smooth breadfruit log. According to informants of Atu Ona the cords were composed half of fau bark and half of plaited coconut fiber and were rolled upon the thigh. Both agree that at the time of rolling the cords were rubbed with a red earth called *ka'aea* which gave them a permanent color supposed to attract the fish. Ten men with coconut baskets were required to bring the earth for dyeing a single net. The net was woven by women skilled in the art under the direction of a *tuhuna upena*, the labor occupying twenty to thirty women for ten days or more. The work was carried on in a special house and was attended with various religious observances. In Pua Ma'u the *upena* was said to have been circular, about thirty feet across at the rim and decreasing gradually toward the bottom. The whole net was woven in one piece, the mesh being two fingers wide on the sides and somewhat less on the bottom. The upper end was held open by flexible poles or withes of *toa* wood placed about the circumference. The weight of the withes caused the net to sink. The net of Atu Ona is said to have been 30 to 36 feet square, tapering toward the bottom, which was finished by a special piece, "shaped like the crown of a hat," which was called *to'o pu'u*. Along the upper edge of each side was fastened a log of *toa* wood, to either end of which a line was attached.

The method of handling the *upena* appears to have been the same in both localities.

Four canoes set out about four hours before dawn with the net, two of these being large craft which carried eight men each, and two smaller, with a crew of three men each. When the fishing place was reached each of the large canoes put out four anchors, two at the bow and two at the stern. These anchors apparently were placed by the small canoes, one of which, called *vaca iti*, went to the east side while the other, called *vaca vaho*, went to the west. The net was then lowered between the two large canoes. When the net was submerged the *tuhuna* who supervised the fishing dived in and directed whether it was to be moved backward or forward. A skilled *tuhuna* was said to be able to see the fish under water and to hear them when they entered the net. When he considered the net full it was hauled up. The *upena* was drawn several times on a single trip.

Fishing with the *fifi* and *upena*, and probably with the *paoa*, was a community matter, and had associated with it elaborate religious observances. 226

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226 This probably holds good also for the organized fishing expeditions to offshore banks and desert islands in which hooks and lines were used. Ordinary fishing, on the other hand, whether with small nets or hook and line, appears to have been a matter of individual initiative. The community fishing was participated in by men only, while individual fishing was done by both men and women.

According to information obtained by Handy, a strong large-meshed net (*upena fi'iti'i*) was used for catching the hammer-head shark, called by the natives *matake*. The cords of this net were dyed with red earth like those of the regular *upena*. The net was long, one end resting on the bottom while the other was held at the surface of the water by floats. A number of nets of this sort were set in a good locality and left for the sharks to be caught by the gills.

According to another informant, sharks were not caught in nets, but were taken by tempting them alongside a canoe with meat and passing nooses over the head and tail; the nooses were drawn taut and the shark was pulled on board and clubbed. It is probable that both methods were in use, being employed in different localities or for different species of shark. The flesh of the hammer-head was considered the best for eating, but even small tiger sharks are still caught and eaten by the natives.

Dordillon gives a term *auoa*, which he defines as "long braids of leaves to hem in fish." This probably refers to a seine of coconut leaves of the sort still commonly used in the Tuamotus for fishing in shallow water. This method is not used by the Marquesan natives at the present time and there are few places in the islands where it could have been employed. The Tuamotuan seines are simply long ropes of coconut fronds tied together in such a way that the leaflets project in all directions. They are used to surround sections of the reef or lagoon, being gradually drawn in until the fish are confined in a small compass. The fish are then speared. Whole villages assist in this sort of fishing, the seines being in some cases nearly half a mile long.

Octopi are commonly fished for by diving and thrusting a blunt pointed stick into the center of the arms. The animal twines its arms around the stick and is thus easily withdrawn from it hole. The use of octopus hooks in ancient times is doubtful, but according to one informant octopi were formerly caught with three hooks lashed back to back a short distance above which was attached a white stone. This grapnel was let down immediately above the octopus which was irritated by the stone and began to reach for it. As soon as one of the hooks had taken hold, the animal was drawn up with a quick jerk.

At least one form of fish trap is said to have been used in ancient times, but no description of it was obtained.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]: 534 [192]

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio*; and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used. [322] [324]

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

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534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were
[531] decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated
[531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small
[531] sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin,
264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at re-
[251] gular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

534 Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

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TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D.*) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¾ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet [825] found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B.*)

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by [825] divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued.

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *ama* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C.*) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. [284] The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum.

534 Triton trumpets were highly prized and were used in war and in religious ceremonies. Old specimens are still quite commonly to be found in *me'ae*. According to Handy the Triton trumpet was called *putona*, and the shell itself *vehine na te mano*, "wife of the shark." The maternal uncle of the first child born in a chiefly family announced the event by a blast on a trumpet of this kind.

FLUTES

The Marquesans used both mouth flutes and nose flutes.

The nose flute, called by the natives of Hiva Oa *puhekuheku*, is made from a single joint of bamboo ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter and 15 to 20 inches long. The upper end of the flute is closed by the septum of the joint, while the lower end is open. The blow hole is in the side of the instrument, immediately below the septum, and the stops in most flutes are placed in the lower half of the tube, in line with the blow hole. (See Pl. LXXIII, *G*.) In historic times the holes appear to have been made by burning with a hot iron. The usual number of stops is two, but some instruments have three and a flute found by Handy in Ua Pou (Pl. LXXIII, *F*) has four stops, two of which are placed a short distance below the blow hole; the other two in the usual position. The lower end of this flute is roughly cut, suggesting that it was originally longer.

[531] In ancient times nose flutes were sometimes decorated with burned designs made with a stone or bone point heated in the fire.

A peculiar nose flute in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXXIII, *E*) attributed to the Marquesas, is made from a joint of bamboo 22¾ inches long and 1⅝ inches in diameter and is closed at both ends.

Along one side of the flute are five holes, each about ¼ of an inch in diameter. The top hole is close to the septa of the joint while the others are placed at equal intervals. In line with the central hole two others are pierced at equal intervals in the circumference of the tube. The flute is decorated with burned designs of decidedly non-Marquesan character so that its Marquesan origin seems doubtful. It is probably Tongan.

Nose flutes are now obsolete in the Marquesas, and very few persons can play them properly.

In playing, the instrument is held with the edge of the closed end resting against the septum of the nose and the blow hole below and a little distance away from the right nostril. The body of the flute inclines downward and to the right and most of the knack in playing the instrument lies in holding it at the correct angle. The upper end is supported in the left hand, the left nostril being closed by the thumb. The stops are manipulated with the fingers of the right hand. In the Ua Pou specimen the two upper stops must have been played with the left hand. Several of the flutes seen had one of the stops plugged with a wad of coconut fiber, and it is said that a beginner would learn to play well upon one stop before attempting to use more.

The ordinary mouth flute (*puakahau*) (Pl. LXXIII, *D*) is still used throughout the Marquesas. One informant believed that it was not an aboriginal instrument, but if foreign it must have been introduced at an early date.

The mouth flute is made from a long joint of bamboo, rarely over three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The upper end is closed by the septum of the joint. The sound is produced

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by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

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Puihu. Nose flute. (D.)
Putetue. Nose flute. (D.)
Ivi tahi. Flute. (D.)
Ia piananai, ia piveuveu. Flute. (D.)
Ki kohe puru. Nose flute. (H.)
Ki. Flute. (H.)
Vivo (Nuku Hiva dialect). Flute with three holes.

JEW'S HARPS

Bamboo's Jew's harps are still used in the Marquesas by boys and young men.

The main part of the harp consists of a strip of bamboo six to eight inches long and about one inch wide. It is split from a large joint, so that it is only slightly curved. A deep narrow notch is cut in the center of one end of this strip; a thin flat strip of bamboo, slightly wider than the notch, serves as a vibrator. This vibrator is not attached to the wider strip, but is laid on its concave surface, covering the notch and protruding two or three inches beyond the end of the wider strip. The instrument is held in the left hand, with the convex side of the wide strip against the mouth. The player blows through the notch, meanwhile striking the projecting end of the narrow strip rapidly with the right hand. Jew's harps seem to have been used only as toys.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The only aboriginal stringed instrument now used in the Marquesas is the musical bow called *utete*. (See Pl.. LXXII, *E*). At the present time it is practically obsolete. It was seen only once in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The body of the modern bow is made of fau wood, and is flat on the outer, and convex on the inner surface. An average specimen is three feet six inches long, with a central width of one inch, tapering to ⅝ of an inch at the ends. The string is usually made of slender iron wire, but a very thin cord, twisted from the fibers of the leaf sheath of the coconut palm, is still occasionally used. One end of the cord is twisted around the bow, while its opposite end, which is knotted, is caught in a narrow slot in the wood. To increase the tension, small stones or little pieces of wood, like bridges, are placed under one or both ends of the string. In playing the instrument one end is held in the teeth while the body of the bow projects almost horizontally to the left. The bow is supported by the left hand and the string tapped rapidly with a slender baton made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet. Handy was informed that the bow was made of *mio* and that the string was plucked with the fingers of the right hand.

The musical bow was primarily a woman's toy, but is played by persons of both sexes at the present time. The note is quite faint, being almost inaudible twenty feet away, but being held in the teeth, sounds quite loud to the player.

Dordillon defines the word *kikoua* as a "kind of shell lyre" and *e pukava kikoua* as a "lyre." This would seem to indicate the former existence in the Marquesas of stringed instruments other than the musical bow, but no examples of these have survived, and no information in regard to them was obtained.

STICKS FOR BEATING TIME

At dances the men sometimes beat time with two short sticks. One of the sticks is held in the palm of the left hand and tapped with the other, held in the right hand.

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XYLOPHONE

According to Handy, the natives of Nuku Hiva used an instrument called *pahu kou hau* which consisted of ten flat pieces of hau wood resting upon two slender transverse sticks. It was beaten with two sticks held in the hands. This instrument was evidently a primitive xylophone and, if aboriginal, is of considerable interest. 534

COMPARISON

Two quite distinct types of large drum were used in Polynesia. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, the Society and Cook islands, the drums were tubular, with a skin head, and stood on end; most of them were provided with a pierced base cut in one piece with the body. They were beaten with the hand. In Samoa and Tonga, on the other hand, the large drums were canoe shaped, closed at the ends, but with a long opening cn one side. They were laid on the side, and were beaten with short clubs. In New Zealand, where one might expect tc find the tubular, skin headed drum, the drum was of western Polynesian type. The great wooden gongs of New Zealand appear to have no Polynesian parallel The large tubular drum is unknown in Melanesia, although the principle of this drum is used in small hand instruments. The long slotted drum on the other hand is almost universal. It seems possible, therefore, that the use of the long slotted drum in Samoa and Tonga is due to Fijian influence. 534 171

Wooden trumpets appear to have been used in only two Polynesian localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand. The instruments from these regions have little more than the principle in common, however, the Maori examples being much more elaborate. The wooden trumpet does not seem to have been used in Micronesia, and its Melanesian occurrence is limited to a single locality; the interior of northern New Guinea on the Sepik River.

Shell trumpets were used everywhere in Polynesia. In Hawaii the trumpet was made from a species of Cassis, in the Marquesas of both the Cassis and Triton, and in the Society Islands and New Zealand from the Triton. A separate mouth piece was used in the Marquesas, the Society Islands and New Zealand. In Melanesia trumpets made from the Triton shell are almost universal, and a species of Cassis is used in a few localities, but separate mouth pieces appear to be unknown.

The nose flute appears to have been used everywhere in Polynesia except Samoa. Mouth flutes, on the other hand, are found everywhere except in Hawaii, although Krämer believes their presence in Samoa to be due to Fijian or Tongan influence. Cook noted a tunable nose flute in the Society Islands. In Melanesia the nose flute is found in Fiji and in one or two other localities, but

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it is not common. Mouth flutes are rare in Melanesia, but a type with two holes was used in New Caledonia.

Whistles were used in the Marquesas and in New Zealand. They do not seem to have been used elsewhere in Polynesia.

A Jew's harp practically identical with that found in the Marquesas was used in Hawaii, while a crude form of this instrument also is found in New Zealand. It does not seem to have been used in Western Polynesia. In Melanesia the Jew's harp is important only in the Solomon Islands, but the instrument used there differs so radically from the Marquesan, both in form and method of playing, that relationship seems improbable.

The occurrence of the musical bow in Polynesia seems to have been limited to the Marquesas and Hawaii. The Hawaiian instrument, *ukeke* (Emerson, 72, p. 147), had three strings, and it is possible that the Marquesan "lyres" bore some relation to it. In Melanesia a single stringed musical bow, which was tapped with a stick as in the Marquesas, was used in New Caledonia. A two-stringed bow, quite different in principle from the Hawaiian *ukeke*, was used in the Solomon Islands.

A joint of bamboo slotted along one side, laid on the ground and beaten with two sticks, was used as a musical instrument in Tonga, the Cook Islands and the Society Islands, but was not used in Hawaii or the Marquesas and is naturally lacking in New Zealand. In Melanesia it seems to have been limited to the south coast of New Guinea.

The use of a series of joints of bamboo which were held vertically and beaten upon the ground seems to have been limited, in Polynesia, to Samoa and Tonga. A curious drum made from several joints of bamboo lashed together, the heads covered with matting, seems to have been limited to Samoa. In Polynesia pan pipes of bamboo were limited to Tonga.

Although the distinction between the marginal and western divisions of Polynesian culture is less clearly marked by musical instruments than by houses or stone artifacts, it is possible to distinguish a few features. The large cylindrical drum with a skin head is an element of the eastern or marginal culture; the slotted drum is distinctively western. The reversal of this rule in New Zealand does not seem enough to invalidate the general conclusion. The Jew's harp also appears to be an element of the marginal culture. The wooden trumpet and whistle are limited to New Zealand and the Marquesas. In view of the absence of the nose flute in Samoa it seems possible that this also was originally a feature of the marginal culture and that its presence in Tonga is due to the strong Fijian influence. The slotted bamboo, on the other hand, and the series of joints of bamboo thumped on the ground, appear to be features of the western culture.

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CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

Scrapers

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

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287 413 ous, for fragments of scrapers may be found in the earth of any village site. A few stone scrapers designed for other purposes may also have been used in tapa making.

BEATERS

The tapa beaters in common use were of two distinct types, the round and the square. There was a third rare type which was intermediate between the two main forms.

The round beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 3) are simple billets of fau wood, 18 to 20 inches long, cut from saplings 1½ to 2¼ inches in diameter. These billets were stripped of bark, and while still green and soft, were incised from end to end with a number of closely spaced grooves made, it is said, with the corner of a stone adz. They were then allowed to dry, and were ready for use. Beaters of this type have no distinct handles and both ends and all sides may be used. The round beaters were commonly used only for the initial beating of the bark, but could be employed for the entire process of manufacture. A very fine piece of *ute* tapa was seen that had been beaten throughout with an implement of this sort.

The square tapa beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 1) were made of toa wood (Casuirina) and their manufacture must have required considerable skill and patience. Their handles are said to have been shaped with shells and the grooves cut with sharpened pearl shells or rats' teeth. Beaters of this type were common to the whole of Polynesia, but those from the Marquesas are easily distinguishable by their shorter and heavier grips. The body of the beater is rectangular; the grip is round and nearly as thick as the body. There is a slight flare at the butt of some beaters. Each of the faces is incised with a number of closely spaced longitudinal grooves. The number of grooves on the different faces of a beater varies slightly, but there seems to be no distinction of coarse and fine faces such as is found in the Tahitian and some other beaters. The ornamental designs on beaters which gave the tapa a sort of "water mark," common in Hawaii, seem to have been entirely absent in the Marquesas. A beater with a long slender grip, reminiscent of the Hawaiian and Tahitian forms, was seen in Hiva Oa, and another obtained from an old *me'ae* on the same island, has the grip set at a slight but distinct angle to the body of the beater, a very unusual feature.

Beaters of the third type constitute an ancient form. (See Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 2.) Only two were seen, both of them crudely made. They are made of *toa* wood, are rectangular in cross section, but somewhat more slender than the ordinary square beaters and have no distinct handles. All four faces are grooved for their entire length, but the grooves appear to have been drawn alternately from

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opposite ends, as some of them overlap slightly in the center of the implement. It 287
seems probable that this form is a hybrid, combining the continuous grooves of 413
the round beaters with the flat surfaces of the square type.

Tapa Anvils

The Marquesans employed anvils of both stone and wood. Stone anvils are now little used, but in former times they appear to have been part of the equipment of every household. In early times they were used for only the preliminary beating, but later were occasionally employed for the entire manufacture.

In its simplest form the stone anvil is nothing more than a large flat water-worn bowlder, but most anvils seen have been carefully worked from large blocks of stone. They are [324] rectangular, with a length of from 18 inches to 2 feet, 6 inches; a width of from 8 inches to one foot, and a thickness from 4 to 7 inches. The tops have been carefully flattened and smoothed, the sides made vertical or nearly so. The bottom is usually left rough. Some anvils are widest in the middle, tapering evenly toward either end. An especially fine specimen from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa (Pl. LXXIV, *B*) has a longitudinal groove along either side for a short distance below the top and is remarkable in having the bottom more or less hollowed—a feature which may have resulted from its use as a whetstone for stone adzes. These carefully made stone anvils are of considerable interest, as they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Wooden anvils are still used in the manufacture of tapa. The only one seen was made of breadfruit wood, rectangular in cross section, and was approximately two feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches thick. This anvil differs in form from those described by aged informants, and possibly is of a modern and degenerate type. In former times two types of wooden anvils appear to have been employed. The simpler of these was a long straight log, preferably of breadfruit wood, smoothed but not otherwise prepared. The more elaborate type was made from a light colored wood, possibly a species of sandal wood, obtained on the plateau. It was U-shaped in cross section, with straight ends. Its hollowed interior made it more easily portable and increased its resonance so that the sound of cloth beating could be heard for a long distance.

Tapa Making

The paper mulberry, from whose bark the best grade of tapa was made, 287
was raised in regular plantations. Handy was informed that dead trees 18 to 20 feet high were cut down and stripped of their bark, that the bark was then soaked, and finally beaten to remove the inner skin. A local informant said that live shoots 10 to 12 feet high were cut and barked while still green, and described the process of tapa making as follows:

The fresh bark was taken to a stream, where the coarse outer bark was removed with a shell scraper. The bark was not soaked before the initial beating, a point which was stressed by the informant who was familiar with both the Hawaiian and Marquesan processes of tapa making. The bark was beaten on a stone anvil with a round beater until it was similar to

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287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy.

This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not cer-
287 tain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop
386 Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark
287 of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen
531 has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

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Akatea. Kind of bush for tapa.
Akatotoo. Kind of mulberry tree for paper.
Atea. Tree whose bark was used to make cloth.
Hiapo. Young branch of the Banyan, whose bark is used to make cloth, also the cloth made from this bark.
Ike. Tapa beater.
Kokuu. Mallet of wood of this tree (Lily of India).
Kotapa. To even the edges of cloth.
Mapu. Native cloth.
Mata. The right side of pretty cloth.
Nie i te tapa. To equalize the edges of cloth. To cut off the unevenness.
Pahito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahito hitohito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Paboa. To beat bark for cloth.
Papo i te tapa. To remake used tapa as new.
Pataka: To peel wood, knocking underneath with a stone or other object.
Peka i te tapa. To beat cloth in cross construction.
Taemani. Said of lustrous, luminous cloth.
Tahotahoki. To beat cloth slowly so that it will be closed.
Tapa kokokoko. Native cloth.
Tapa kookoo. Cloth.
Tapa pia. Clear cloth.
Tapa pokuu. Cloth made from breadfruit bark.
Tihoo. To stretch (a cloth) in beating it, to make it larger and finer.
Tipa. To beat a cloth for the first time.
Titaa. Kind of beater of iron wood.
Titapa. To even the borders of cloth.
Tivaka. To put a length (leaf) in cloth.
Tuaka. Cloth coarsely beaten.
Tapa Tuakahikahi. Clear, thin cloth.
Tumekaka. Cloth poorly beaten.
Tutua. Wood on which tapa is beaten.
Tututini. To rebeat a cloth many times to renovate it.
Ute. A species of tree (*Morus papyrifera*). Bark for tapa. Tapa.
E tapa vakavaka. Strong cloth serving for wrapping.
Uuka. To make cloth into a bundle.

CLOTHING AND BODY DECORATIONS

291 The Marquesans rarely went entirely nude although, among the men at least, the practice was not unknown. Quiros (51) says that the first men seen by the Spaniards were nude and Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) is specific on this point. He says:

> Even this girdle (the *hami*) is not worn by all the Nukahiwers, for the handsome Mau-ha-u for instance, always effected to go naked; and, although on two occasions I presented him with a girdle, he came on board the next time without it.

Even when entirely nude the Marquesan sense of modesty required that the head of the penis should be covered. The foreskin, which was slit but not removed in the native form of circumcision, was drawn over it and confined by a ligature.

GARMENTS

The simplest form of clothing consisted of a few fau leaves wrapped around the genitals. This was employed by men when working on plantations at some distance from the village. The ordinary male garments were the *hami*, or loin cloth, and the cloak, both made of tapa. The cloak was usually dispensed with when at work. The ordinary *hami* consisted of a single strip of tapa approximately 2 feet wide and 8 feet long which was put on as follows: One end of the strip was passed between the legs, leaving a tail about 18 inches long in front. The rear end was then carried up and around the body to the right, and attached to itself by a few twists in the rear. The front tail was thrust up under the girdle thus formed, its end hanging down on the outside like a short apron. This simple *hami* was amplified in various ways on dress occasions. The commonest modification seems to have been the addition of a tail tied into large knots at equal intervals and long enough to drag on the ground behind. Handy obtained descriptions of two variations: the *hami kohito*, worn by old men, had three pendant strips in front, and a single tail behind; the *hami tatataka* had tails at the sides.

The cloak was made from a large rectangular piece of tapa with its upper corners knotted together. The knot was considered ornamental and was as large as a man's fist. The men's cloak was usually worn with the knot in front, on the breast, so that only the back of the body was covered. When in position its lower edges fell below the knee.

The complete clothing for women consisted of a loin cloth, apparently identical in arrangement with the ordinary man's *hami*, or of a kilt, made from a strip of tapa wrapped several times around the waist and reaching to the knee. A cloak was also worn. Stewart (59, p. 255) says that the younger women frequently wore only the cloak, which was wrapped around the body, the edges held together with the hand. The woman's cloak was identical with that of the men, but might

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be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas. 291

TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women. 304

The tattooing was done with bone combs. 304

The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *keana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.) 413

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink. 304 386

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

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304 the flat stone. There were twenty nuts in each string, although the reason for this was unknown to the informant. The soot which collected on the under side of the flat stone was
386 scraped off and packed in a small coconut shell (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 1). To make the charcoal pigment, coconut charcoal was pulverized with a small stone pounder. For this purpose smooth circular pits, common in large stones near villages, are said by natives to have been used as mortars. These pits are so numerous, however, that they must have been used for other purposes as well.

In tattooing, the mounted comb was held in the right hand, and a tapping
304 stick of *toa* wood, about one foot long, in the left. A tapa rag was wrapped around the last two fingers of the right hand. The designs to be tattooed were usually drawn on the body in charcoal, but the most experienced artists frequently worked free hand. The comb was dipped in the ink and driven into the skin by a sharp blow from the tapping stick, the coloring matter running down the teeth into the wound. After each stroke the blood was wiped away with the rag.

The body was tattooed in sections, three days being allowed between operations for the healing of the wound. The texture of the skin does not seem to have been greatly altered by the operation, and flesh carving of the sort done by the Maori was unknown. The process was a long and painful one.

The many social and ceremonial observances connected with the tattooing of men, and especially of chiefs' sons, are described by Handy (32). A discussion of the practice of tattooing and of the designs used has been published by Willowdean C. Handy (32 *a*).

MUTILATIONS

The bodily mutilations practiced by the Marquesans were circumcision (32), the piercing of the ears and depilation.

The natives of both sexes pierced the ears for the attachment of ornaments. The operation was performed with a special awl-like instrument. The favorite material for these instruments was human bone, but bird bone and even tortoise shell were sometimes used. Practically all ear piercers were carved at the upper end, the decorations consisting for the most part of conventionalized human faces or figures. (See Pl. LXXV, *B*.) Many specimens have a loop of sennit permanently attached to the upper end, while almost all are drilled for suspension. Such piercers were treasured in families as heirlooms, but seem to have no religious significance.

The ear aperture was somewhat larger than in pierced European ears, being ¼ to ½ of an inch in diameter, but dilation of the ear lobe does not seem to have been practiced. Some of the men's ear ornaments strongly suggest ear plugs, however, and it is possible that dilation of the ear lobe, common in Melanesia, was at one time practiced in the Marquesas. If so, it had become obsolete before the historic period, as it is not mentioned by any of the early writers.

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Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahke* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [291]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

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302 In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 114) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

> Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

[301] According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *pavahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *pavahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*pani*).

303 The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fau leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *pani*. He says:

> They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

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Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, coconut oil scented with sandalwood. 302

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this purpose. In Hiva Oa this is called *ena*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *eka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *ena*, but it seems certain that the *eka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*ena*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it. 302 386 824 [249]

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says: 302

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house: they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *ena* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

302 house for seven or eight days, at the end of which time the skin was bleached. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says the natives of Nuku Hiva used the sap of the *nion* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) as a skin bleach, rubbing the skin with the crushed leaves the day before a fête.

Skin bleaching seems to have been almost confined to the women, although Stewart (59, pp. 259-260) mentions a male dancer, whose skin had been bleached in this way, who was "almost as fair as any one of our number." The light color produced in this way lasted for only a short time, exposure to the sun causing the skin to reassume its normal brown tint.

SPECIAL COSTUMES

292 Special costumes were worn by priests in the performance of their duties. According to Handy the ceremonial dress of the *ta'ua* of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, was a full length robe of tapa made from the thick bark of old banyan trees. It covered the whole body and came to the ground, and was likened by the natives to a priest's cassock. It was called *kahu kohito*.

Stewart, writing of Nuku Hiva, says (59, pp. 271-272):

> The Tahunas have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf. A part of the stem, six to eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed around the head on each side and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends: it is then passed around the neck so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office.

He describes the dress of a *ta'ua* whom he visited as follows (59, p. 328):

> His whole figure was enveloped in a large mantle of snow white tapa, or native cloth, over which a smaller one of fine scarlet kerseymere fell from his shoulders down the back —both being fastened by one large knot, resting on the chest in front. A double roll of fine white tapa encircled his forehead: while his hair, tied in two close knots, was confined on the crown by long bands of the same.

According to Handy the *taputoho* at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wore a long cloak of *ute* tapa, like a blanket, which was called *kahu kookoo*, and a peculiar dark colored headdress called *pae kohito*. This headdress was made from the bark of an old *ute* tree which was slightly pounded, and left rough. It was tied around the head and knotted behind with a piece hanging down.

Stewart (59, p. 288) describes the dress of a messenger bearing invitations to a funeral as follows:

> [He] was dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows, surmounted by a miter shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana

tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country. 292

Stewart describes also the dress of two boys who performed at a fête which he attended (59, pp. 259-260):

> One wore on his head the feather helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior—the cap being of equal height to all the rest of his figure. About his girdle was a full sash of white cloth tied in a large bow with long ends in front; and from it four white cords of plaited tapa, two behind and two before, descended to the knee—each terminating in monsterous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.
>
> The headdress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth, in a thick roll over the forehead; and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail—the whole having an airy and tasteful appearance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine, and the flowers of the cape jessamine; while his maro, of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

Langsdorff (38, p. 172) says that women used green boughs or banana leaves as parasols. Fleuriu states (23, p. 116): "One should count also among their ornaments . . . parasols made of large palm leaves, which they ornament with feathers of different sizes and colors." None of these parasols have survived. 293

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ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesans compensated for their simple costumes by the use of a great variety of ornaments, ranging from quickly made necklaces and wreaths of ferns and flowers to elaborate headdresses whose manufacture must have required months of work. Certain ornaments were worn exclusively by men or by women, but it is an interesting commentary on the position of the women that many of the most valuable could be worn by either sex. There are some indications of local differences in ornaments, but these are hard to establish at the present time.

FLOWERS, HERBS AND FRUITS

301 824 A great variety of wreaths and garlands, made from ferns and from all sorts of flowers and fragrant herbs, were formerly worn by the Marquesans. This sort of decoration is now limited to wreaths worn on the hair or around the hat.

Most of these wreaths are made from plants chosen for their odor rather than their beauty. The finest are made from *Guttarda speciosa* which bears a creamy yellow tubular flower of wonderful fragrance. The calyxes of the flowers are broken off and the tubes threaded upon a string, the base of one flower entering the mouth of the next. The flowers have a peculiar property of increasing in fragrance as they wither and even when dried have a pungent perfume. At the present time the flowers of *Gardenia tahitensis* are much used for wreaths, although this plant is not native to the Marquesas. The calyxes are broken off, but are left suspended by the pistil. The corollas are then threaded. The finished wreath is a white band from which hangs a fringe of bright green calyxes.

A necklace made from the fragrant ripe fruit of pandanus [*Pandanus odoratissimus*] was formerly a favorite ornament of both men and women.

The fruit looks somewhat like small sweet peppers, with shiny surfaces, bright red at the upper end, shading to lemon yellow at the tip. They were pierced laterally and strung side by side, small ends up, so that they formed a heavy semicircular collar two to three inches wide in the center, tapering toward either end. These ornaments are especially interesting because of their resemblance to a form of wooden gorget. (See p. 429.)

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Ornaments made from locks of human hair attached to a band of coconut fiber are highly characteristic of the Marquesan culture; nothing at all resembling them seems to have been used elsewhere in Oceania. Although these ornaments vary in size according to the part of the body on which they were to be worn, the technique is always the same.

The band to which the locks were attached was composed of a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber, which were plaited around two heavy longitudinal cords. The method of plaiting was such that at first glance the band seemed to consist of two half-inch ropes, tightly twisted in opposite directions, and fastened side by side. (See Pl. LXXVI, *A*.) The hair was made up into a number of small locks which were attached to the

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hands separately. These locks were made as follows: A long tress was wrapped at the center with a few turns of fine sennit. It was then doubled back upon itself, and the wrapping continued upward, so that the hair was enclosed in a fiber sleeve about half an inch long. The lock was thus reinforced with sennit at the inner end and terminated in a loop. The separate locks were attached to the band by means of strands of fiber which were separated from one of the cords of the plait, passed through the loop, and twisted into the cord again. The processes of twisting the cords, attaching the locks of hair, and plaiting the band must have been carried on simultaneously, an arrangement which called for a remarkable degree of skill on the part of the workman. 301

Hair ornaments were made by a special *tuhuna*, who also made feather-work. When an ornament was made for a child the hair was donated by its mother's brothers and father's sisters. For a chief's child all the men in the tribe contributed hair. According to Handy, the hair of revenge victims was also used. The hair was curled, apparently after it had been made up into locks, by wrapping it tightly around small sticks, doing these up in green leaves, and baking them in an earth oven.

Hair ornaments were worn by both men and women on festive occasions.

A complete costume consisted of a large shoulder ornament, one or two waist ornaments, bands on the wrists and above the elbow, and bands on the ankles and just below the knee. The shoulder ornament was worn like an European boa, the longest part resting in the middle of the back while the ends were tied together on the breast and held down by a whale's tooth or other ornament. The waist pieces were worn over the *hami* (loin cloth). When there was only one, it was placed in the rear, like a bustle, when two, one was worn in front and one behind. Plate LXXVI, *A* shows a shoulder ornament; *D*, a waist or shoulder ornament and *E*, a wrist band. The only knee ornament seen was of long wavy hair, like the waist ornament.

Handy gives the following native names for these ornaments: *titi ouoho*, shoulder ornament; *titi ouoho kei*, waist ornament; *poi ima*, arm ornaments; *motutu ouoho*, wrist ornaments; *poi vaivai*, leg ornaments.

BELTS AND ANKLE ORNAMENTS

Edge-Partington (20, p. 48) figures a belt of seven parallel rows of bird bone beads, strung on sennit. Some of the beads are decorated with diagonal incised lines. 301 237

In Hiva Oa, at least, bands of feather work were sometimes worn around the ankles in place of hair ornaments. No examples of these have been preserved and the information about them is unsatisfactory. They are said to have been made of short black roosters' feathers attached to a broad fiber band. To judge from other feather ornaments they were probably laid on overlapping and pasted to the base.

FINGER ORNAMENTS

Ornaments made from the long tail feathers of the tropic bird were worn by male and female dancers on the second finger of both hands. The ornament

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301 was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting
287 them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, *C*.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bead for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity
321 in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, *B*. The broader of these is made from the end of a large Conus shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from Tridacna shell, and is unusually well made. As Tridacna shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, *F*) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

824 A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precatorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, *G*.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouoho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, *A*.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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dently thrust through the loop and held on the outside with a pin of some sort. Edge-Partington (20, p. 44) shows a specimen with ends finished in this way which has three shell pendants of graduated size. Necklaces with both ends finished alike were tied behind the neck with strings of twisted tapa. (See Nos. 3, 4.) A polished pearl shell was usually suspended from the center of the necklace. 301

Edge-Partington (20, p. 67) figures a hair girdle from Niue which closely resembles these Marquesan necklaces. A necklace of similar form from the Ellice Islands is now in the American Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum has a series of necklaces from Penrhyn Island which differ from the Marquesan forms only in minor details of the finishing of the ends. All these ornaments are obviously similar to the Hawaiian hair necklaces which with a whale ivory hook formed the insignia of chiefly rank.

Necklaces other than those of hair cord seem formerly to have been worn principally by women. They were made from porpoise teeth, shells, or seeds and in later times of European glass beads. The teeth used were perforated as near the bottom of the root as possible, and strung on threads of pineapple fiber. Bead necklaces were usually made of a double strand of beads which was looped back and forth as in chain stitching. The ends of the necklace were tied together at the back of the neck. Combinations of beads and teeth, or of beads and shells, seem to have been rather common. (See Pl. LXXVII, *B*.)

GORGETS AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The Marquesans used a great variety of gorgets and breast ornaments, most, if not all, of which were worn by the men. The most valued of these was the *ei*, or whale's tooth (Pl. LXXVIII, *A*) some of which at least had a religious significance. As the Marquesans did not catch whales the supply of teeth must have been far below the demand. Porter says that a schooner load of sandal wood could be bought with ten large teeth. Whales' teeth worn as ornaments were drilled transversely near the tip of the root, and were commonly ground at this end, to make them thinner and easier to perforate. In view of their skill in ivory carving it is rather curious that the natives seem not to have carved or shaped these teeth. The tooth was sometimes attached to the ends of a hair ornament worn on the shoulders, serving to weight it down and hold it in position. Most of the specimens seen, however, were attached to ropes of twisted coconut fiber covered with white tapa.

Plaques of large pearl shells were formerly used in the Marquesas, but very few examples have survived. 301

In making the plaque the shell was ground to a more or less regular outline and the colored outer layers removed except for a narrow band around the edge. This band was dec- 321

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301 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, *B*) gives
921 the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of Conus shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

301 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem,
237 the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, *C*, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, 9½ inches; maximum width, 2¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are perforated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds attached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large
[824] collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII, *C*, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered with the shiny red and black Abrus seeds. Along either side of the encrusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

cords for attachment. It is possible that this specimen is a head ornament rather than a gorget, as a somewhat similar ornament is said to have been worn with the great headdress of cocks' feathers. 301

Plate LXXVIII, *C*, Nos. 3 and 4, shows two gorgets of more ordinary type. They are composed of a number of sections of light wood strung together by cords running through lateral holes. The cords are concealed except at the ends, where they are braided together to form the tying strings. The usual number of cords seems to be two, but a gorget in the Cambridge Museum has three. Each section of the gorget has a thick inner end and a thin outer end, but the proportions of these parts are variable. In the specimens figured the outer ends are short and flat, but in other gorgets the ends are considerably longer than the thick portion and slope upward toward the outside so that the collar looks dished. In a few gorgets the edges of the collar are cut into tongues or rays. The assembled collars are so rigid as to indicate that the sections were glued together. The incrustation was limited to the thin outer part of the collar. The thick part was whitened with lime or clay.

It is rather curious that the Marquesans should have made a rigid collar of many sections when it would have been much easier to cut it in a single piece. The most plausible explanation for its composite construction seems to be that the idea was borrowed from the necklaces of pandanus fruit which had much the same shape. Krusenstern (34, 156-158) says such collars were the peculiar mark of a priest.

So far as known, seed incrusted ornaments are found only in Polynesia in the Marquesas and Cook Islands. Outside of Polynesia they appear to have been made only in Australia and northern New Guinea.

Necklaces and breast ornaments differing from any of those described are mentioned by some of the early visitors. Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says:

"Hogs' fangs or pieces of bone, or muscle shells of a particular kind strung together in rows with the threads of the coconut, are very common as necklaces." Fleurieu (23, p. 114) says: "Some are content to carry, hanging from their necks, small pieces of polished bone, of shell, or of white coral or stone which are carved in different figures but which for the most part imitate a large tooth." He also remarks (p. 120) that the women wore collars or necklaces made of black seeds mixed with little shells. Desgraz (15, p. 283) says that small tiki figures of human bones were worn around the neck as amulets. Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) says:

"Another sort of gorget is made entirely of boars' teeth fastened onto a band, woven with the fibers of the coconut, and they also wear single boars' teeth, either suspended from their necks, or fastened to their beards, and balls about the size of an apple entirely covered with red beans."

A drawing reproduced by Cook (14, p. 310) shows a string gorget of unusual form, which seems to be made of a great number of short cords doubled over a longitudinal rope. The cords are gathered into bundles just below this rope, the ends hanging free in a deep fringe.

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301 According to Handy (32) collars of pearl, called *pipiri*, were sometimes placed with a body at burial, and three types of headdress, the *taowaha*, *paekua*, and *hei kua* were sometimes worn around the neck or on the breast.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR WOMEN

301 A pair of ear ornaments of rare type are illustrated in Plate LXXIX, *A*, 1, 3.
321 The "S" shaped body of these ornaments is made of a narrow strip of tortoise shell which was softened by heat and bent into shape. At about a third of its length the strip is perforated for the attachment of an ornament composed of porpoise teeth and beads. The teeth are somewhat smaller than those usually used for crowns, but like them are strung on loops of coconut fiber. The beads are, of course, of European manufacture. The long projecting end of the strip was thrust through the lobe of the ear, the body of the ornament hanging below with the toothed portion to the rear. These ornaments were used by women.

The object shown on Plate LXXIX, *A*, 2, may be classed as a woman's ear ornament. Its construction is essentially the same as that of the ornaments just described, but the strip is replaced by a large black seed which has apparently been oiled and polished. The method of wearing this ornament is unknown, but it seems probable that the seed and bead tassel were worn in front of the ear with the teeth behind.

The commonest form of woman's ear ornament, called *taiana* is shown at the bottom of Plate LXXIX, *B*.

The *taiana* is made of two pieces, a cap and a body. The cap, called *puiu*, is made from some white shell, probably Tridacna, and has on the inner side a cylindrical cavity about one-fourth of an inch deep. The sides of this cavity are lined with a thin layer of pith or soft wood. The body consists of a thin strip of human bone whose inner end is finished with a short cylindrical shank. The tip of this shank is cut to accurately fit the cavity in the cap. The rest of the body i decorated with highly conventionalized human figures. A large figure with extended arms is represented in profile at either end, and between these, two smaller figures, shown in front view. The heads of these small figures are supported by the hands of the end figures, while their legs appear at the bottom. Their bodies are not represented. The two ornaments shown at the top of the plate differ considerably from this normal type, but the basic concept is probably the same as the four heads are still recognizable. The inner sides of the ornaments are left rough. The elaborate piercing used in working out the designs is especially interesting as this technique seems not to have been employed in any other Marquesan objects. Ornaments of this sort were worn with carved portion projecting horizontally behind the ear, the cap, which was fitted on the shank, resting against the front of the ear lobe.

The bone of which they were made is said to have been obtained from dead relatives, not, as was the usual practice, from revenge victims. The figures represent ancestors, one of the large figures being male and the other female. Such ornaments were highly prized, and were inherited in the female line.

According to an informant in Fatu Hiva women sometimes wore ornaments similar to the *taiana*, but made from a boar's tusk instead of human bone. Early writers make little or no reference to women's ear ornaments, although they describe those of the men in considerable detail.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR MEN

The most highly prized of the men's ear ornaments were the *ha'akai* (Dordillon, 17). 301 321

Ha'akai were made from whale ivory in the form of a thick disc from whose rear surface a spur projected. The disc portion was oval, with a flat or slightly rounded outer surface, and was undecorated except for two broad shallow grooves around the edge. The spur was placed near one end of the oval, and was usually made in one piece with the disc. In the specimen shown on the left (Plate LXXIX, *C*), the spur is made from a separate piece of ivory, its base fitting accurately into a cavity in the disc. It is held in place by small plugs of wood and ivory which pass through holes drilled diagonally through both disc and spur. The ends of these plugs are cut flush with the surface of the disc and it is evident that the attachment was permanent. One or two small tiki figures in high relief are carved on the sides of the spur, and in some plugs there is an additional figure at the tip. A hole, parallel to the long axis of the disc, was usually drilled through the spur near its base.

The ornaments were worn with the discs in front of the ear, the spurs passing through holes in the ear lobes and projecting behind. A small wooden plug, thrust through the hole near the base of the spur, kept the ornament in position. The weight of some discs was supported by a band which passed across the top of the head.

Several other types of men's ear ornaments are described by early writers. 301 Stewart (59, pp. 248-249) says:

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments.

A portrait of a chief wearing ear ornaments of this type is shown by Cook (14, p. 306). In this figure the discs appear to be in the form of long ovals of rather irregular outline.

An object which probably formed part of an ear ornament of this general type was obtained from a burial cave in Hanamenu, Hiva Oa. It is an oval disc of light wood about 1¾ inches long, 1½ inches wide, and ¼ of an inch thick. In the center there is a small perforation which may have served for the attachment of a spur. Both sides are smoothly finished, and the edge is cut in such a way as to leave a flange on what was probably the outer side.

Krusenstern (34, pp. 157-158) says of the natives of Nuku Hiva:

They adorn their ears with large white muscles of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar's tusk is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden plug passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out.

Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says: "A muscle shell of an ounce weight, to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of breadfruit wood, is the great ear ornament," and Fleurieu (23, p. 114) makes the observation that, "although both men and women have their ears pierced none were seen who habitually wore pendants."

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

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ornament of this sort, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 2. 292 237

The ornament consists of two feathered bands, of identical construction, placed side by side and fastened together by wrappings of sennit at intervals of three or four inches. The ends of the bands are enclosed in a longer wrapping; each band consists of a heavy core of twisted coconut fiber over which there is a continuous sennit wrapping. The plumes are closely spaced and have been laid on with their quills against the core, each quill being held in place by two or three turns of the wrapping. Great care was taken to place the plumes so that their natural curve caused those on each half of the band to incline outward and away from the center. Heavy sennit cords, probably a continuation of the fiber in the cores of the bands, spring from either end of the ornament. Other cords of fau bark are attached to the ends of the sennit cords.

The *taavaha* was worn across the forward part of the head, a little back of the forehead, with the plumes rising vertically. The cords at its ends were tied under the chin, like bonnet strings. It was primarily a man's ornament, but was sometimes worn by women dancers at fetes.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says that about 500 feathers were required for a *taavaha*, and that each cock had only two feathers which would serve, so that it was necessary to despoil over 200 cocks to make a single ornament. At the time of his visit a *taavaha* was valued at a gun.

A modified form of the *taavaha* is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 1. The bands which form the base of this ornament are like those in the one just described, but the workmanship is not so good. The feathers are much shorter and appear to be cocks' tail coverts. They are made up in small bunches of three to five feathers each, with the quill ends enclosed in short sennit wrappings. The bunches are attached to the cores of the bands by a method resembling that used in attaching the small locks of hair in hair ornaments.

Stewart (59, pp. 247-249) describes still another modification of the *taavaha*. He says:

It [the headdress] consists of a crescent three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, an eighth of an inch wide, ran around the edges in a herring bone pattern of alternate black and white—while the middle was entirely filled with the small scarlet berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the breadfruit tree. [Compare this description with the gorget (?) shown on Pl. LXXVIII, *C*, 2.] [824] The crescent formed the front of a cap, fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long black and burnished tail feathers of the cock—the finest I ever saw; those in the center being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner, as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head—the feathers in the center standing perpendicular, and becoming more and more vertical, till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends—falling, from the highest point above the forehead, one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side—played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen.

According to Handy a headdress made from the white feathers of the *tuki* bird was also called *taavaha*.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says: "Oftentimes a bunch of other more curious feathers of sea birds, in the form of a plume, are worn at the top or back of the

292 head in addition to the large *taavaha*." This probably refers to ornaments of the
237 same general type as that shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 3, which were made of unusually long tail feathers of the tropic bird attached to a smooth stick by wrappings of fine sennit. The principle of attachment appears to be much the same as that used in the large *taavaha* except that the plumes entirely surround the stick instead of running only along one side of the band. The lower end of the carefully smoothed stick projects for some distance, suggesting that the ornament was thrust into a coil of hair.

Perhaps the most beautiful of the Marquesan headdresses was the *paekua*, shown on Plate LXXX, *B*. Only two of these ornaments were seen, but these agree so closely in all details of construction and decoration as to suggest that the type was a fixed one. It is rather interesting that one of the specimens contains a few peacock feathers, proving it to be post-European.

The body of the *paekua* is made up of three strips of featherwork. Each strip is broadest in the middle and tapers to a point at either end. A piece of large bamboo, flattened and scraped to paper thinness serves as a base for the featherwork. Over this are laid one or more layers of fine white tapa, which fit the bamboo so closely as to suggest that they were put on while the tapa was wet. The feathers, all of which are small, are glued to this tapa with breadfruit gum. To give additional security the whole strip is wrapped with single strands of some stiff white fiber—probably banana fiber. In a perfect specimen these wrappings are concealed by the feathers, but in the one figured the wrappings, tapa pad, and bamboo base are all visible. The feathers are laid on in irregular overlapping rows, the work progressing from both ends and meeting in the middle.

The tapa pad varies in thickness in the different strips composing the ornament, being heaviest in the top and bottom strips, less heavy on the ends of the central strip, and thinnest at the center of the central strip.

The three strips are pasted side by side upon a single large piece of cocoanut leaf sheath, whose natural stiffness serves to hold the ornament in shape. Along either edge, outside the strips, run three flat bands, or ribbons, plaited from strands of black dyed fau bark and white tapa. At either end of the ornament, between these bands, is a small triangular piece of white tapa which serves to cover the tips of the strips of feather work. Long tying strips, braided from tapa and black fau bark, are attached to either end of the ornament. In the specimen figured two tapa strings are fastened to the inside near the top center, suggesting that there was originally an additional ornament which projected above the *paekua*.

Green, yellow and red feathers were used. The first two colors were obtained from a species of dove, the *kuku*. The source of the red feathers is doubtful. The usual native story is that they were obtained from the *manu kua*, a red-bird long extinct, which lived on the plateaus of Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. In an account obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, they are said to have been brought from a far off island called Aotona, which Handy identifies as Rarotonga. A species of *kuku* which has a red cap of the same shade as the feathers in the *paekua* occurs in Hiva Oa, and it seems probable that at least some of the feathers used were obtained from these birds. (It should be noted that Dordillon defines *paekua* as "head ornament of *kuku* feathers.")

The red, green and yellow feathers on each strip were arranged in vertical bands, the center of the middle strip being covered by a large block of red feathers. Two small designs in red, one of which appears in the illustration, were placed on either side of the centers of the outer strips.

The *paekua* is said to have been the ancient headdress of Nuku Hiva and also of the valley of Pua Ma'u in Hiva Oa. It is not mentioned by any of the early writers, however, and

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probably was always a rare and greatly valued ornament. A narrow band of featherwork, corresponding to one of the three strips in the large *paekua*, was worn as a headdress in Nuku Hiva. It was also called *paekua*. 292 237

According to Handy the *paekua* was worn by young chiefesses at fetes, and was also sometimes worn as a breast ornament. Its principal use, however, was as a man's headdress.

A few other types of feather headdresses seem to have been in use. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says that some of the natives of Hiva Oa wore "round coronets of the small linguated feathers of the man-of-war bird." Stewart (59, p. 313) says that a *tuua* (priest) seen by him in Nuku Hiva wore "a full wreath of red and white feathers, much soiled, in alternate bunches over the forehead and temples." From his notes and from Dordillon's dictionary Handy has compiled names of additional feather ornaments as follows:

Heihua: A wreath of red cock feathers worn by women to dance the *hakapahaka*. The feathers were attached to semit.

T'ua: An ornament of twelve upright *taake* feathers, which was worn on the forehead.

Hei mokameka: Head ornament of long cocks' plumes.

Kohepea: Long cocks' plumes attached to the end of a stick, worn as an ornament.

Koketata: Aigrette of cocks' plumes on the end of a stick.

Pea: Long tail feathers of a cock. Aigrette of these feathers.

Peue: Head ornament of feathers in the form of a visor.

Tua: Aigrette of red feathers of the tropic bird.

A number of striking headdresses of materials other than feathers were also used by the Marquesans. 292 237 321

Wreaths or garlands of porpoise teeth (*peue ei*), worn principally by women, are still obtainable, although their manufacture has been discontinued for a number of years. The base of these ornaments is a band plaited from a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber. (See Pl. LXXXII, *A*.) The technique is identical with that employed for the bands of hair ornaments. The band is widest in the middle and tapers toward the ends, which are turned over and plaited back into the band on the outer side, forming stiff loops. Through these loops the tying strings, usually of white tapa, are passed.

The teeth were drilled through the root, and were attached as follows: A small bundle of fibers was released from every other cord on one half of the plait, threaded with beads and teeth, and its free end twisted into the corresponding cord on the opposite half of the plait. In almost all specimens both teeth and beads are used, each of the loops having six or more beads at each end and from 10 to 15 teeth in the middle. According to one informant, in ancient times small fish vertebrae were used instead of beads. In one specimen the beads are absent, the entire loop being threaded with teeth. It is evident that the twisting of the cords in the plait, the stringing of the loops, and the plaiting were carried on simultaneously.

In all the specimens examined, the teeth had apparently been drilled with metal tools. The perforations are remarkably small, and the teeth fit the cords on which they are strung so tightly that it is difficult to remove them even when the cords have been broken. Most, if not all, of the teeth used in these wreaths were obtained from the island of Ua Pou. An ordinary wreath contains from 1000 to 1500 teeth, and the demand evidently exceeded the supply, for several wreaths were seen which contained imitation teeth made of bone. A unique specimen, made entirely of bone, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *B*.

When not in use the wreath was straightened and a smooth rod, about half an inch in diameter was run through all the loops, between the teeth and the plaited band. The orna-

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292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in
237 several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they
321 were scoured with fine sand.

A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced
[177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *hana*, the small discs, *hana momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *packaa* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were best has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders
[177] met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tahuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhihana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of cocoanuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very stately ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhihana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packea*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American
237 museums were collected.

321 The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taeuha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It
292 is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and
[302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

the name of the man whose beard was used, even when the *pavahina* is several generations old. In spite of the surprising whiteness of the hair in some of these ornaments no method of artificial bleaching seems to have been employed. In almost every specimen there are a few black hairs sprinkled among the white, and rarely tresses of entirely black hair are included. 292

As may be seen from the illustration (Pl. LXXXII, *E.*) the *pavahina* was made up from a great number of locks of hair.

To make one of these locks a long tress of hair was doubled over to form a loop through which a very fine cord of twisted coconut fiber was passed. The loop was then wrapped with a single strand of fiber. The two ends of the cord passing through the loop were twisted together to form a single heavier cord. The tresses, with their attached cords, were then gathered into bundles of from ten to thirty, the ends of the cords in each bundle being fastened together and wrapped with sennit in the same way that the individual tresses were wrapped. A sennit cord, heavier than the cords running to the tresses, was attached to the lower end of the bundle. To complete the ornament, from four to ten of these bundles were placed side by side in two parallel rows, and sewn together with single strands of fiber. The cords depending from the bundles were plaited together to form a flat pad, one-half to three-quarters of an inch long, through the lower edge of which passed a long cord which served for the attachment of the ornament. The method of attaching the *pavahina* to the *pae ei*, and its appearance when in position, are shown on Plate LXXXII, *A*.

Black dyed sennit, or even cords of human hair, were sometimes used instead of ordinary sennit for wrapping the bundles. A crudely made *pavahina*, in which the technique differs somewhat from that described, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *F*.

The pad and bundle wrappings of the *pavahina* were sometimes whitened with lime or clay, and the ornaments are said to have been laid out in the dew for a few nights before a fete to clean and whiten them.

Pavahina appear to have sometimes been worn on the body or limbs with or in place of the hair ornaments described on p. 424. A photograph of an old Nuku Hiva man in full dress shows a half circle of them worn around the chin as a false beard.

Dordillon gives two terms of considerable interest—*pae mamane*, which he translates "helmet," and *pae veinehae*, which he translates "mask." The existence of these terms appears to be the only evidence for the occurrence of either helmets or masks in the Marquesas.

Dordillon also gives three words for comb; *kofeu*, *pahen* and *pachu*. No Marquesan combs are preserved in American collections, and there are no indications that combs ever formed part of the Marquesan headdress. If they were used in prehistoric times they were probably toilet articles, not ornaments.

Carved bone tubes were sometimes attached to locks of hair as ornaments. 301 These were identical with those used on the fiber handles of containers and on the cords of large drums.

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301 The tubes were of two types, the simpler of which is shown on Plate LXXXIII, *A*. These simple tubes were made from sections of the smaller human long bones—that is, the radius, ulna and fibula. The spongy interior of the bone was cut out, and the hard surface was decorated with a series of transverse grooves. The tubes range in diameter from ⅜ to ⅝ of an inch, and in length from ⅝ to 1⅛ inches. Tiki figures of human bone, used either as hair ornaments or handle decorations are shown on Plate LXXXIII, *B*. All the specimens examined were made from sections of the shaft of the humerus or femur. In those of the femur the anterior surface of the bone served as the back of the figure, the linea aspera being used as a center line in carving the features. As a result of this, most of the specimens are asymmetrical. Only heads and bodies are represented, and the heads are disproportionately large. The features are conventionalized in the usual Marquesan fashion. The arms are abbreviated, and the hands are shown either on each side of the body, or with the right hand to the mouth—poses common in other Marquesan carvings. The example shown at the extreme right of the plate is unique in having the right hand resting on the right shoulder. These tiki figures are considerably larger than the simple bone tubes, with a length of 1⅜ to 2 inches and a diameter of 1 to 1¼ inches.

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CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

There are a number of Marquesan objects which probably had a religious or ceremonial significance. The most interesting of these is a tapa covered object hewn from a single piece of breadfruit wood (Pl. LXXXIV, *A*) which is listed in the Bishop Museum catalog as an idol. 778

The lower part or body is in the form of a thin flat tablet. The upper part, or head, juts out sharply from the body in front and protrudes slightly beyond it in the rear. The two sides of the face are slightly concave, meeting in a sharp longitudinal keel. The interior of the head has been roughly hollowed out from the rear, probably to reduce the weight of the object. Two short double pointed sticks of fau wood, only one of which is now in position, were fastened to the back of the head transversely. They were attached with sennit cords which passed through holes in the edges of the object. The body, and the front, top and sides of the head, are covered with ute tapa, which was evidently put on while moist. The back of the head does not seem to have been covered. The tapa is gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and is glued together on the back of the body so skillfully that the joining is hard to detect. The whole object, exclusive of the back of the head, is covered with designs painted in red and black. It is evident that the designs upon the front of the head are intended to represent two large eyes, while bands along the lower edge of the head and on the upper part of the body represent the upper and lower jaws of an open mouth. The spaces around the eyes and inside the mouth, and the front and back of the body, are filled with decorative designs most of which seem to be tattoo designs. The painting was evidently done free hand, and shows considerable skill.

The rough finish of the back of the head in this figure suggests that it was formerly attached to some object in such a way that this part was concealed, but the body of the figure is painted on both sides. Although we have no information as to the use of such figures, it seems possible that they were attached to the beams of houses in *me'ae*, the back of the head resting against the beam and the body hanging below it. Tapa covered bird effigies, painted red, were placed on the ridge pole of the tall pyramidal sacred house at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The use of effigies covered with painted tapa in the Marquesas brings to mind the similar Easter Island practice. The figures from the two localities have little more than the principle in common, but in view of the complete absence of such figures elsewhere in Polynesia even this is significant. They are not recorded from Micronesia, and even in Melanesia we find no close parallels, except in New Britain where the Baining are said to make huge tapa covered figures thirty feet high (Lewis). [171]

Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post-European. There is no definite information as to their use, but they may have been employed for the same purpose as the small stone figures. (See p. 345.) Plate LXXXIV, *B*, shows a modern wooden figure which is interesting chiefly as an example of the breaking down of the old artistic convention under European influence. The proportions of the body and legs, and the modeling of the legs, are much more naturalistic than in the old stone figures. The arms on the other hand, are smaller in proportion to the figure than those of the old statuettes. The head is more nearly in 778 532

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proportion to the body and although the old convention is retained for the features, the eyes are smaller and more elongated. It is interesting to note that many of the modern stone figures, which are purely commercial, show the same changes in convention. Those which do not exhibit this modified convention are crudely naturalistic, and no wooden specimen was seen in which the ancient convention has been accurately reproduced.

A curious double statuette, now in the possession of Mme. Mallius of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, is shown on Plate LXXXIV, *C*. It is made of *toa* wood, and has been stained black, apparently by the process used in coloring war clubs. This would indicate a considerable age, although the carving appears to have been done with metal tools. The lengthened leg and disproportionately shortened arm of the degenerate convention are present, but the faces are surprisingly naturalistic. The two figures, which are male and female, were originally joined together at the back, as in practically all Marquesan double figures.

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STRING RECORDS

The use of string records seems to have been more highly developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of Polynesia. Such records served principally to aid the memory in the recitations of chants and geneologies, but Stewart (59, p. 335) mentions a time record consisting of a string of tapa in which a knot was tied at the return of every full moon. One complete string record, and part of a second were collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition. 211 [805]

The complete record, shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, has a cylindrical body and is made from rather small three-strand sennit applied in a wrap weave. The warp strands, which run longitudinally, are placed on a slant so that each strand encircles the cylinder once between the upper and lower ends. The upper end tapers to a point and terminates in a loop. At the juncture of this tapering portion with the body of the cylinder there are five small loops of sennit, placed at equal intervals on the circumference, to each of which is attached a small piece of white tapa. The lower end of the cylinder is open, and its edges are finished with sixteen loops of sennit about one inch in length. To two of these loops are attached long sennit cords which were rolled up, when the object was purchased, and thrust into the interior of the cylinder. The cylinder is six inches long and approximately one and three-quarter inches in diameter. After weaving, it seems to have been blackened with earth. This record was used as an aid in singing the *turuma* (Handy).

Plate LXXXIV, *D*, shows a geneological record. It is considerably larger than *E*, the string record just described, and is stuffed with some soft material.

From the sides spring six long pointed flaps, three above and three below. The knotted cords, which served to keep the record, seem to be attached to the body without regular order and vary considerably in length. The knots are all double, one half of the knot standing for the husband, the other for the wife. The long cords sometimes divide at some distance from the body, and the branches represent other lines of descent.

The string records, according to Von den Steinen (56), were purely mnemonic and could only be interpreted by the maker, or by one whom he had instructed. They were used to record geneologies, and also as an aid in chants of a religious nature. Records of both sorts were sometimes attached to a single body. If the record was in the possession of a family, the father made a knot at the birth of each child, and untied the knot if the child died. When a son married, an additional knot was added for his wife. The woven body of a geneological record was called *too*, signifying the tap root of a tree, and symbolized the history of the gods and the legendary period of the world. The flaps attached to the body are said to symbolize the brothers of the god Atea.

Deaths may also have been recorded by knot records. Von den Steinen says (56, p. 113):

"I was told that in ancient times, a post, hung with many string records, stood on the western cape of the island of Hiva Oa. There the souls of the dead sprang from a high rock into the sea to begin, submerged, their journey to the ancient home, Havaiki. A priest was delegated to register each death which came to his knowledge with a knot."

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

211 A number of interesting records for songs and stories are also figured and described by Von den Steinen. One record (56, p. 111-113) has a body in the form of a woven sack, as large as a child's head. The knotted record was attached to the edge of the sack, and when not in use was kept coiled up within it. The sack was kept hung up by a handle in the house of the *tuhuna*, and was supposed to contain a great number of spells and stories, all of which could be related by the aid of the single cord. Another record is very elaborate. It has a short body, covered with white tapa and decorated with plaited coconut leaves and bunches of midribs of coconut leaflets. To this are attached seven cords for songs and twelve for *mata*. All of these were recited in regular order. Still other small records, of the general type shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, were used to instruct chiefs' children in chants. One record (56, fig. 5) is woven from fau bark, an unusual material for these objects.

Von den Steinen (56, p. 113) reproduces a drawing by Porter, entitled "God of the Taipis." It is in the form of a human figure, woven from sennit, and from the loops surrounding the top of the head is identifiable as a string record. Von den Steinen says that the use of these records in the Marquesas seems to have been limited to the islands of Tau Ata and Hiva Oa. An incomplete specimen was, however, collected in Fatu Hiva, and the object from Nuku Hiva figured by Porter seems to prove their existence in the northern part of the group.

212 String records were used to keep record of taxes in Hawaii, of songs in the Cook group, and of geneologies in New Zealand.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

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DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaka	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONCLUSION

In spite of the large amount of literature dealing with Polynesia, few parts of this vast region have been carefully studied and there is no part for which the information can be considered at all complete. New Zealand is probably the best known locality. Satisfactory, but by no means complete, information is available for Hawaii and Samoa and the present activities of Bishop Museum will contribute additional information regarding Tonga, the Austral Islands and the Marquesas. 121

Accounts of the culture of single localities are chiefly valuable as a basis for the careful comparative study, which alone can throw light on the relations of the various Polynesian groups and ultimately on the larger questions of Polynesian origin and diffusion. The final solution of Polynesian problems can come only from a correlation of the evidence along all lines. Comparative studies based on a single class of evidence—traditions, religion, material culture or physical type—serve to arrange the data in order and make them available for such correlation. Theories based upon such partial studies can only be tentative but are justifiable on the basis of Bacon's dictum that truth can be brought out of error much more readily than out of chaos.

Recent studies of physical type have proved conclusively that the Polynesians are not a pure race but are made up of at least three racial elements (70). These elements are a dolichocephalic negroid race, a dolichocephalic or mesocephalic race which shows Caucasic affinities, and a brachycephalic race with slight Mongoloid affinities which Sullivan calls Indonesian (79, *b*, p. 18). The frequency and distribution of the two non-negroid races seems to indicate that they entered the region in nearly pure form. All three races are present in most of the Polynesian islands but they vary in the proportion which they bear to the total population of each group. The negroid element is strongest in Easter Island but is important in northern New Zealand and is found throughout southeastern Polynesia. The Caucasic element is strongest in northern New Zealand and the Marquesas. The Indonesian element is strongest in Tonga but is important in Samoa, southern New Zealand, Hawaii and the northern Marquesas. 144

Polynesian material culture shows an even more complex condition. The climate and products of all the Polynesian islands except New Zealand are so nearly the same that local difference in culture can not be ascribed to environmental causes, but it is hard to determine which of them are due to differences in the culture of the original settlers of each group. Many of the Polynesian groups are separated from their nearest neighbors by hundreds of miles of open sea and must have originally been settled by very small parties of immigrants. The *tuhuna* system, which placed the more important industries in the hands of 171 101

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 a few skilled workmen, was highly developed among the historic Polynesians and
101 when an immigrant group included no *tuhuna* of a given trade, that element of their original culture would tend to be lost or considerably modified. Primitive cultures are not static, and isolated populations come, in time, to have distinctive cultures. The legendary history of Polynesia points to long periods of quiescence and comparative isolation interspersed with periods of great nautical activity. Features which had been developed locally during a period of isolation might be carried to far distant groups during a succeeding period of voyages. The Polynesians were not conservative and it would have been possible for an immigrant group, too small to materially affect the physical type of an inhabited island, to profoundly modify its culture. Even during the periods of quiescence there was probably intermittent contact between the Polynesian islands through the medium of castaways. Some of the involuntary voyages which have occurred in Polynesia during the historic period have covered great distances, and the vagaries of winds and currents have sometimes carried canoes past many intervening islands to landfalls thousands of miles from their starting points. Castaways were usually well received and although they could hardly have brought about any major changes in culture they may very well have introduced single features such as folk tales, superior mechanical appliances, or new forms of ornaments. Western Polynesia was exposed to influences from both Micronesia and Melanesia. There is known to have been considerable contact between Samoa and the Gilbert Islands; and both Samoa and Tonga have been strongly influenced by Fiji.

171 In the preceding chapters of this publication a number of resemblances have been pointed out between the elements of Marquesan material culture and those of other parts of Polynesia. The distribution of the more important cultural traits in the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, the Society Islands, Samoa and Tonga is shown in the accompanying tables. Traits which are everywhere present in identical form, and traits which are limited to a single locality, have been omitted. The distribution of a few of the more important traits of non-material culture is also shown.

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Comparative Table Material Culture

Houses

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Platform	Constant, large, rectangular	Absent	Nearly constant, rectangular	Rare in historic times, rectangular	Limited to temples and chiefs' houses, oval	Rare or lacking
Shape	Rectangular	Rectangular or round (South Island)	Rectangular	Oval or rectangular	Oval, nearly round	Oval
Framework	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts or rigid triangle roof support	Indirect ridge pole support or end posts	Three posts together in center and ridge pole; detachable space	Indirect ridge pole support, end posts not used
Entrance	Side	End	Side or end	Side	Sides of house open	Side
Door	Wooden slide door or mat	Wooden slide door	No door or mat hung in doorway	No door or mat hung in doorway	———————	Mat door
Interior	Permanent division into floor and bed	Permanent division into floor and bed	Division into floor and bed common but not constant	No division in historic houses; present in ancient times	No internal division	No internal division
Decoration	Ornamental lashings, posts carved with designs and into Caryatid figures	Posts carved into Caryatid figures, carved panels, woven panels, painted rafters	Rudimentary ornamental lashings, no carved decoration	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving
Furniture	No stools, permanently fixed log pillows, soft pillows	No stools, soft pillows or solid wooden pillows	Stools (rare) soft pillows	Stools, legged pillows	Legged pillows, no stools	Legged pillows, no stools
Houses on posts	(Peta'a) Store house and dwelling for old men; elaborately decorated	(Pataka) Store house for food and tapa objects; elaborately decorated	Men's house, no decoration	Small storage places for sacred objects	No houses on posts	Occurrence of store houses on posts uncertain
Sacred houses	High roofed	No sacred houses except those for instruction, these like dwellings	Like dwellings, also tapa covered pyramidal structures	Like dwellings	Like dwellings	Like dwellings

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

CANOES

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Construction	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe also used as rare form	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; no plank canoes	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe known	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately
Bow	Long projection, horizontal or slightly curved upward; head carved on outer end	Long horizontal projection; head or figure carved on outer end	No projection, small upturned knob	Long projection, horizontal or curved upward; small figure sometimes carved on outer end	No projection, upper surface decorated with shells and carved knobs; figureheads used in ancient times	No projection or decoration
Stern	High upward curving plank	High upward curving plank	Small upturned knob, no ornament	Whole body of canoe curved upward for some feet	No projection; decorated like bow	No projection or decoration
Seams	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Not covered with strips	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams
Lashings	Visible both inside and out	Visible both inside and out	Visible inside, almost concealed outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside
Decoration	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks, also painting	No decoration	Small figures and other carving on bow and stern	Slight use of carved decoration	No decoration
Double canoe	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Rarely used; two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected
Sail	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	Modified form of the inverted triangle sail	Inverted triangle sail and lateen sail suspended from the mast head	Lateen sail suspended from the mast head

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

STONE ARTIFACTS

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tanged adz	Dominant form	Dominant form	Over 90 per cent of all adzes	Dominant form	Rare	Not used
Cross section	Triangular or rectangular	Rectangular, triangular forms rare	Rectangular	Triangular	Triangular	————
Finish	Rough, complete grinding rare	Completely ground, rough finish rare	Rough, complete grinding almost unknown	Complete grinding, rough finish rare	Complete grinding unknown, very crude	Complete grinding normal
Tanglina adz	Secondary importance	Secondary importance	Very rare	Rare	Normal type	Only type
Axes	Not used	North Island only	Not used	Found archaeologically, historic use doubtful	Not used	Not used
Mahoenoa forms	Not found	Present, distribution unknown	Not found	Found archaeologically	Not reported	Many adzes of Fijian form or manufacture
Pounders	Flat and shallow tops, flaring base, tops sometimes carved	Tops round or carved into head, no flaring base	Tops flat, or hemispherical, flaring base	Cross grip with projecting ends, flaring base	No stone pounders	No stone pounders
Pestles	Not found	Present	Common	Common	No stone pestles	No stone pestles
Carved sticks	Rare	Found on north cape, form closely similar to Marquesan one	Not used	Not found	Not used	Not used
Small figures	Fish and human, common	Human, common on North Island	Fish and human, rather rare	Fish and human, rare	Not used	Not used
Large figures	Common	Rare, limited to localities with tuff deposits	Present but rare, crudely made	Not used	Not used	Not used

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Containers

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Boxes	Oval, often bird form, tight cover	Oval, tight cover	Round, tight cover	Present, form unknown	Round, tight cover	No data
Bowls with legs	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Oval form common	Common	Common

Weapons

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Clubs	Paddle club and ax, no bludgeon or throwing club	Characteristic local forms	Short bludgeons, stone headed club (rare); throwing club	Bludgeons, modified paddle club, sickle club, no throwing club	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important
Short tooth weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Many pronged weapon and sickle	Not used	Not used
Bow	Toy and for fishing	Used traditionally as weapon	Toy and for rat hunting	Used in chief's game	Toy and fishing	Important weapon
Sling	Important	Occasionally used as weapon, also toy	Important	Important	Common	Little used
Sling stone	Double conical	Not shaped	Double conical	Not shaped	No data	No data
Throwing cord	In games only	Stick with cord	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Spear with head cut to break off in wound	Present	Several types	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Chief's sleeve	Important, blade flat, upper end curled in woven sleeve, top decorated with hair	Important, blade flat, upper end curled in woven sleeve, top carved	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Armor	Not used	Several thicknesses of mats	Thick mats and wicker helmets	Breast plates of heavy fiber, helmets	One-piece suit like Gilbert Islands, very rare	Not used

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shaped, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tonable	Important, no tonable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Present
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slotted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare, women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and Tuba but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	.....	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on face; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklaces	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

Art

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Carving	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	Poor development, not used on houses, canoes or tools, a few utensils decorated with figures carved in round	Moderate development, applied to canoes and some utensils	Poor development, applied to canoe (trunk) and weapons	Poor development, weapons only
Inlay	Not used	Eyes of images only	Eyes of images and a few utensils	Rare or absent	Not used, carved designs on weapons filled with lime	Crude, weapons only
Painting	Practically absent	Applied to rafters, canoes and images	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only
Designs	Curvilinear or angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional forms or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Curvilinear, angular geometric designs rare; spiral predominant, use of conventional forms or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Angular geometric designs with a few floral; spiral absent; human or animal forms not used	Angular geometric or circles, no spirals; human and animal figures in tattoo; floral designs on tapa	Angular geometric or floral; spiral rare or lacking; human and animal figures (tattoo) on weapons	Angular geometric or floral, no spirals; figures rare or lacking
Treatment	Surface divided into zones or sections which are treated consistently, no animal superposition of designs	Surface divided into a few large sections or treated as a whole; superposition of designs common	Designs applied to stripes over entire whole surface (tapa only), no design superposition	Curved surfaces divided into sections treated separately; tapa surface treated as whole; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately, no design superposition
Human figures	Conventionalized only	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized, very crude	Not used (one doubtful example)	Rare, no data on form

Conventions of Human Figures

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Leg	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	—	—
Arms	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on hips, Hand to mouth position not used	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	—	—
Hands	Five fingers of equal length, outer fingers connected by groove behind three inner	Three fingers of equal length	Five fingers when indicated	Five fingers or not indicated	—	—
Body	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles	Simple treatment, rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles or simple treatment with rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles and treatment or simple treatment with rounded contours	—	—
Mouth	Exaggerated, oval, protruded tongue	Exaggerated, broken or figure eight form, protruding tongue	Exaggerated, broken or figure eight form or oval (some naturalistic figures); protruding tongue, common in semi-naturalistic figures	Exaggerated, oval, protruded tongue, or naturalistic mouth	—	—
Nose	Flat, nostril exaggerated	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in many cases	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in some cases	Higher than Marquesas conventions and more naturalistic, nostril exaggerated	—	—

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Pale o le Fe'e only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

Mortuary Practises

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil; in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practised
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or lunatics; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAMOA	TONGA
Cannibalism	Highly developed	Highly developed	Absent	Absent	Present traditionally	Introduced from Fiji
Headhunting	Highly developed, skulls of enemies demanded and preserved	Highly developed, heads preserved	Absent	Heads of enemies taken but not preserved	Heads of enemies taken but not preserved	Enemy head not preserved
Government	Chiefs of little power, power greater in northern islands; no overlords, loose tribal confederacies	Chiefs, no overlords, loose tribal confederacies	Highly organized, chiefs and overlords; large political units	Highly organized, chiefs and overlords, large political units	Tribal organization, confederacies with high chiefs	Highly organized, whole group a political unit
Personal divinity of chiefs	Suggested in northern islands only	Chiefs god descended	Highly developed	Highly developed	Highly developed, speaker chiefs with real power	Highly developed, divine chief with little secular power
Religion	Ancestor worship, great gods known but ignored	Worship of great gods and a host of minor deities, ancestor worship not important	Worship of great gods and ancestor worship	Worship of great gods, family ancestor worship	Village gods embodied in animals, no true ancestor worship	Worship of dead chiefs; great gods secondary
Priesthood	Organized within tribe, inspirational and ceremonial priests	Priest-chiefs and wizards, no regular organization	Highly organized, ceremonial priests important	Highly organized, ceremonial priests important	Priests and priest-chiefs, no regular organization	No organized priesthood, inspirational priests important
Human sacrifice	Highly developed	Common	Highly developed	Less developed than in Hawaii or the Marquesas	Not used	Not used
Sacred structures	Platforms or terraces with temporary houses, large stone enclosures with both secular and religious functions	No permanent sacred structures; sacred houses for instruction of young men	Stone enclosures taps to all but chiefs and priests, also platforms	Stone enclosures with pyramid at one end; commoners admitted to enclosure but pyramid taps to them.	Village house or small house on platform	House on pyramid containing burial vault
Education	Organized instruction for both men and women in special house	Organized instruction for young men in special house	No organized instruction	No organized instruction	No organized instruction	No organized instruction

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171 It can be seen from the tables that Samoa and Tonga show a closer cul-
174 tural agreement than any other two Polynesian localities. The Marquesas and New Zealand show an almost equally close agreement. The Society Island culture occupies an intermediate position with numerous resemblances to both the Samoan-Tongan and Maori-Marquesan cultures. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan on the material side, but its non-material features are more closely related to those of the Society Islands and western Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures show so many similarities that, in the absence of historic contact, they must be considered as not very divergent developments of a single ancestral culture. The content of the various New Zealand culture areas outlined by Skinner (78) has not yet been established, but most of the traits common to New Zealand and the Marquesas seem either to have been limited to the north island or to have been much more highly developed there. According to Maori traditions the north islanders were descendents of immigrants who came to New Zealand from Tahiti and the Cook Islands in the twelfth century (Smith, 79, p. 223). The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate migration from Tahiti and the Cook Islands, and mention groups still farther to the west. It seems practically certain, therefore, that a culture similar to the historic Maori and Marquesan cultures formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures differ from the Samoan and Tongan cultures in so many respects that the two complexes must have been largely derived from different sources. The original cultures of Samoa and Tonga probably differed considerably from the historic ones. Cannibalism and the use of the bow as a weapon in Tonga, and the elaborate club forms of both Tonga and Samoa were due to Fijian influence. The Samoans ascribe the introduction of tapa making to a Fijian chief and their tapa making implements are almost identical with the Fijian ones. The slotted drum was almost certainly borrowed from Fiji. Legged pillows were probably borrowed from Fiji, where the form of the coiffure made them necessary. Legged utensils may also have been borrowed as such utensils are more numerous and of more diverse form in Fiji than in either Samoa or Tonga. Even the use of round or oval houses may not have been a feature of the original Samoan-Tongan cultures for round houses are practically absent in Indonesia and Micronesia but are found in both Fiji and New Caledonia.

The western Polynesian cultures have many features in common with Micronesia. The resemblances seem to be more marked in the Caroline and Marshall groups than in the Gilbert Islands. Micronesia is still too imperfectly

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known to permit of detailed comparison, but the Caroline and Marshall cultures have in common with the Samoan-Tongan culture a considerable development of chiefly power with a tendency toward fixed social classes; extended earth burial, often with orientation; the use of many piece canoes and lateen sails; and a high development of mat weaving with the use of mats for clothing. Many other features of the Samoan-Tongan culture are also found in Micronesia but are less universal in their occurrence. Although it is possible that these features were borrowed from Micronesia by the western Polynesians, it seems more probable that the original culture of the Samoans and Tongans was essentially Micronesian in type.

The affiliations of the Hawaiian culture are difficult to establish. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan cultures in the form and internal arrangement of houses; canoe structure and sail; use of the stone pounder and tanged adz; stilts and surf board; in the use of human effigies and in the conventions applied to them; also in the rarity of utensils with legs and absence of legged pillows. It shares with the Marquesas the use of stone house platforms; extensive ceremonial structures of stone; a pounder with a flaring base; prepared sling stones; the musical bow; the large vertical drum with a skin head; and necklaces made from many strands of plaited human hair. These features are lacking in New Zealand. The Hawaiian culture also has a few features in common with the Society Islands which are lacking in the Marquesas. The most important of these are an organized priesthood; a centralized government with divine chiefs; and the use of netted featherwork, helmets, flyflaps, painted tapa decoration and watermarked tapa beaters. Many voyages between Hawaii and the Society Islands were made from 1100 to 1300 A.D. (Smith, 79 *a*, p. 223) and according to Hawaiian traditions the use of enclosed religious structures, the vertical drum, human sacrifice, increased centralization in government and a stronger organization of the priesthood were introduced into Hawaii at that time. It is impossible to tell whether the other similarities of the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures are due to this relatively late contact, but it seems probable that those features which show a very close agreement—such as netted featherwork, tapa painting, watermarked beaters and the conventions employed for human effigies—were brought to Hawaii by the southern immigrants. The similarities in canoes, houses and stone implements, on the other hand, are probably more ancient and point either to an earlier contact or to the partial derivation of both the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures from the same source. The main features which distinguish the Hawaiian culture from the Maori and Marquesan cultures are the high social and religious organization of the Hawaiians and the absence in Hawaii of cannibalism, head

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171 174 hunting, organized instruction for young men, curvilinear art and decorative carving. Stone construction was also highly developed in Hawaii although practically absent in New Zealand. If those features which were probably introduced into Hawaii from southeastern Polynesia in comparatively recent times are eliminated, the residual Hawaiian culture is intermediate between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures but seems to be most closely related to the Maori-Marquesan cultures.

The Marquesas and Hawaii have several features in common which are lacking in New Zealand. Although the historic culture of all the Marquesan islands was nearly the same, decorative carving and curvilinear art seem to have been more highly developed in the southern islands of the group, while stone construction was more highly developed in the northern islands. The northern islands also showed an increased tendency toward centralized government and toward a belief in the divinity of chiefs. The resemblance of the Marquesan culture to that of Hawaii was thus more marked in the northern than in the southern islands of the group. The southern islands are more desirable for settlement and lie nearer to the Society group so that immigrants from southeastern Polynesia would be likely to encounter them first. The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate that they did not reach the group until about 1000 A.D. (Handy, personal correspondence). It seems probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend between an original culture somewhat like that of the early Hawaiians and a Maori like culture which entered the group from Southeastern Polynesia at some later time.

The Society Island culture is intermediate in many respects between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures. As it is almost certain that cultures similar to the Maori and Marquesan ones formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia it seems probable that the Society Island culture is a blend between an early culture of Maori-Marquesan type and a culture of western Polynesian type. Society Island culture shows a few distinctive features, the most important of which are an organized priesthood and a considerable centralization of government with suggestions of a feudal system. The historic Samoan-Tongan culture shows a tendency toward centralized government and it seems probable that the distinctive features of the Society Island culture originated in the Society Islands as a result of the contact of immigrants from western Polynesia with a subject population.

It is possible to distinguish three main types of culture in Polynesia. These cultural types correspond in a general way with the culture areas distinguishable in other parts of the world, but their historic distribution was not geographically continuous. One type of culture, linked with populations pre-

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dominantly Indonesian, centered in western Polynesia. A second type seems to have centered in southeastern Polynesia, associated with people predominantly Caucasic, but who showed considerable negroid admixture. This type survived into historic times in the Marquesas and New Zealand but had been greatly modified in the Society Islands by immigrants with a culture of western Polynesian type. A third culture, associated with populations of mixed Indonesian and Caucasic type with little negroid admixture, formerly existed in Hawaii and the Marquesas, but had been modified or displaced in the Marquesas by immigrants with a culture of southeastern Polynesian type. Two of the cultural types are, therefore, linked with mixed populations and have either been introduced into Polynesia by mixed groups of immigrants or have been developed from the fusion in Polynesia of races dissimilar in physical type and probably in culture. The evident correlation between culture and physical type in Polynesia points to a relatively recent settlement of the region.

The Samoan and Tongan cultures apparently are not hybrids produced by the complete fusion of originally distinct cultures. They are rather to be considered as developments of a single comparatively simple culture which has been modified by borrowing from several sources. This culture seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses or houses with a rectangular center and apses, many piece canoes and lateen sails; bludgeon clubs and possibly throwing clubs; a high development of mat weaving with a use of fine mats as clothing; an angular geometric art with a poor development of wood carving and a rarity or absence of human effigies; a moderate development of stone construction, extended earth burial for commoners and vault burial for chiefs; a tendency toward centralized government with divine chiefs and social classes; elaborate geneologies, and a worship of gods or dead chiefs. The Samoans and Tongans appear to be racially more homogeneous than the inhabitants of any of the other large Polynesian groups and are predominantly brachycephalic (Dixon, 70 *a*, Pl. XXII-XXV), with a large proportion of the Indonesian race (79 *b*, p. 19). It seems probable, therefore, that the culture just outlined was introduced into Polynesia by immigrants of Indonesian race.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures, which seem to be the historic representatives of the old southeastern Polynesian type of culture, show a number of Melanesian affinities. Maori art resembles that of the Massim region of New Guinea and that of some parts of New Britain, New Ireland and the Solomon Islands much more than it does that of western Polynesia. The five-piece type of canoe construction was used in most of the Melanesian localities where the natives built large craft and the highly decorated bows and sterns of the Maori and Marquesan canoes are suggestive of some Melanesian forms. Cannibalism,

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171 head hunting, preservation of the skulls of ancestors, exposure or preservation
174 of corpses, instruction or initiation of young men, absence of large governmental units and chiefs of little power are all of wide occurrence in Melanesia although lacking in western Polynesia. In spite of the general Melanesian tone of the Maori and Marquesan cultures, analysis shows that they are not closely linked with the culture of any one Melanesian locality. The art resemblances are general rather than specific and the Maori-Marquesan image conventions are practically absent in Melanesia. The non-material traits common to the Maori-Marquesan and Melanesian cultures are of very wide occurrence in Melanesia and are present in cultures which differ considerably on the material side. Single traits of the Maori and Marquesan material cultures are often present in one or two of the Melanesian cultures but the distribution of these traits is so irregular that little can be deduced from it.

171 Both the culture and physical type of the northern Maori and southern
174 Marquesans indicate that their ancestors had been in contact with some negroid
144 people. It has generally been assumed that this contact occurred in the course of their migration from Indonesia and that the Melanesian elements present in Polynesia reached that region as inclusions in some non-negroid race. Churchill (69, p. 139) advances the theory that the Polynesian immigrants coasted along Melanesia and made many stops to rest and raise crops, in this way coming into close contact with the negroid peoples of the region. The northern Maori and southern Marquesans are predominantly of the Caucasic race and if this race came by way of Melanesia and picked up negroid blood and Melanesian cultural traits in transit, we should expect to find negroid blood and Melanesian traits in all the groups where the Caucasic element is important. It is important in Hawaii, where there is very little of the negroid element (Sullivan, 79, *b*, p. 19) and where the culture shows hardly any Melanesian affinities. It seems probable, therefore, that at least some of the Caucasic immigrants into Polynesia had had little or no contact with Melanesians at the time of their arrival. The population of Easter Island, which lies on the extreme eastern edge of Polynesia, shows a larger proportion of negroid types than that of any other Polynesian locality (Dixon, 70, *a*, p. 370). Stone implements which are of Melanesian type and which differ considerably from those used by the historic population have been found in Tahiti. It seems improbable that a racial element which entered Polynesia as an inclusion would have retained its distinctive implement types or would have been strong enough to dominate physically in the easternmost Polynesian island thousands of miles from Melanesia. It is more probable that the population of central and southeastern Polynesia was at one time predominantly negroid in physical type and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture.

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The southeastern Polynesian type of culture probably originated in central 171
and southeastern Polynesia through the fusion in that region of an early negroid
population with immigrants of the Caucasic race. The cultures of these two 174
races no doubt differed considerably but it is almost impossible to tell which of the features present in the resulting culture are referable to the negroids and which to the Caucasic immigrants. The presence of a feature of the southeastern Polynesian culture in Melanesia is not sufficient evidence for its ascription to the negroid population, for the Caucasic people probably reached Melanesia as well as Polynesia. The contact of two cultures which are not too widely separated in the scale of development is stimulating to both. Ideas and appliances are borrowed back and forth and worked over to conform to the pattern of the borrowing culture. When dissimilar cultures fuse, the resulting complex is comparable to a chemical rather than a mechanical mixture. Some features of the original cultures may survive with little change but others will be greatly modified and new features may arise which can not be directly traced to either of the ancestral cultures. In view of the general situation in Melanesia and Polynesia the following traits may be tentatively ascribed to the culture of the negroid stratum in the Polynesian population:

Round, oval or canoe shaped houses, five piece canoes with decorated bows and sterns, axes and smoothly ground tangless adzes, staves and sickle or pick clubs, the throwing cord, curvilinear art, cannibalism, spirit worship, initiation or instruction for young men.

The culture of the Caucasic immigrants seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses with permanent beds, special houses on posts, five-piece canoes, double canoes, triangular sails, partially ground angular tanged adzes, stone pounds, stilts, kites, human effigies, stone construction, exposure or preservation of corpses with flexed burial for the very poor or diseased, preservation of skulls of ancestors, head hunting and ancestor worship.

The blending of these two cultures produced a hybrid culture which was richer than either of its parents. There was a considerable improvement of technical processes and a remarkable efflorescence of art. Several new features of material culture seem to have been developed. Among these were the use of wooden slide doors in dwellings, a characteristic form of canoe decoration, fully ground angular tanged adzes, small stone effigies, shell trumpets with separate mouth pieces, wooden trumpets, oval boxes with tight fitting covers, rigid conventions in the pose of human effigies, and probably the practise of mummifying corpses by evisceration and long continued rubbing with oil.

The Hawaiian culture resembles the southeastern Polynesian culture in some respects but lacks most of the features which, because of their wide oc-

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171 174 currence in Melanesia, are probably referable to the negroid stratum in the southeastern Polynesian population. It also has several features in common with the western Polynesian culture. It seems probable, therefore, that it is a blend between a culture of western Polynesian type and the culture of the Caucasic immigrants who mixed with negroids to produce the southeastern Polynesian culture. The historic Hawaiians are predominantly brachycephalic but Sullivan concludes that they are a thorough mixture of the Caucasic and Indonesian races.

171 174 144 Each of the three races present in Polynesia probably entered the region at a different time and brought with it a distinctive culture but it is still impossible to establish their chronological sequence. The negroid race was probably the first to arrive in central and southeastern Polynesia. The main argument which has been advanced against the presence of a negroid population in this region has been the supposed inability of negroid peoples to make the long voyages necessary to colonize Polynesia. It is improbable that a race able to reach Fiji from the New Hebrides, the nearest Melanesian group to the west, would have been unable to cross the shorter stretch of sea separating Fiji from Tonga or to make the only slightly longer trip from Fiji to Samoa. The central and southeastern Polynesian groups are comparatively close lying and it would not have been difficult for even poor navigators to pass along them as far east as the Austral and Tuamotu Islands. It is not necessary to suppose that the migration of the negroid race was a deliberate or organized movement. It is probable that, like the historic Melanesians, they disliked long voyages but their presence in Fiji proves that they had seaworthy vessels and it would always be possible for a canoe to be blown out of its course and carried to islands unknown before. There is no indication that a pure negroid race reached Hawaii and the negroids probably did not reach New Zealand or the Marquesas except as inclusions in some superior race.

The order of arrival in Polynesia of the Caucasic and Indonesian races must be left an open question. The traditional movements in Polynesia have been from west to east and from southeastern Polynesia to Hawaii, the Marquesas and New Zealand. As the Indonesian stock seems to be strongest in western Polynesia this may indicate that it was the last to arrive. At the same time, the Indonesian element in the populations of New Zealand and the Marquesas seems to be strongest in those localities which are least desirable for settlement and which are farthest from the probable points of arrival of immigrants from the rest of Polynesia. In New Zealand and the Marquesas, therefore, the Indonesian race may have preceded the Caucasic race. It seems probable that the sequence of arrival of the three races in central and southeastern Polynesia was first, Negroid; second, Caucasic; third, Indonesian. The priority

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of the Indonesian race in the more distant Polynesian localities may have been due to their greater skill as navigators. The use of many piece canoes and lateen sails, which was apparently a feature of the Indonesian culture, gave them a freedom of movement which the negroid and Caucasic races probably lacked. Polynesian traditions mention long voyages of exploration and the sailing canoes of the Tongans carried complements of over a hundred men and were hardly more dependant upon winds and currents than European sailing vessels. It would not be difficult for a race which used such canoes to pass by islands which were held by hostile populations and establish itself in more distant islands which it found unoccupied or sparsely settled. The Indonesian race may have colonized both western and marginal Polynesia before it succeeded in conquering the large mountainous islands of southeastern Polynesia. The establishment of cultures of western Polynesian type in southeastern Polynesia must be quite recent for cultures of Maori-Marquesan type were still in existence there at the time of the twelfth century migration to New Zealand.

The routes by which the negroid, Caucasic and Indonesian races reached Polynesia can not be fully established until we have fuller information on Micronesia and Melanesia. The historic distribution of races and cultures in Polynesia seems to be best explained by the following hypothesis: The first settlers of central and southeastern Polynesia were negroid in race and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture. They entered the region largely as a result of accidental drifts and settled in Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook, Society, Austral and Tuamotu groups, but did not reach any of the more distant Polynesian localities. They came originally from Melanesia, probably from Fiji. The next immigrants to reach Polynesia were of the Caucasic race and had come from Indonesia by way of Micronesia. They arrived first in Samoa and spread over the territory held by the negroid people, mixing with them to produce a hybrid race and the southeastern Polynesian type of culture. A fairly pure group of the Caucasic race reached and colonized the Marquesas, which they found unoccupied or only partially settled by the negroids. A mixed group, in which the negroid element predominated, reached Easter Island. The Caucasic immigrants did not, at this time, reach either Hawaii or New Zealand. While the main body of the Caucasic immigrants were passing through Micronesia another group of the same race were coasting southward through Melanesia. This wing of the Caucasic migration was probably absorbed or dissipated before it reached Polynesia but it modified the culture of the eastern Melanesian islands to a considerable degree. The last immigrants to enter Polynesia in large numbers were of the Indonesian race. They came from Indonesia, like the Caucasic immigrants, and passed by way of Micronesia. In Micronesia their

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171 vanguard met and mixed with the rearguard of the Caucasic immigrants and a
174 group of this mixed people sailed eastward, perhaps from the Marshall group,
144 and discovered and colonized Hawaii. The main body of the Indonesian invaders arrived first in western Polynesia and established themselves most thoroughly in Tonga, where the islands were comparatively small and level. In Samoa, where the islands were large and mountainous, the earlier Caucasic and negroid population held out for a considerable time and was able to somewhat modify the culture and physical type of the conquerors. In Niue, an isolated group of the earlier population survived into historic times. The Indonesians sailed southward from western Polynesia and discovered and colonized New Zealand. They also spread over southeastern Polynesia and reached the Marquesas. In that group they mixed with the earlier Caucasic population producing a culture somewhat like that which had been carried to Hawaii by immigrants of mixed Caucasic and Indonesian race. They were unable to displace the mixed Caucasic and negroid populations of the larger southeastern Polynesian islands but they established colonies on these islands. This first Indonesian invasion was followed by a period of comparative quiescence during which few voyages were made. About the year 1000 A.D. (79, *a*, p. 223) a second period of voyages commenced. It is impossible to tell what caused the resumption of nautical activity, but it seems probable that western Polynesia had become overpopulated and that the culture of the Indonesians in that region had been stimulated by their contact with Fiji. Immigrants from western Polynesia reached the Society group and explored northward from it until they rediscovered Hawaii. There they found a branch of the same people who had been modified by long isolation and so were able to establish themselves as overlords without meeting with serious opposition. They brought to Hawaii a few features of culture which they had acquired during their passage through southeastern Polynesia. In southeastern Polynesia the pressure of the invasion from the west forced some of the population to migrate to northern New Zealand and the southern Marquesas. These migrants were predominantly Caucasic and negroid in race but were probably under the direction of chiefs descended from the earlier Indonesian invaders of southeastern Polynesia. In New Zealand they destroyed the earlier Indonesian population or drove it into the undesirable localities. In the Marquesas they ousted the earlier population from the southern islands of the group but were unable to conquer the northern islands. After the departure of these emigrants from southeastern Polynesia, western Polynesian immigrants established themselves in the region, destroying or modifying the earlier type of culture.

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The conditions in Polynesia are extremely complex, and the migration theory just outlined and the theory of the derivation of all the historic Polynesian cultures from three original cultures which were introduced by different races probably err on the side of simplicity. The division of Oceania into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia is, in some respects, an arbitrary one and no final settlement of Polynesian problems will be possible until we have further information on the other two areas. Ingenious theories of cultural stratification have been advanced to account for the historic conditions in Melanesia, but Micronesia is still almost unknown scientifically and has been largely ignored by Polynesian students. Even our present fragmentary knowledge of Micronesia indicates that at least one of the Polynesian races passed through that region. A systematic study of Micronesian culture and physical type would no doubt provide a key to many of the Polynesian problems.

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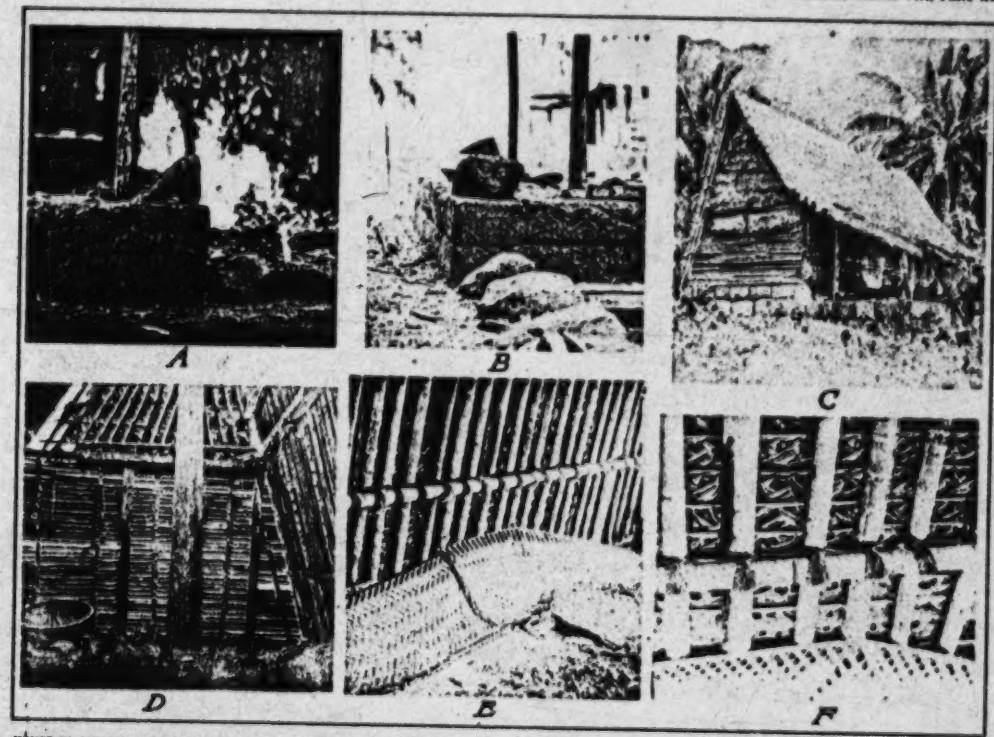
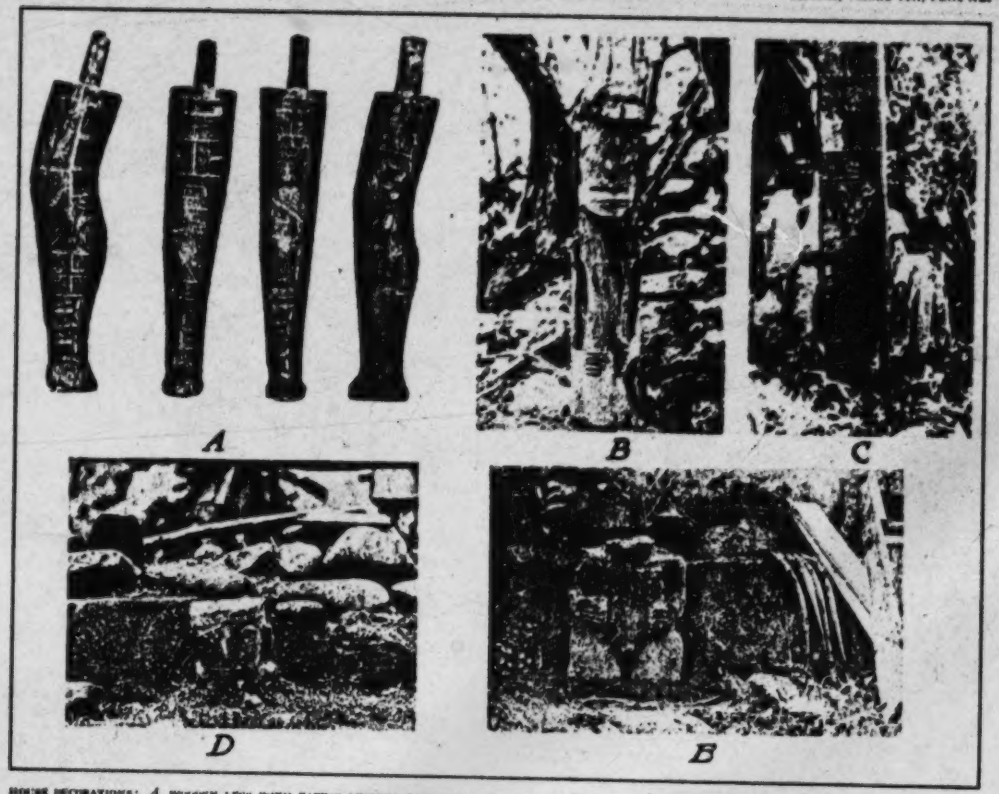


House construction and furnishings: *A*, back rest, side view; *B*, back rest, rear view; *C*, old house at Atuona, Hiva Oa; *D*, furnishings and construction of end wall; *E*, close view of bed; *F*, ornamental lashings of rear rest.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

End plate 1]



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR SEO; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

7: Lisson E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

end plate 2

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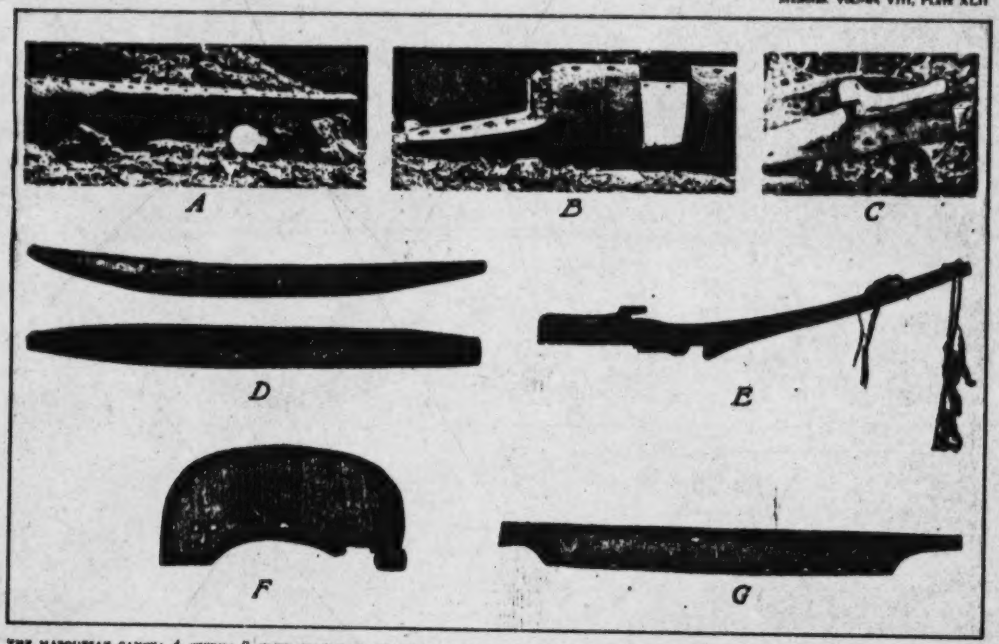

THE MARQUESAN CANOE: *A*, STERN; *B*, FORWARD END OF REAR SECTION OF UNDERBODY; *C*, STERN PIECE OF OLD CANOE; *D*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF UNDERBODY OF OLD CANOE MODEL; *E*, STERN PIECE OF OLD CANOE MODEL; *F*, SUPPLEMENTARY BREAK-WATER; *G*, SIDE PLANK OF OLD CANOE MODEL.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End plate 3]

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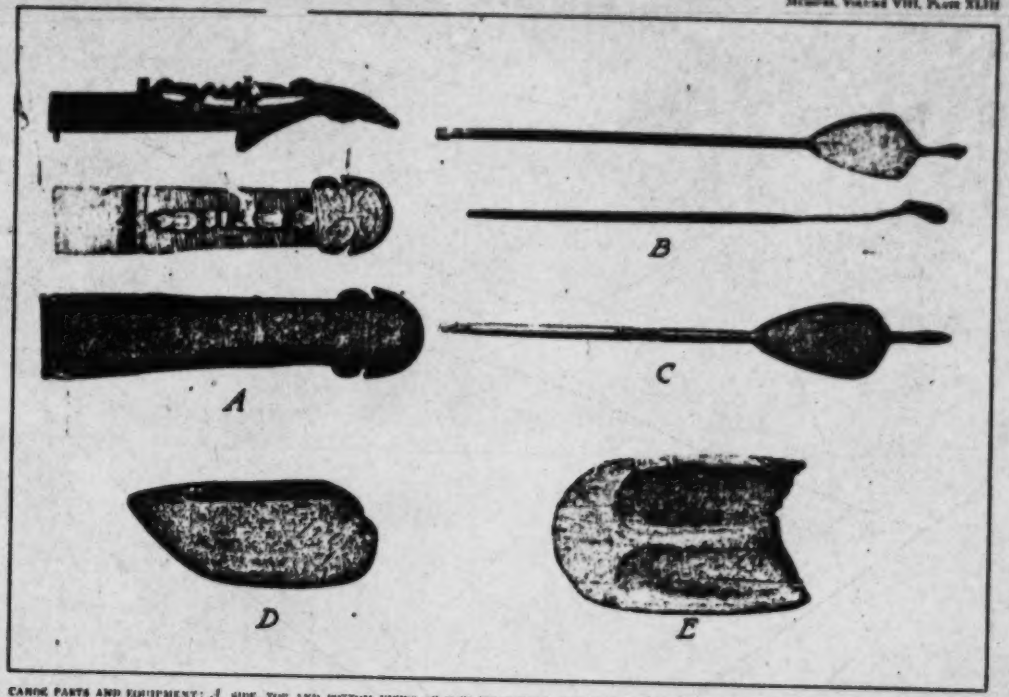

CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT: *A*, SIDE, TOP AND BOTTOM VIEWS OF BOW PIECE FROM OLD MODEL; *B*, REAR AND SIDE VIEWS OF ORDINARY PADDLE; *C*, MODERN CARVED PADDLE; *D* AND *E*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF CANOE BAILER.

[End plate 4]

7: Lillian E-5 (1920-1921) 1921 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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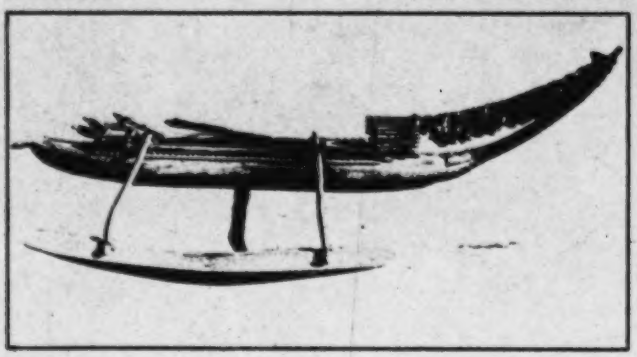
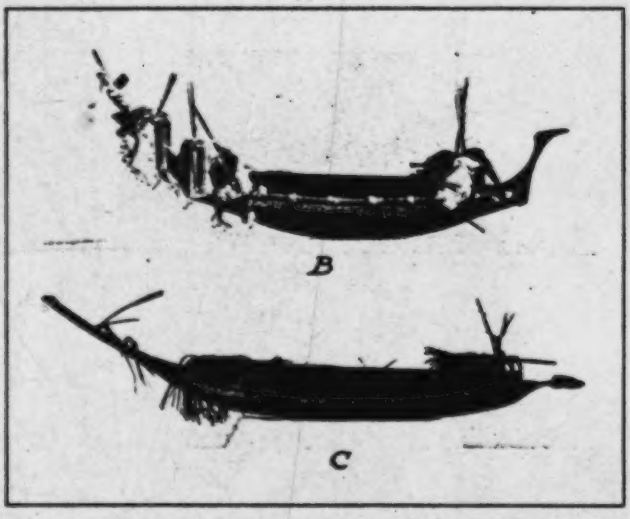


A



B

C

CANOE MODELS: *A*, VERY OLD MODEL (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, MODERN MODEL, MADE FOR SALE; *C*, OLD MODEL, REPLICA OF ACTUAL CRAFT.

[end plate 5]

TANGED ADZES: *A*, FRONT VIEW; *B*, REAR VIEW; *C*, SIDE VIEW OF ADZES WITH TRIANGULAR CROSS SECTION; *D*, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF ADZES WITH QUADRANGULAR CROSS SECTION; *E*, *F*, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF ADZES OF TIKI AA TYPE; *G* AND *H*, ADZES OF TIKI KIMIA TYPE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS.

[end plate 6]

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TANGLAN AND UNCLASSIFIED ADZES: *A*, TANGLAN ADZE, FRONT, SIDE, AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, UNCLASSIFIED ADZES, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS—1, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. 6138; 2, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3073; 3, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3076; 4, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. 6147; 5, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3084.

[end plate 7]

1, TANGLESS ADZES OF POLYNESIA, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS: 1, MARQUESAS; 2, TONGA; 3, SAMOA; 4, EASTER ISLAND; 5, CHATHAM ISLANDS; 6, SOCIETY ISLANDS; *B*, MARQUESAN GOUGE.

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[End plate 8]

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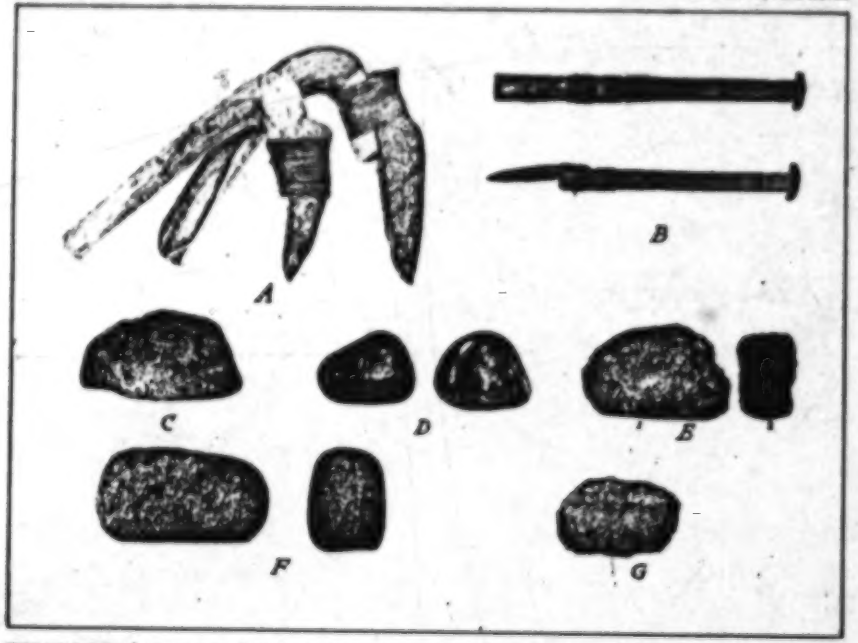

STONE IMPLEMENTS: *A*, HAFTED AXES; *B*, HAFTED CHISEL, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SUPPOSED STONE OF CHISEL; *D*, SUPPOSED USED TO POLISH WOOD; *E*, SCRAPER; *F*, HAMMER STONES; *G*, KNIFE.

[end plate 9]

Smithsonian Institution
U. S. National Museum
Bureau of Ethnology
Bureau of American Ethnology
Department of Anthropology
Division of Archeology
Division of Ethnology
Division of Linguistics
Division of Physical Anthropology
Division of Prehistoric Archeology
Division of Technology
Division of Museum Anthropology
Division of Publications
Division of Photography
Division of Illustrations
Division of Exhibits
Division of Museum Preparation
Division of Museum Conservation
Division of Museum Education
Division of Museum Administration
Division of Museum Collections
Division of Museum Research
Division of Museum Publications
Division of Museum Photography
Division of Museum Illustrations
Division of Museum

9: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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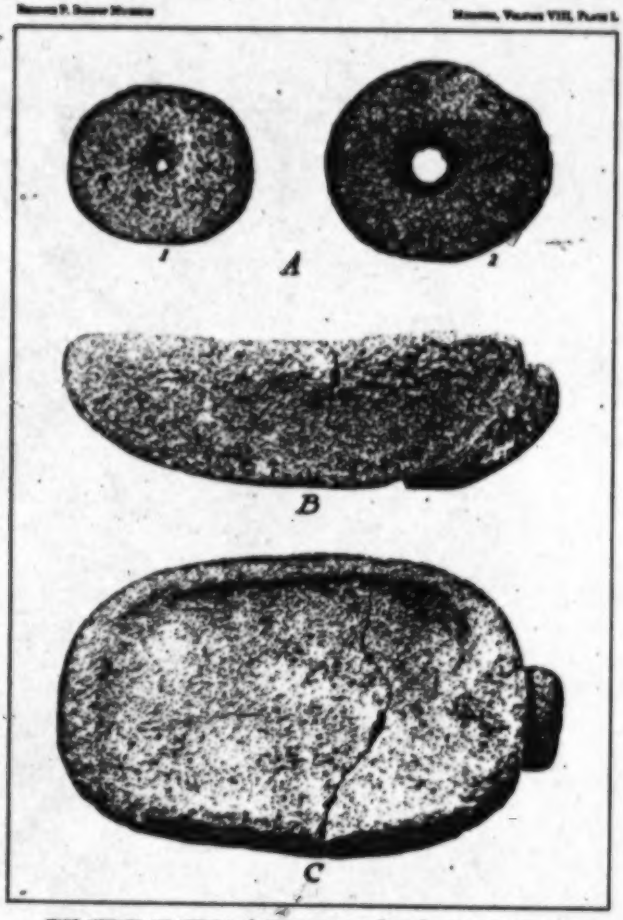

STONE ARTIFACTS AND UTENSILS: *A*, PERFORATED DISCS; *B* AND *C*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF TRAY.

[end plate 11]

7: Lisboa E-3 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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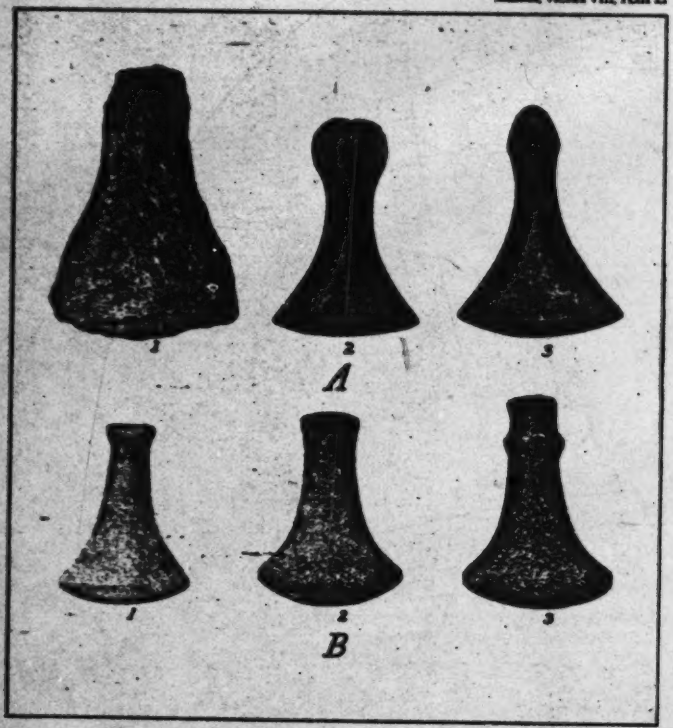
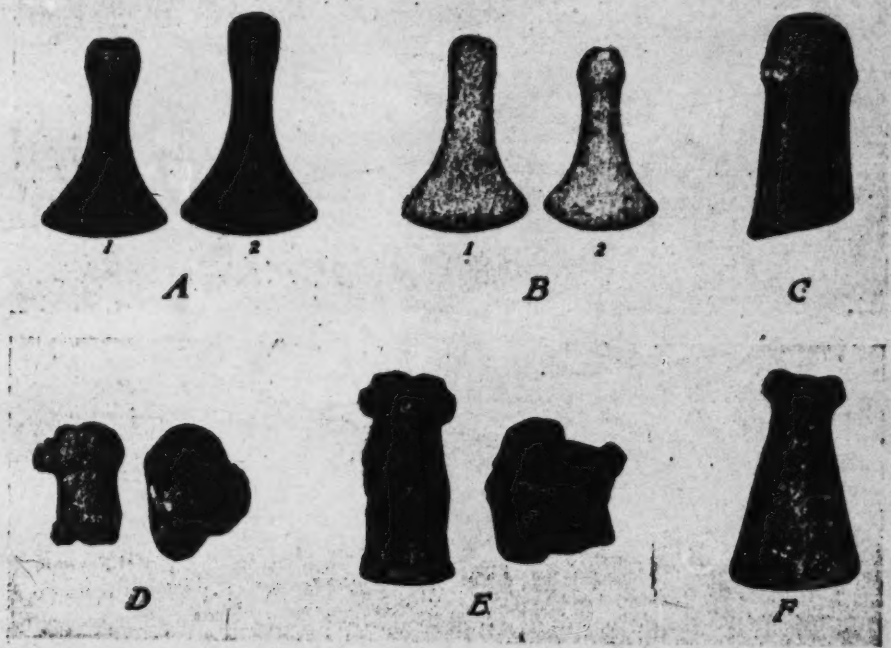


TOOL PATTERNS: A, MODERN COMMERCIAL PATTERNS FROM UA HUKA. FIGURE AT THE LEFT SHOWS FIRST STAGE OF MANUFACTURE; B, ANCIENT PATTERNS, OPU TYPE.

[end plate 12]



STONE POUNDERS: *A*, PHALLIC POUNDERS OF NORMAL FORM, SIDE AND END VIEWS; *B*, PHALLIC POUNDERS OF UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, HEAD AND NECK OF PHALLIC POUNDER OF UNUSUAL FORM; *D*, HEAD AND NECK OF CONICAL POUNDER, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *E*, DOUBLE HEADED CONICAL POUNDER, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *F*, UNCARVED CONICAL POUNDER.

[End plate 13]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Museum, Vaulted VIII, Plate LIII

Bernice P. Bishop Museum

THE BISHOP MUSEUM PUBLISHING ROOM CHAPTER 1921

BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU, TERRITORY OF HAWAII

[end plate 14]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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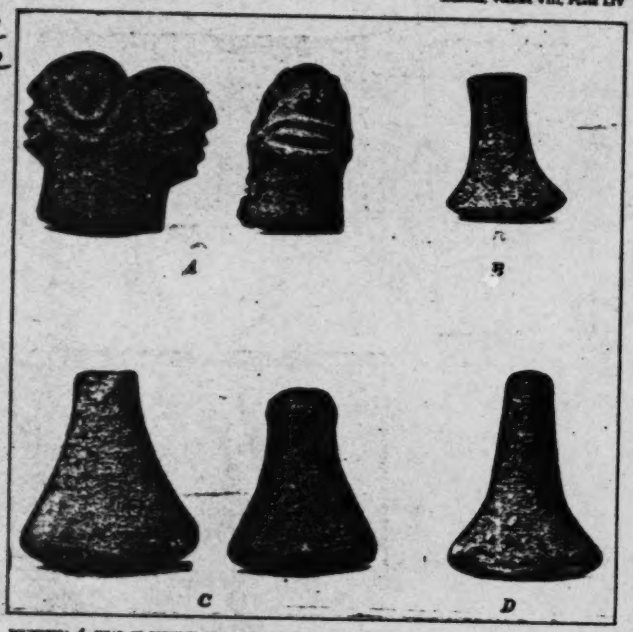
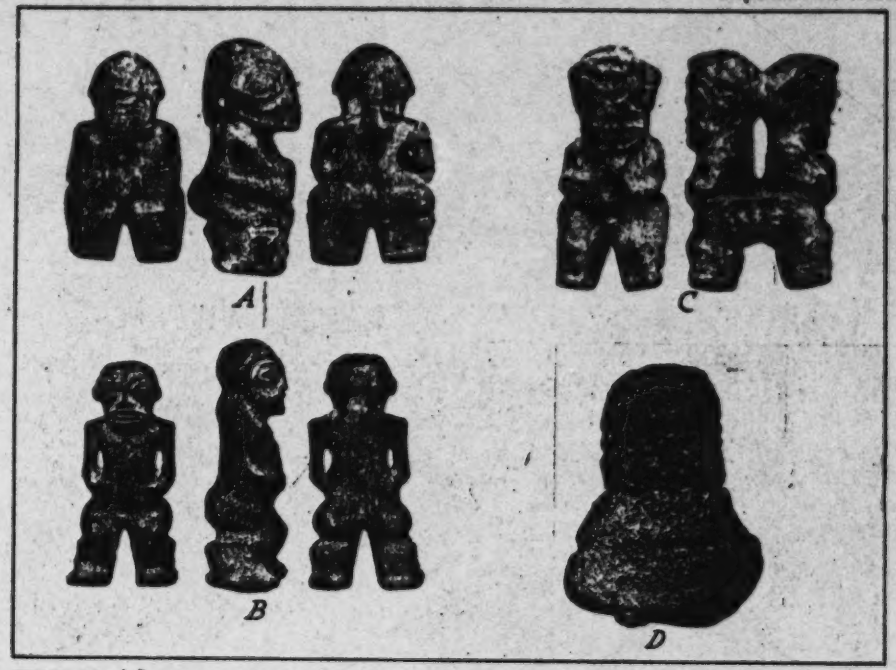


POUNDERS: *A*, HEAD OF POUNDER OF UNUSUAL TYPE, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, CHILD'S POUNDER; *C*, POUNDERS FOR INFANTS' FOOD; *D*, SALT POUNDER.

[end plate 15]



STONE CARVINGS: *A*, *B*, STONE FIGURES, FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *C*, IVORY FIGURE, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *D*, OBJECT OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE, HEADS CARVED ON UPPER END.

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[End plate 16]

7: Linton X-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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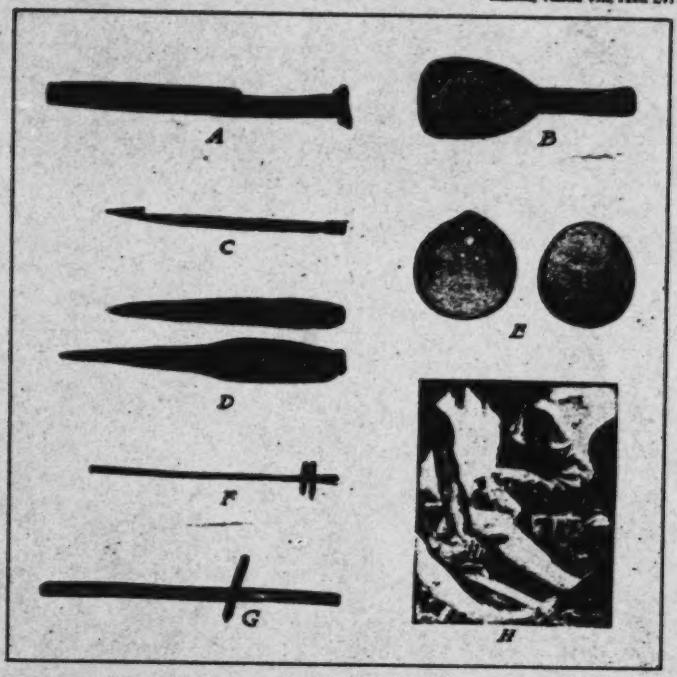

[372]

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS: *A*, SHARK SKIN RASP; *B*, MALLET; *C*, TRATCHING NEEDLE; *D*, TOOLS FOR MAKING COPRA; *E*, BOWLS OF LARGE SPOONS OR LADLES; *F*, COTTON SEED EXTRACTOR; *G*, FIRE STICKS; *H*, METHOD OF USING FIRE STICKS.

[end plate 17]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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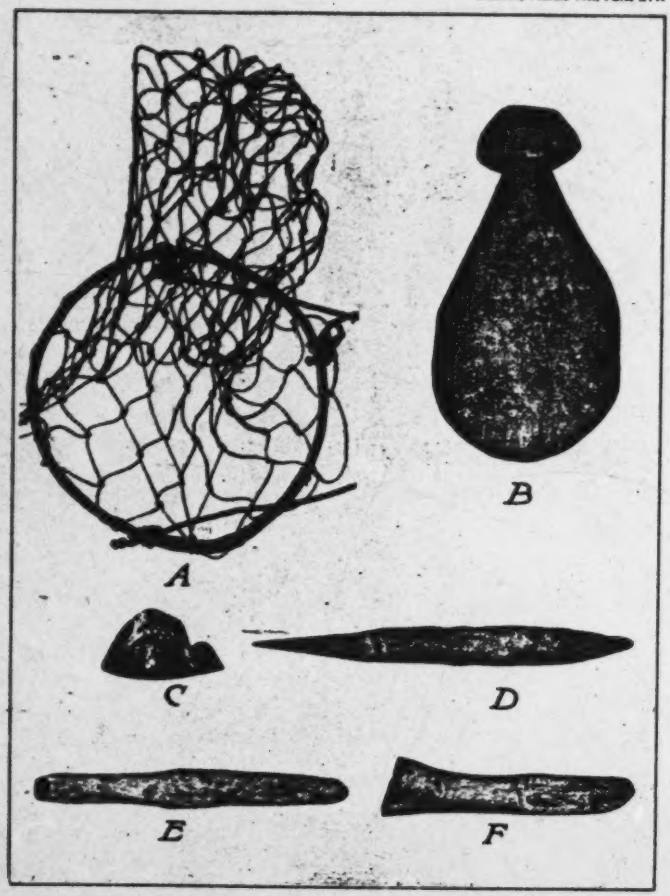

ARTICLES USED IN PREPARING BREADFRUIT: *A*, NET FOR CARRYING FRUIT; *B*, SPLITTER; *C*, PEELER; *D*, STICK FOR PIERCING FRUIT; *E*, WOODEN KNIFE; *F*, BONE KNIFE FOR PEELING COOKED FRUIT.

[end plate 18

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[531]

COCOANUT SHELL AND GOURD CONTAINERS: *A*, COCOANUT BOTTLE — (1) WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, (2) WITH HANDLE MADE FROM SHELL, (3) WITH DECORATED CORD HANDLE; *B*, COCOANUT BOTTLE FOR OIL; *C*, COCOANUT BOTTLE FOR WATER; *D*, CARVED COCOANUT CUPS; *E*, GOURD CONTAINERS (BUE); *F*, STOPPERS FOR GOURD CONTAINERS.

[end plate 19]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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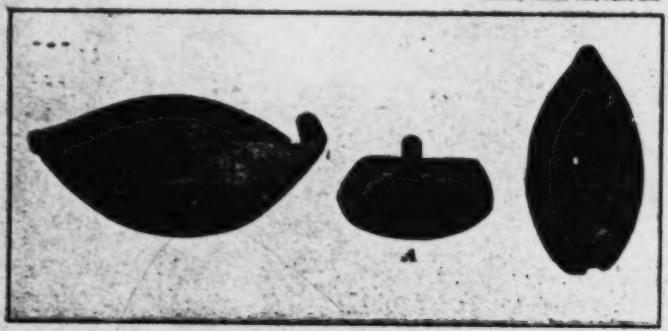

WOODEN CONTAINERS: *A*, LARGE BOX, VIEWS OF SIDE, END AND INSIDE OF LID; *B*, CARVED BOX, UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, SMALL BOX; *D*, BOWL WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *E*, BOWL WITH HANDLE, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *F*, CARVED BOWLS, BOTTOM VIEWS.

[end plate 22]

7: Lamon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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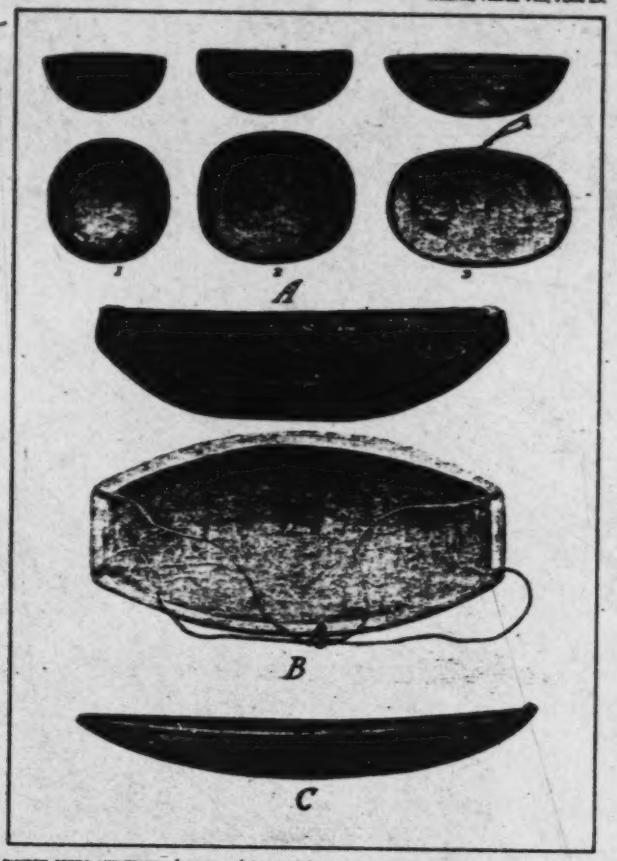

WOODEN BOWLS AND TRAYS: *A*, BOWLS—(2) AND (3) KAVA BOWLS, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, TOPS, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *C*, LARGE OVAL DISH OR TRAY.

[end plate 21]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1921 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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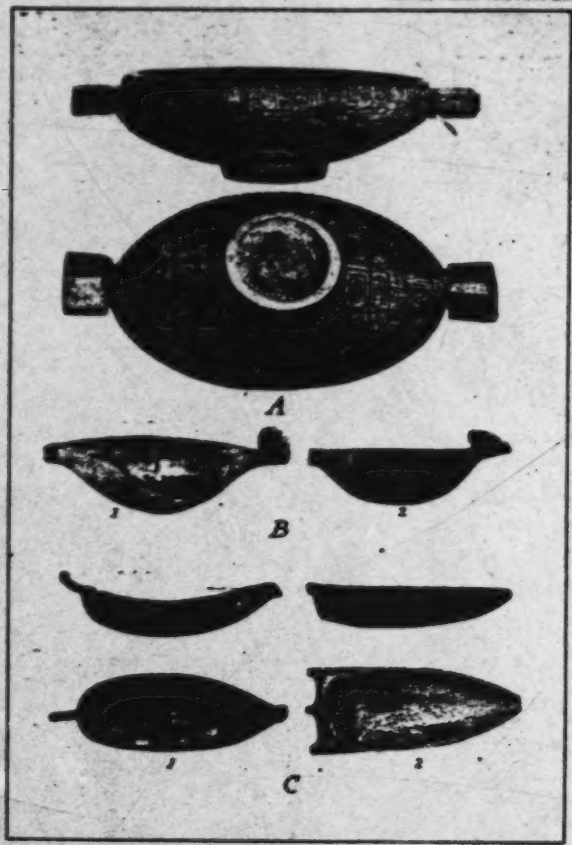

WOODEN DISHES AND BOWLS: *A*, OVAL DISH WITH BASE, SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEWS; *B*, SMALL BOWLS; *C*, KAVA BOWLS OF UNUSUAL FORM, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS.

[end plate 23]

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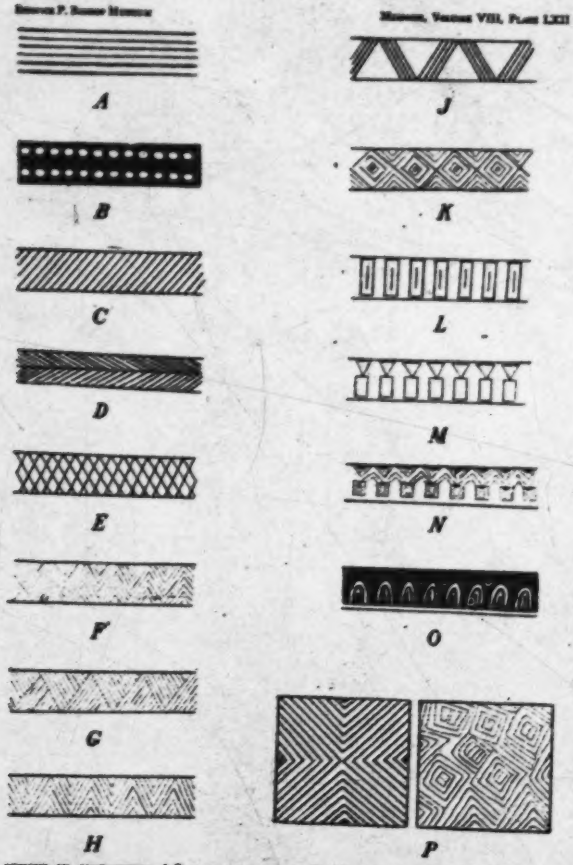

DESIGNS ON CONTAINERS: A-O, BASED DECORATIONS; P, Q, DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS.

[end plate 23]

DESIGN ELEMENTS AND ART MOTIFS: *A*, 1-34, DESIGN ELEMENTS; *B*, 1-3, ART MOTIFS.

[end plate 24]

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7: Lisboa E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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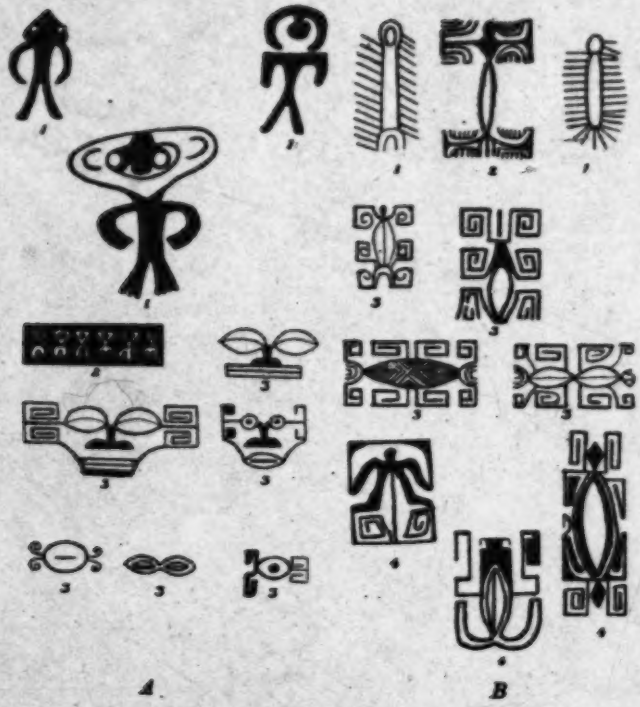

REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES: A, 1-3, HUMAN FIGURES; B, 1-4, ANIMAL FIGURES.

[end plate 25]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 GX6 Marquesas GX6

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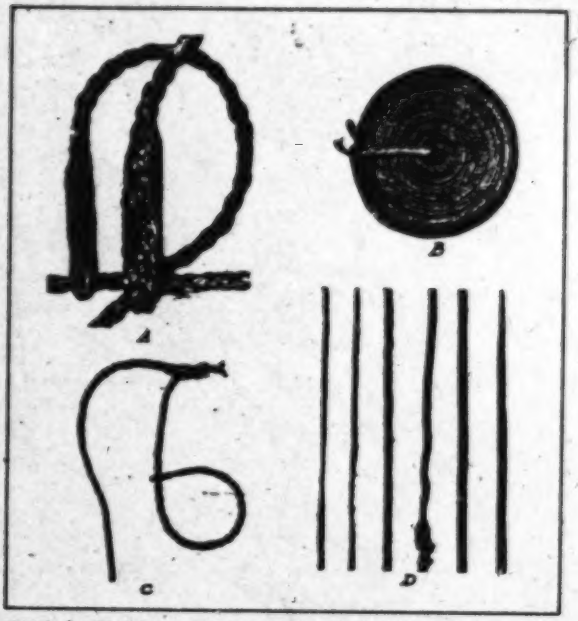
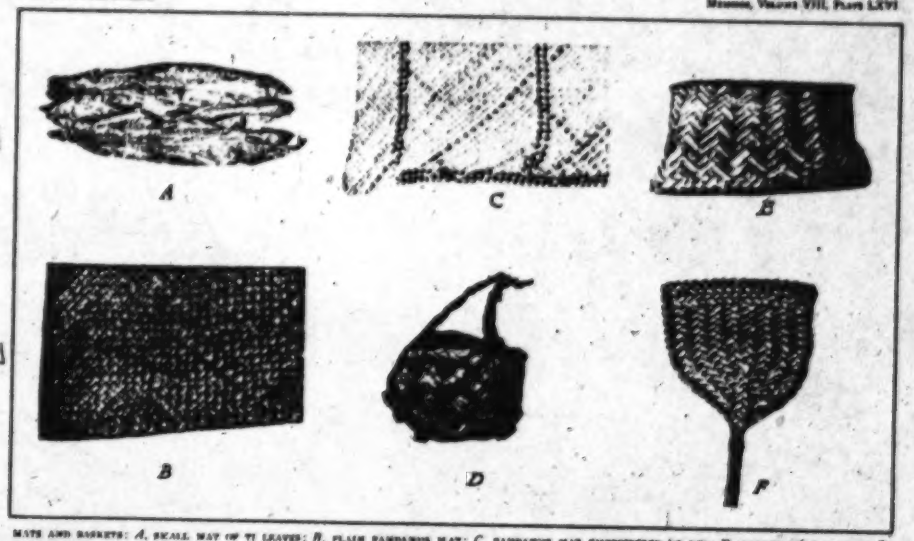


COMBS: A, LOOPS OF PIG TETHERS SHOWING KINDS OF PLAITING; B, ROLL OF CORD USED FOR SEWING; C, PIG TETHER OF FAU BARK; D, OBSOLETE FISH COMB.

[end plate 26]



MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF TI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, MÉAOO TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKETE TYPE; *F*, FAN OF BASKET, WEAVE—TYPE IN USE IN 1920.

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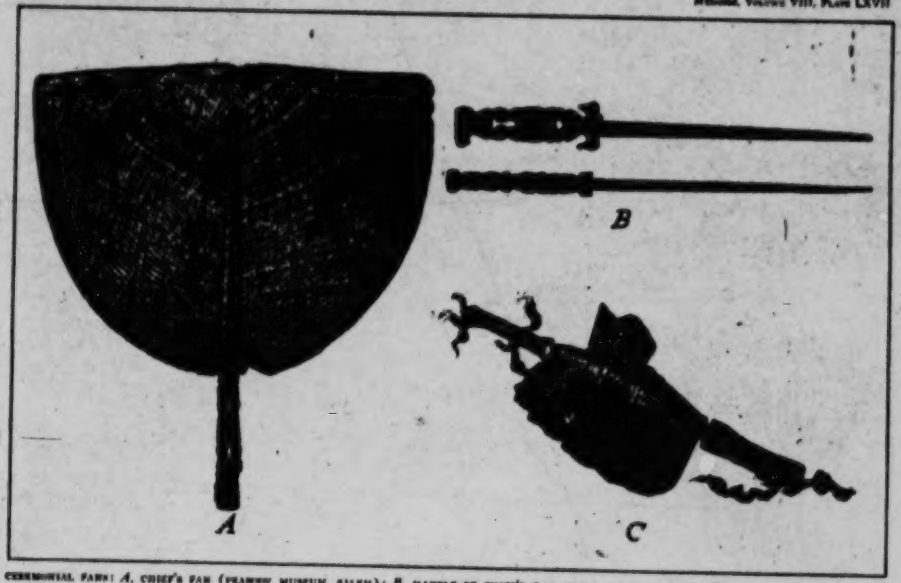
End plate 27



CEREMONIAL FANS: *A*, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *C*, TORTOISE SHELL FAN USED BY EMBALMERS.

[end plate 25]

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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STILTS: A, WOODEN STILTS; B, DECORATED STILT STEPS, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 29]

T: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OK6 Marquesas OV6

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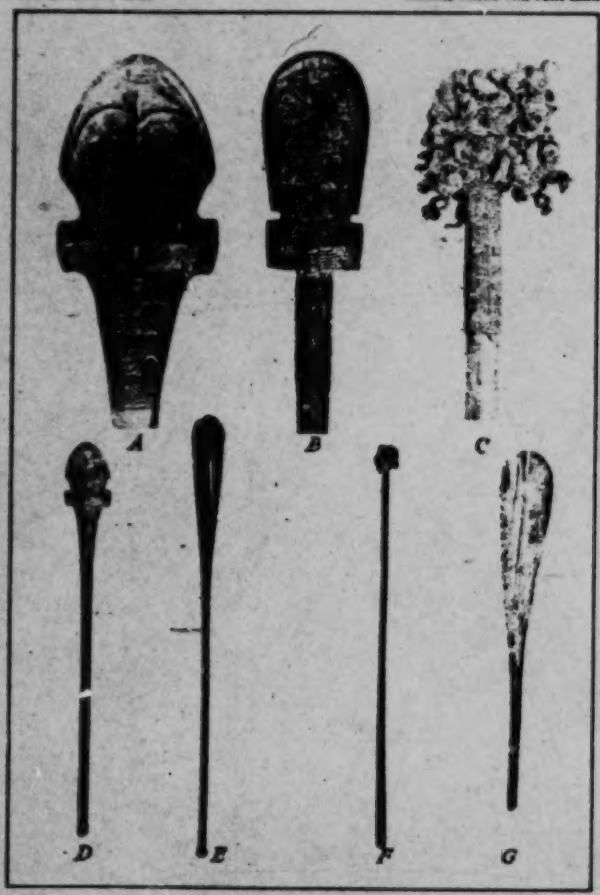
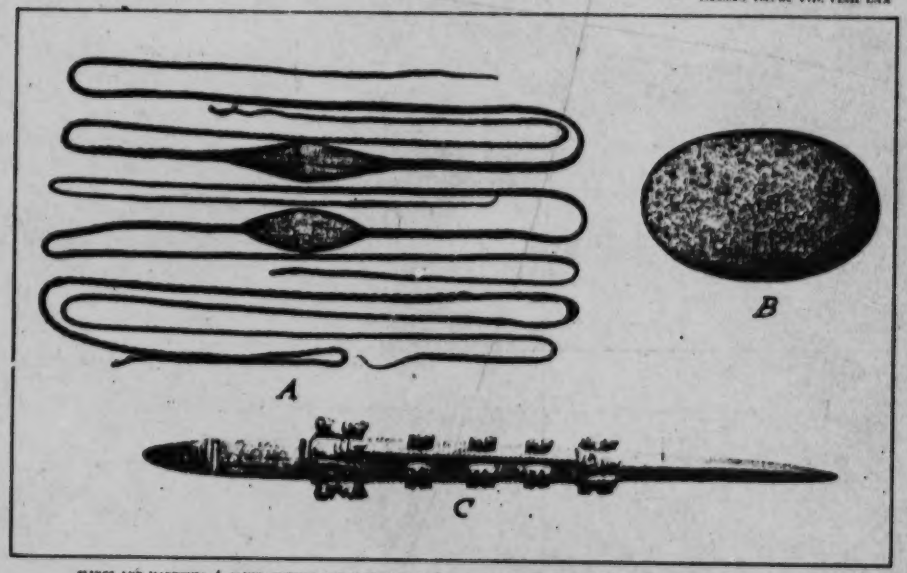


CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF "LEG TU"; *B*, HEAD OF MOHEKA TU; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, TU, FRONT VIEW; *E*, TOHANU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (REDUCED).

[end plate 30]



SLINGS AND HARPOON: *A*, SLING, OUTSIDE AND INSIDE VIEWS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, SLING STONE; *C*, HEAD OF HARPOON (UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM).

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[End plate 31]

7: Lemon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OCM Marquette OCM

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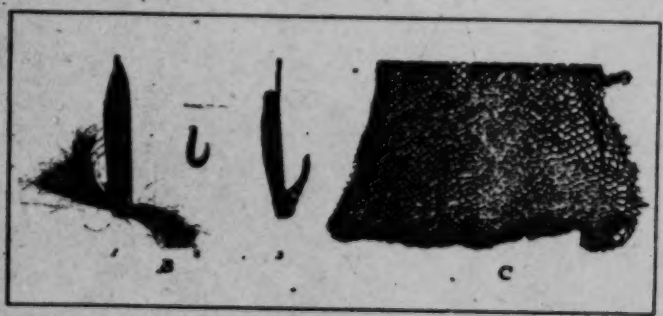

FISHING APPLIANCES: *A*, PEARL SHELL FISH HOOKS (PLANCON MEMOIRS, SALEM); *B*, COMPOSITE HOOKS OF SHELL AND OF BONE AND SHELL; *C*, SMALL FISH NET.

[end plate 32]

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, DRUMS; *B*, CARIB SHELL TRUMPET; *C*, COHEN SHELL TRUMPET; *D*, WOMEN TRUMPET; *E*, MUSICAL BOW.

[End plate 33]

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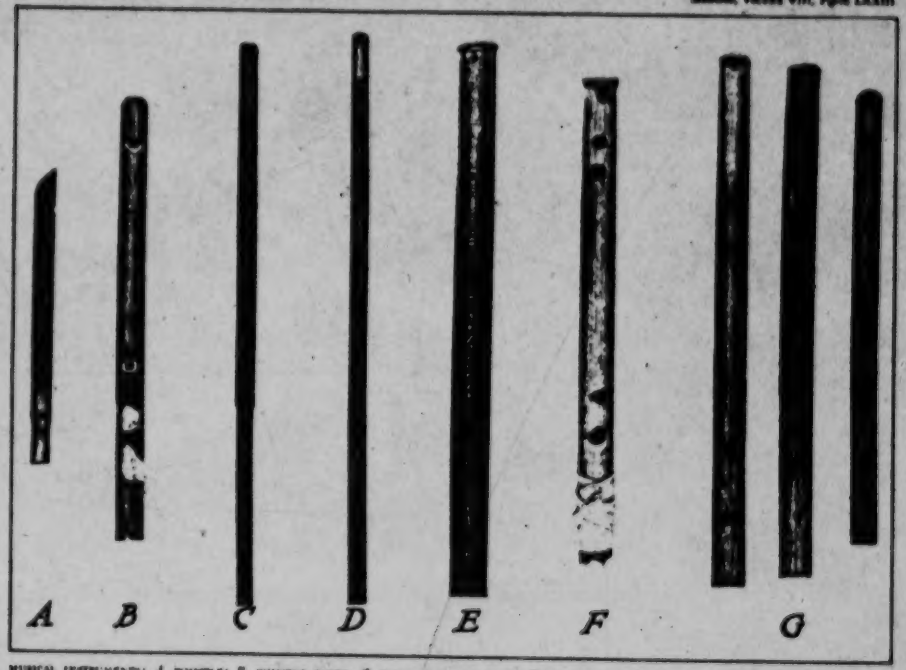

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, WHISTLE; *B*, WHISTLE FLUTE; *C*, TUNABLE MOUTH FLUTE; *D*, MOUTH FLUTE (PUAKAHAU) ORDINARY FORM; *E*, DECORATED NOSE FLUTE; *F*, NOSE FLUTE, UNUSUAL FORM (LOCATION DOUBTFUL); *G*, NOSE FLUTE, ORDINARY FORM.

[end plate 34]

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T. Lemm E-5 (1922-1923) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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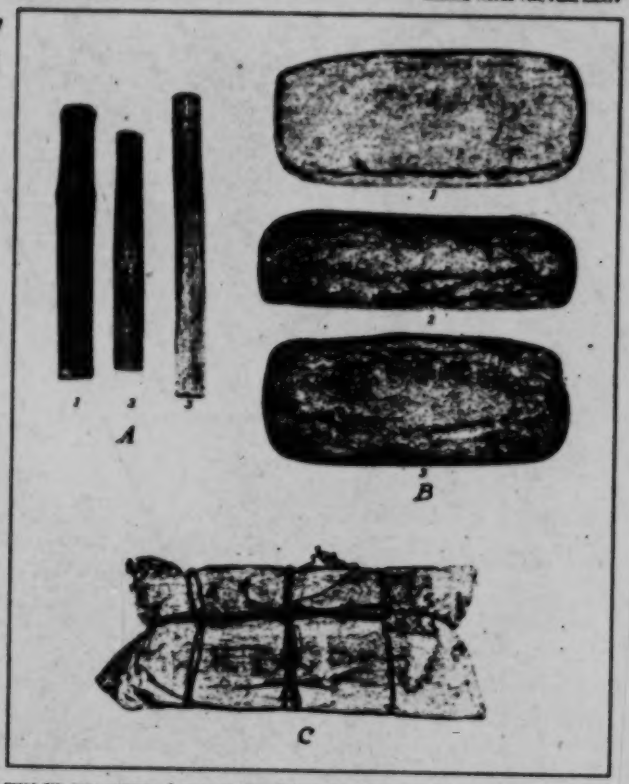

TOOLS FOR TAPA MAKING: *A*, TAPA BEATERS—(1) SQUARE WITH HANDLE, (2) SQUARE WITHOUT HANDLE, (3) ROUND; *B*, STONE TAPA ANVIL—(1) TOP VIEW, (2) SIDE VIEW, (3) BOTTOM VIEW; *C*, BUNDLE OF FINISHED TAPA.

[end plate 35]

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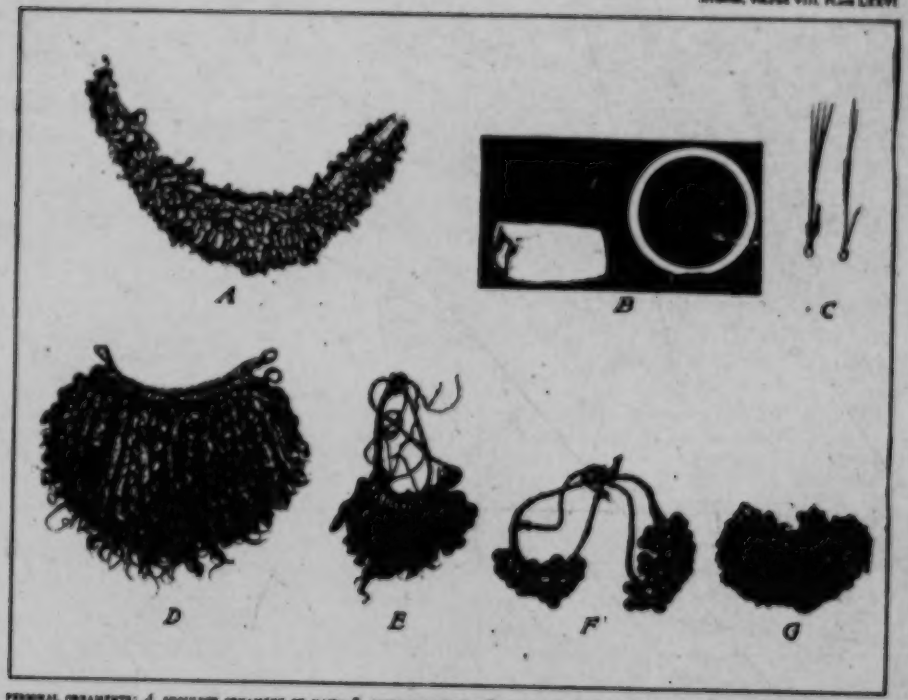
INSTRUMENTS FOR PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION: *A*, TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS—(1) COCOANUT CUP CONTAINING PIGMENT, (2) GUMS OF SUWAN AND BIRD BONE, (3) SANDAL BOX IN WHICH COMBS ARE KEPT; *B*, EAR PIERCERS OF BONE AND TORTOISE SHELL.

[end plate 36]



PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: *A*, GOOGLING ORNAMENT OF HAIR; *B*, SHELL BRACELETS; *C*, FINGER ORNAMENTS OF TROPIC BIRD FEATHERS; *D*, ORNAMENT OF HAIR FOR WAIST OR SHOULDERS; *E*, ORNAMENTS OF HAIR FOR THE GODS; *F*, WRIST ORNAMENTS OF LARGE SEEDS; *G*, WRIST ORNAMENT OF ANGUS PECATORIUS SEEDS. (*C*, *F*, *G*, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM.)

[end plate 37]

To Lantern E-5 (1928-1931) 1933 OSU Marquess CRS

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7: Linton K-5 [1920-1921] 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: A, NECKLACE OF PLAITED BAND; B, NECKLACE OF PORPOISE TEETH AND SHELL.

[end plate 38]

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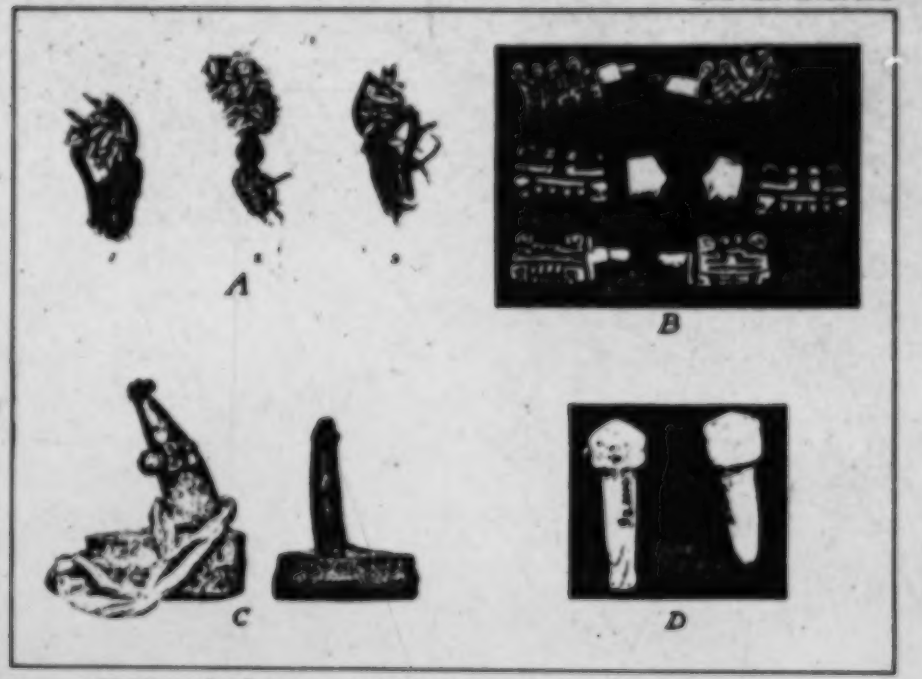
PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: *A*, WHALE'S TOOTH; *B*, BRASS ORNAMENTS OF PEARL SHELL, THE ONE ON THE RIGHT ATTACHED TO A THIRD SIMILAR OF SEASHED HAIR (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *C*, SHIRTS OF VARIOUS TYPES (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).

[End plate 39]



THE OREGONIANS: *A* AND *B*, OREGONIANS USED BY WOMEN; *C*, OREGONIANS USED BY MEN; *D*, OREGONIANS OF SIMPLE FORM.

[end plate 40]

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HEADDRESSES: *A*, HEADDRESS OF LONG FEATHERS—1 AND 2 ARE TA'AVAIKA, 3 IS A PLUME OF TROPIC-BIRD FEATHERS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, PAREU'A, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 41]

T: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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HEADDRESSES: *A*, PAEKAHA, CROWN OF TORTOISE SHELL AND CONCH SHELL; *B*, PAEKAHA, CLOSE VIEW OF VERY OLD SPECIMEN SHOWING CARVED TORTOISE SHELL PLAQUES; *C*, UHIKAHA, ORNAMENT OF PLAIT AND TORTOISE SHELL OF A PLAITED BAND, REAR VIEW.

[end plate 42]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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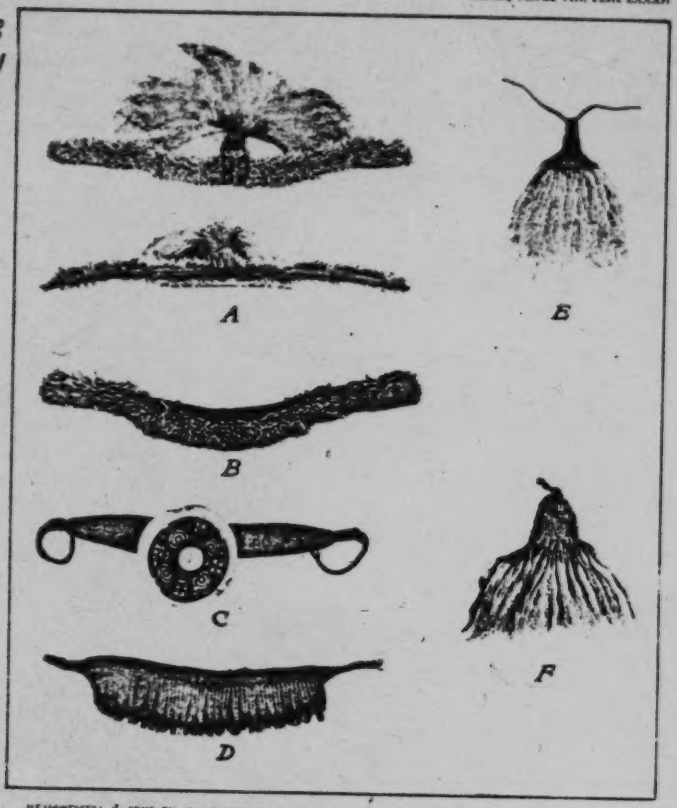

HEADDRESSES: *A*, PEUE EI, ORNAMENT OF PORPOISE TEETH WITH PAVABINA ORNAMENT OF WHITE BEARD ATTACHED, FRONT AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, PEUE EI MADE OF PIECES OF HUMAN BONE IN IMITATION OF TEETH; *C*, UHIKANA, HEAD ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL, FRONT VIEW (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *D*, HEAD-BAND OF BEADED COCONUT FIBER (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *E* AND *F*, PAVABINA, (*F*, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).

[end plate 43]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXé Marquesas OXé

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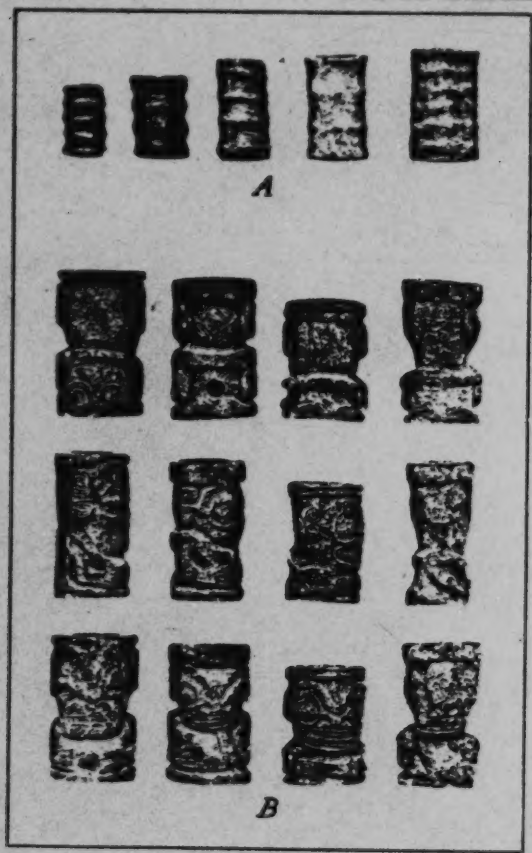

HAIR ORNAMENTS: *A*, TUBES OF HUMAN BONE; *B*, CARVED TUBES OF HUMAN BONE.

[end plate 44]

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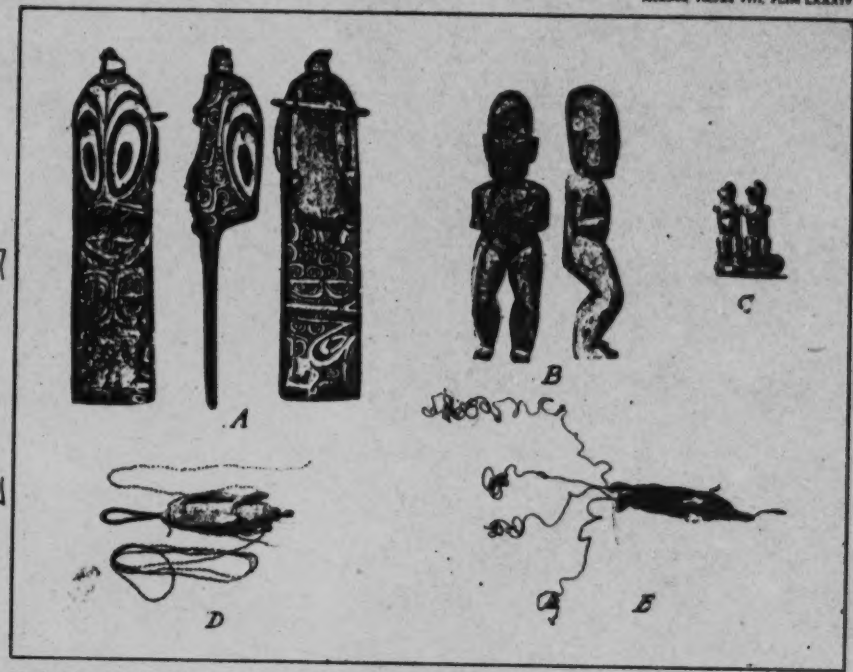

IMAGES AND STRING RECORDS: *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOODEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF TIKI WOOD (COURTESY OF MME. MALLIJUS); *D*, GENEALOGICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GEORGE LA GARDE); *E*, STRING RECORD USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

[end plate 45]

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TATTOOING IN THE MARQUESAS

BY
WILLOWDEAN CHATTERSON HANDY

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 1

WITH 38 PLATES

BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION
PUBLICATION NUMBER 3

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1922

[Title Page]
[P. 1]

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WILLOWDEAN CHATTERSON HANDY SERVED AS VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATE WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921. SHE HAS TAKEN SKILLFUL ADVANTAGE OF HER OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE AN UNUSUALLY COMPLETE AND INTIMATE RECORD OF TATTOOING DESIGNS.

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Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121
natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas
Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178]
and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens
of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to
demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice
of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly
accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history
of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176]
from one old *tukuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from
literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the
practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know
nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of ap-
preciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the
evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other
possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 304x
certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556
a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465
work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand
the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the
large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A
father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-
born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyri-
fera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tukuna*.
Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently,
guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to
the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures re-
quired; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over
again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely
covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration
necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

[p. 3]

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x304 556 465

naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

x304 556 561

While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

x304 714 622

Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokosta* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

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×304 clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must
[73] agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the
[56] father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

×304 A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal
15+ marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

×304 That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious sea-
58 sons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304x
definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 881
chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [841]
success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304x
with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343
tuhuna and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602
the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561]
forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

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*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

*304 262

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning. 304x 262

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki* (*patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice. 304x 463

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. [462] There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

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*304 Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had prepared the pigment *(hinu)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu* operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaah*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

*304 When the *tuhuna* arrived, he inging his instruments in a bamboo case seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(iwi heana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

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or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow. 304x 413

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou:* 304x [176] [533 539]

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[8] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[8] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x 304 Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the [533] operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

x 304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results [824] of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

x 304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

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festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view 304x them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones [534] *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* [533] or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done [262] (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must 304x be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty- 177 five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

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x304 [177] represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. 1) covering the crown of the head (Pl. v, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

x304 531 There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the 304x
southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the 531
vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C*), sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A*), while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B*). It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of 304x
this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that 531
prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following de- 184
tails are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen (11, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

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by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *artu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j)* but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d)* and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k),* with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c).* Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A,* 2, *a;* XXVIII, *D, E).* The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b);* the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *h;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h);* and the *mata hoata* (Pls. XXX, *e,* lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D,* thigh); and what I

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conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'i'i* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A, a;* XII, *A, B, D*). 304x 531 184

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other. It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times, consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON COCONUT BOWLS

[p.118]

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said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke,* distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B, b;* XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g;* XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f;* XXX, *d);* in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d;* possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C, b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E, b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E;* XVIII, *a).* It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D*, *a*). Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D*; XXXV, *c*).

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E*) are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B*; X, *A*, *2*, *a*; the *tava*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, *7*. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a*) and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K*). On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B*, *b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A*, *e*; XXI, *D*, *b*) and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A*, *b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

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304 531 184 to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e)*, would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A, c;* XVIII, *b;* XXXIV, *b;* XXXIII, *c;* XXIII, *B, f, a;* XXIII, *A, a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h;* XXX, *i);* and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B, a, b;* XIII, *C, c* and *d;* XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B, b)* and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a)*. Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e;* XXVI, *A, d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

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found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible 304x definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or 531 the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements 184 did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX) Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

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geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

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back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, 304x
back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of 531
the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the 184
present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, "*i te tiki*" means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living 304x
informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old 531
mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their 304x
significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the 531
body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the 552
body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *d*, left and right) zigzag; or in terms of

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304 the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ka'ava* (Pl. x, *B*,
531 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this
552 function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *h*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *k*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *kaka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

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aa fanaua	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
bei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
nihoniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
tamau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

(From drawings by the author except where otherwise indicated.) 304x 531

PLATE I.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED MAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

The patterns on half the body of Eotafa of Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa—the most fully tattooed man seen in the Marquesas by the author—the motives being brought out by painting them with black paint. Identical patterns on the unpainted half of the man's body do not appear in the photograph.

PLATE II.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED WOMAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

Typical modern patterns for women, on the body of Tuuakena at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa: *A*. Front and side view of face, showing lip and ear patterns. *B-E*. Front and rear views of legs showing patterns on the painted portions.

PLATE III.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'a ti'a pu:* 1. An unfinished example from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.—2. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *enata* motive *(a)*.—3. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing a half band on the forehead.—4. From Hokatu, Ua Huka, showing the motives *tiki ae (a), kikomata (b), tiki pu (c)*, and *pariho* (inset in *c*).—5. From Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing a band over one eye, *mata (a)*, and a mouth band, *nutu kaha (b)*.—6. From Vai Paee, Ua Huka, showing the motives *vahana ae (a), mata (b), nihoniho peata (c* left), name unknown *(c*, right), detail of *c* right *(e)*, and the *kikutu (d)*.—7. from Vai Paee, Ua Huka.—8. From Hane, Ua Huka.

PLATE IV.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'ati'a pu:* 1. From Omoa, Fatu Hiva.—2. From Hanavava, Fatu Hiva, showing on inter-band the *nihoniho peata* motive.—3. From Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. From A'akapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, showing detail of a chainlike design *(a)*.—6. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, the three bands here called as a whole *tou pae*.—7. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *mata (a), veo (b), kiki pu (c), enata (d)*, detail of *b (e)*, detail of *d (f)*.—8. From Hooumi, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. From Haapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—10 and 11. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou.

PLATE V.—FACE AND HEAD PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of various styles of different periods: 1. From Hana Iapa, Hiva Oa, showing an unusually shaped eye band and an unfinished mouth band.—2. From Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing shoulder and chest patterns mounting the neck to join the face bands.—3. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou: an unfinished pattern, showing the probable sequence of execution—one eye being allowed to heal while half of the mouth was done, and so on.—4 From Ha'a Kuti, Ua Pou (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva, one of two extant examples showing the Nuku Hiva style of an oblique band *(pa heke)* crossing the face.—6. A former Hiva Oa pattern (after a description by an Atuona informant).—7. An old pattern for warriors of all the islands (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva.—8. A variant of the *ti'ati'a pu*, with nostrils covered, belonging to Fatu Hiva and called *ihu epo* (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. A pattern formerly used on the crown of the head (after a painting on a sculptured figure which once served as a house post in Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa, and is now in possession of M. Chadourne of Papeete, Tahiti.—10. The *hue epo* pattern, an example of a former style of the people of Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva (after a description by a Nuku Hiva informant).—11. An old Nuku Hiva pattern (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva).

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PLATE VI.—HEAD AND SHOULDER PATTERNS FOR WOMEN.

A. Typical face patterns for women: lip marks, *koniho*, and an ear pattern, *omuo puaina*.

B. A band across the arm just below the fall of the shoulder, on a woman of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).

C. Ear patterns: 1. On a woman of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva.—2. Of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing the *omuo puaina* design around the lobe and the *kea* design at the back of the ear.—3. Of Tai-pi Vai, showing the *puainga* design (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. Of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing around the lobe the *aniatiu (anihaupeko*, Dordillon) motive and back of the ear the *po'opito ua puaina*.—5. Of Hiva Oa.—6. A woman's pattern on a man of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa—a rare occurrence.

PLATE VII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand.—2. The palm, showing the *pariho* motive on the underwrist around the palm, the *mata (a)*, the *tamau (b)*, and the *pariho (c)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the middle finger, the *pihau (tumu ima*, Langsdorff) *(a)* and the *mata (b)*.—2. The underwrist

PLATE VIII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM NUKU HIVA AND HIVA OA.

A. On a man of Nuku Hiva.

B. On a woman of Hiva Oa, showing the *taina vou* motive between the thumb and index finger, *e tua poou (a)*, *ti'i kao (b)*, and the *pua niho (c)* around the palm.

PLATE IX.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. An old pattern of Fatu Hiva called *kohi'u* (after a drawing made by an old *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva), showing finger motives, *mata va'u*; finger and upper hand units inclusive, *nutu kaha*; *po'i'i (a)*; *kea po'i'i (b)*; *hei po'i'i (c)*; and *hei ta'avaha (d)* around the palm.

B. On the left hand of a woman of Tahu Ata (for the design on her right hand see Plate *X, A)*, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the fingers; the *po'i'i (a)*, *Pohu (b)*, and the *eia va'u (c)*.

C. On a woman of Hiva Oa, done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand showing the central oval, the *po'i'i* motive; the *poka'a* at the base of the fingers and the thumb; *matua hee moa (a)*, *ama opea* between the thumb and index finger; and the *fanaua (b, c.)*.—2. The palm showing the *fanaua* motive around the palm, the *po'i'i (a)*, and the *piaotiu (b)*.

PLATE X.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back of the hand, showing the *ka'ava* motive at the base of the middle finger to the wrist, *kou'u (a)*, *poka'a (b)*, *mohovaha (c)*, and the *mata (d)*.—2. The underwrist, *koua'ehi (a)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata. (The tattooing was done by the same *tuhuna* whose work is shown in Plates *X, A* and *IX, B.)* 1. The back, showing the motives *papua (a)*, *e tua poou (b)*, *paka (c)*, *ka'ava* (center), *fanaua (e)*, *Pohu (f)*, and *ka'ake (g)*.—2 Underwrist, showing the motives *pua niho* around the palm; *papua ou ti (b)*, and the *vui o Kena (c)*.

PLATE XI.—HAND PATTERNS. VARIANT MOTIVES.

A. Principal units on the hand of a woman of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *mata putona (a)*, *kea (b)*, and the *mata io (c)*. (After a sketch by E. S. Handy.)

B. A representation of a bird on the underwrist of a woman of Nuku Hiva.

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C. Pattern on two men of Ua Pou.
D. On a man of Hiva Oa, tattooing done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy). 304x 531
E. On the underwrist of a woman of Hiva Oa, an unusual *kea* motive.

PLATE XII.—ARM AND BREAST PATTERNS FOR MEN. EVOLUTIONARY TYPES.

A. An old style of Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing breast stripes, *ti'i keke*.
B. An old style of Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy from the description of an artist of Fatu Hiva).
C. Detailed drawing of *A*, showing the motives *kea (a)*, the *etua pooi (b)*, the *poka'a* or *pahito (c)*, *fa'amana (d)*, *ipu ao (e)*, and the *vi'i po'i'i (d* and *e)*.
D. The present style: under-arm, *ipu oto;* shoulder disk, *puha puaka;* chest, *ha ma'chu*.
E. Detailed drawings of *B* showing the motives *nikoniho (a)*, *po'i'i (b, c)*.

PLATE XIII.—ARM PATTERNS FOR MEN. TYPICAL MODERN MOTIVES, *ipu oto*.

A. On a man of Ua Huka.
B. On three men of Ua Pou showing a variant of the armpit motive, the *poka'a (a)*, and the *enata (b)*. Three pairs of squarish ovals, similar to those in *A* complete this arm pattern.
C. On a man of Fatu Hiva showing the motives *puaina (a); ti'i o'oha (b);* the three pairs of ovals, *ipu oto;* the arm-pit unit, *ipu ao; poka'a (c);* and *enata (d)*.

PLATE XIV.—BODY PATTERNS FOR MEN. OLD AND NEW TYPES.

A. An unfinished example from Nuku Hiva, typical of all islands at the present time, showing the arm-pit design, *ipu katu* and chest, *teeva*.
B. An old style in back and side patterns from Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing back patches, *pahito; ipu oto (a); pahito (b); mata (c); mata (d); koha tua (e)*, a girdle and leg stripe.
C. An unfinished back pattern, *peka tua*, from Nuku Hiva but common to all the Marquesas islands. On Ua Pou this pattern is called *moho*.

PLATE XV.—A BACK PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A girdle on a chiefess of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *ka'ake (a)*, *mata (b)*, and *fanana (c)*.

PLATE XVI.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva: *koniho (a)*, *mata hoata (b)*, *vai ta keetu (c)*, *pana'o (d)*, *ikeike (e)*, *hei po'i'i (f)*, *akaaka fa'a (g)*, *fa'a mana (h)* worn on the inner ankle, *mata omo'e (i)* worn on the inside of the knee, like the present *pahito*, *puha tahi (j)* worn below the knee on the inside of the leg, *eia va'u (k)* worn on the inside of the calf, *nutu haha (l)*, *tava (m)* worn on the inside of the leg above the ankle (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

The only surviving example, so far as known, of an old style of Nuku Hiva.
A. Front and side views of the left leg.
B. Back and side views of the right leg.

PLATE XVIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the motives shown in Plate XVII, *A*.

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PLATE XIX.—DETAILED STUDIES OF A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Of motives in Plate XVII, *B.*

B. Back thigh units of both legs of patterns in Plate XVII.

C. Ankle motives of the right leg of pattern in Plate XVII, the rest of the ankle and foot pattern being identical with those of the left.

PLATE XX.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the right leg motives of an old style of Ua Pou, the only surviving example to be found today.

A. Front: *paha (a), mata io (b), mahomoho (c), vai me'ama (d), hoou (e).*

B. Back: *po'i'i (a), ha'ahe (b), haha'a (c), mata io (d), vai me'ama (e), pahiei (f), pu (g).*

PLATE XXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the left leg motives of the preceding example:

A. Front, knee to ankle: *mata (a), ha'ahe (b), pahiei (c), vai me'ama (d).*

B. Back, knee to ankle: *ha'ahe (a), mata io (b), vai me'ama (c).*

C. General view of the left leg.

D. Ankle band.

E. General view of the right leg, of which detail is shown in Plate XX.

PLATE XXII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. THE MODERN TYPE.

Typical motives indicating the color of the tattooing as it appears on the skin.

A. Back pattern: *vai pahu (a,* left), *ha'ahe (a,* center), *mata hoata (b), ha'ahe (c), mata hoata (d), ipu ani (e), vai o Kena (f), mata hoata (g), ha'ahe (h)* and *(j), Pohu (i), ipu ani (k,* center), *ha'ahe (k,* left and right).

B. Front pattern: *mata hoata (a), po'ohoho (b,* left and right), *hea (b,* center), *ha'ahe (c,* left and right), *pahito (d,* left and right), *ipu ani (d,* center), *mata mei nei (e), ha'ahe (f,* left and right), *vai o Kena,* sometimes called *potia hue* or *peke ou mei (f,* center), *Pohu (g,* center), *mata hoata (h), pahito (i* and *j,* left and right), *ha'ahe (i* and *j,* center), *ipu ani (k), mata hoata (l), etua poou,* sometimes *Pohu (m).*

PLATE XXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. A VARIANT ARRANGEMENT ON A WOMAN OF PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

A. Front pattern: *ha'ahe (a,* left and right), *mata hoata (a,* center), *aniatiu (b,* left and right), *ha'ahe (b,* center), *kopiko (d,* left and right), *po'i'i (d,* center), *ha'ahe (e,* left and right), *mata hoata (f,* center), *ha'ahe (g), etua poou (h), mata hoata (i), pahito (j,* left and right), *pahito (k,* left and right), *ha'ahe (j* and *k,* center), *po'i'i (l), mata hoata (m).*

B. Back pattern: *mata hoata (a), ha'ghe (b), mata hoata (c), po'i'i (d), ha'ahe (e), mata hoata (f), ha'ahe (g), pae niho (h,* around the foot).

PLATE XXIV.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

A and *C.* Detail of upper thigh motives omitted from the leg but burned instead upon bamboo.

B. A general view showing how the motives in Plate XXIII are arranged on the leg.

PLATE XXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Front and rear views of an elaborate leg pattern from Pau Ma'u, showing a combination of the fine motives and heavy patches usually worn by men.

PLATE XXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Detailed study of the motives in the front pattern of Plate XXV: *nutu haha (a-e* inclusive), *hea (a,* center), *ha'ahe (b), hea (c,* center), *pahito (d,* left

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and right), *po'i'i (d*, center), *mata hoata (e), tu'u po'o*, sometimes *vai o Kena* on Fatu Hiva *(f), vai o Kena (g, center), ka'ake (g*, left and right), *mata hoata (h), pahito (i* and *j*, left and right), *ka'ake* and *peke ou mei (i* and *j*, center), *po'i'i (k), mata hoata (l), tu'u po'o (m)*. 304X 531

B. Back pattern: *oniho (a), paka (b), pahito (c), papua (d), pahito (e), mata hoata (f), po'i'i (g), iti'iti'i (h), mata hoata (i), ka'ake (j* and *l), peke ou mei (k), ka'ake (m*, left and right), *po'i'i (m*, center).

PLATE XXVII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. VARIANTS.

A, B, and *C. Nutu kaha*, variations of the thigh pattern.
D. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Nuku Hiva.
E. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. Oniho, a band outlining the sole of the foot of a woman of Ua Huka.

PLATE XXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. OTHER VARIATIONS.

A. An elaborate *po'i'i* on the knee of a woman of Tahu Ata.
B. A front shin pattern of unusual arrangement and combination.
[Note the use of the *vai o Kena* on its side *(a*, center), and the combination of *mata* and *vai o Kena (b)*.]
C. A variant of the *aniatiu* of Plate XXIII, *A:* left and right *(b* and *c)*.
D. Crude representations of the *pa'a'oa* (fish) found on the knees of a woman of Tahu Ata.
E. An upper thigh motive, *puhi*, on a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. An unusual extension of the *ka'ake (a)*, a variant of Plate XXIII, *A, h*, found on a woman of Ua Huna; a binding motive *(b)* from Ua Huka, a variant of the *iti'iti'i* of Plate XXVI, *B, h*.

PLATE XXIX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Nuku Hiva: the *kohe ta*, or sword motive, consisting of a girdle across the back and a stripe down the side of the leg *(a, b), hikuhiku atu (b), pua hitu (c), pahito (d), huetai (e), po'i'i (f), mata hoata (g)*, and the *ka'ake (h)*. (After drawings by an artist of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XXX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva): *aa fanaua*, worn on the upper front thigh *(a); mata hoata (b); pahito (c), vai o Kena (b* and *c)*, worn on the back of the leg below the bend of the knee; *papua enata (d)*, worn on the inside calf just above the ankle; *mata hoata (e)*, worn on the upper thigh alongside the *aa fanaua; ti'i hoehoe (f)*, worn on the bend of the knee; *paka'a (g)*, worn on the back of the calf; *nihoniho (h)*, worn on the inside calf; *ka'ake (i), pua hue* and *ikeike (j); pia'o tiu (k)*, worn around the ankle; *ti'i kakao (l)*, worn on the foot.

PLATE XXXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

The Nuku Hiva style of leg pattern, done by a *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva and found on only one man: ornamental band on the thigh, *puhi puha;* the heavy patches, *poi-poi io*.

PLATE XXXII.—LEG PATTERNS FOR MEN.

The Hiva Oa style, in vogue on all the islands at the time of the discontinuance of the art:

A. Side view of a leg with motives from Ua Huka. The buttock and inside front quarter of the leg pattern are lacking, as is usual in modern examples.
B. Front and side views of a leg with motives from Fatu Hiva, the inside front quarter of the leg pattern, below the knee, being present.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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C. Back view of a leg with motives from Ua Pou, the buttock pattern being present.

PLATE XXXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of Plate XXXII, *A*: *kohe ta* (*a*, *b*, and *c*), *kea* (*b*), *mata io* (*c*), *puto'o* (*d*), *hautupa* (*e*), *fatina* (*f*), *pahito* with *po'i'i* inset (*g*), *hikuhiku atu* (*h*), *pahito* (*i* and *j*), *auhoi* (*k*), *tapu vae* (*k* and *l*).

PLATE XXXIV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of motives on Plate XXXII, *B*: *kohe ta* (*a* and *b*); *puto'o* (*c*); *pahito* with *mata hoata*, *ka'ake*, and *tiki* insets (*d*); *mata vaho*, the half oval; *pua hue* (*e*); *fatina* (*f*); *pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets (*g*); *paka oto* (*h*, *i*, *j*); *hikuhiku atu* (*k*); *pahito*, with *mata* and *ka'ake* insets (*l*), *tapu vae* (*m*).

PLATE XXXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A detailed study of the motives of Plate XXXII, *C*: *kohe ta* (*a* and *b*); *tifa* (*c*), containing a *mata hoata*, *enata*, and a *kea* in the center at the bottom; *puto'o* (*d*); *pahito* (*e*); *fatina* with elaborate double rows of cross-barred teeth inset (*f*); *pahito* (*g*); *paka* (*h*), in place of the usual *hikuhiku atu*; *pahito* (*i*); *tapu vae* (*j*); *auhoi* (*k*).

PLATE XXXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

An elaborated pattern of the Hiva Oa style found at Ua Huka: *kohe tine* (*a-c*), complicated by two *mata io* (*b* and *c*), *puto'o*, lightened by a *mata io* inset (*d*), *pahito* broken by a *ka'ake* and a *po'i'i* inset (*f*).

PLATE XXXVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A more complicated pattern from Hiva Oa, rendered almost as lacelike as those for women by the numerous fine-line insets in the heavy patches: *puto'o* (*a*, *b*, *c*) with insets of cross-barred teeth, double rows of *tiki*, and a *vai o Kena*; *pahito* with *mata hoata*, *ka'ake*, and *po'i'i* insets (*d*); *fatina* with *mata* inset (*e*); *pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets (*f*); *hikuhiku atu* (*g*) with flourishes at the points; *pahito* (*h*), whose simple lines are almost lost in the elaborate insets of *vai o Kena* and *mata*.

PLATE XXXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

A. *Kohe ta* from Fatu Hiva.

B. A thigh pattern from Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy): *mata* (*a*), *hue ao* (*b*).

C. Two bands for the foot: *pia'otiu* and *hakao*.

D. An inside knee motive, *mata vaho*, from Fatu Hiva.

E and *F*. Ankle bone decorations, *auhoi*.

G. An ankle band from Fatu Hiva: *Tapu vae* (*a*); *hikuhiku atu* (*b*); *pahito* with *ka'ake*, *mata io*, and *tiki* insets (*c*).

H. An elaborated *pahito* from Fatu Hiva with *ka'ake*, *enata*, and *mata io* insets.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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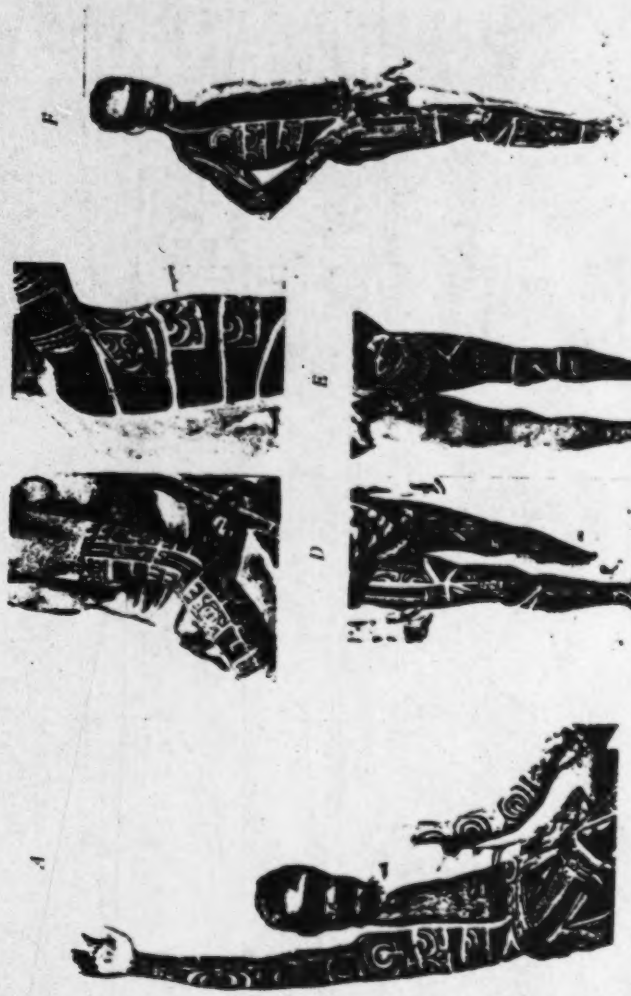

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 1]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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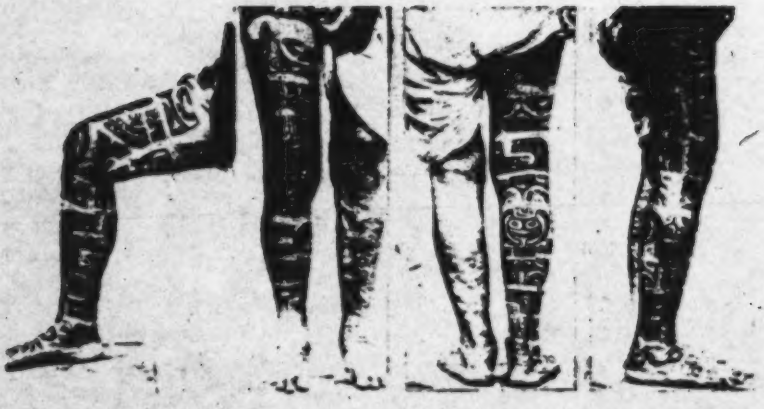

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 2]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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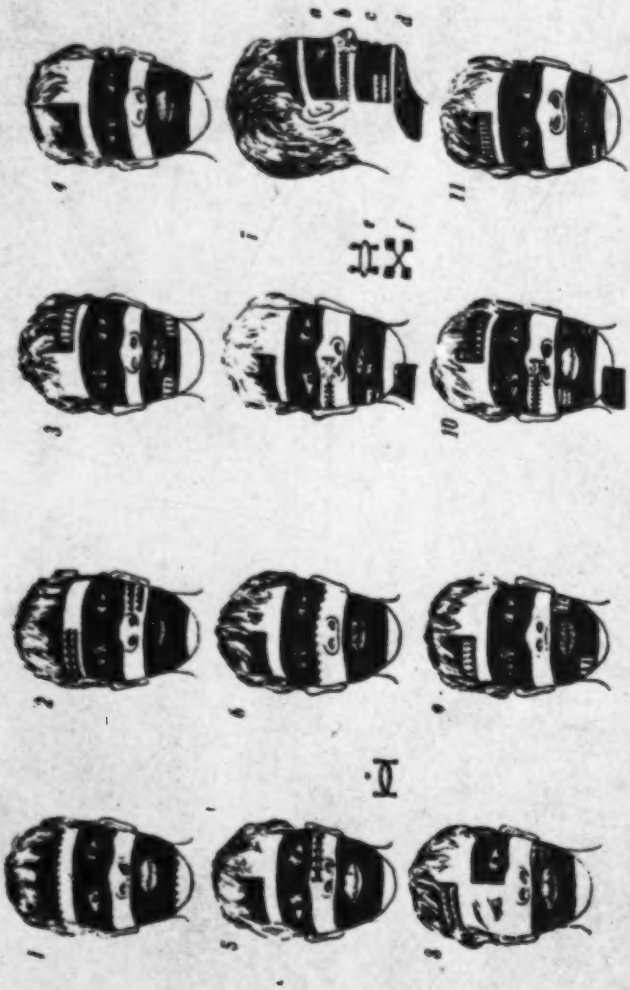

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

B: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[End Plate 5]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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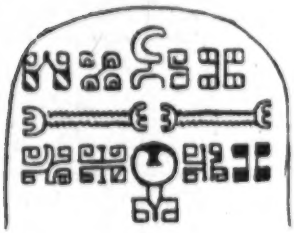

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 6]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 7]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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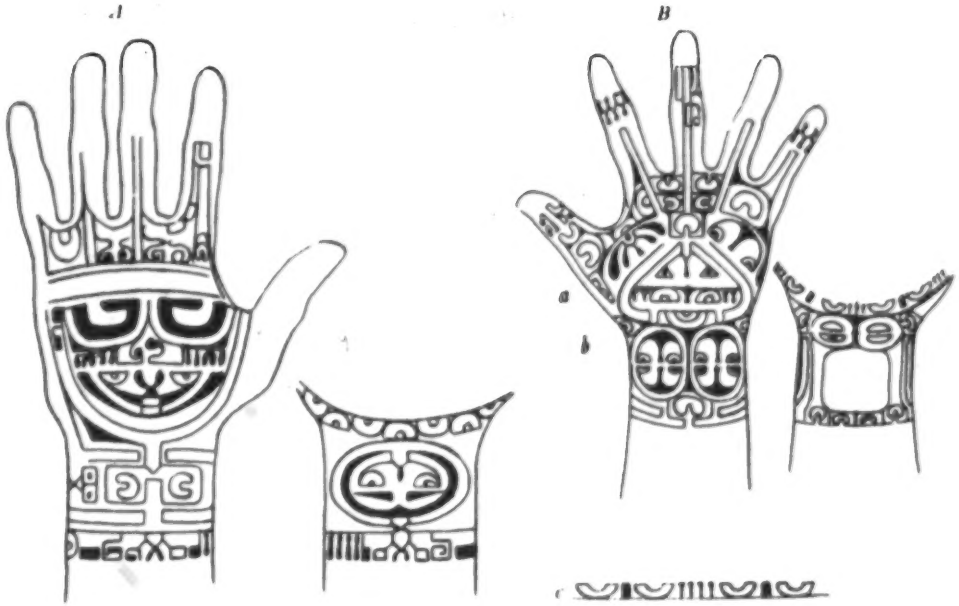

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 8

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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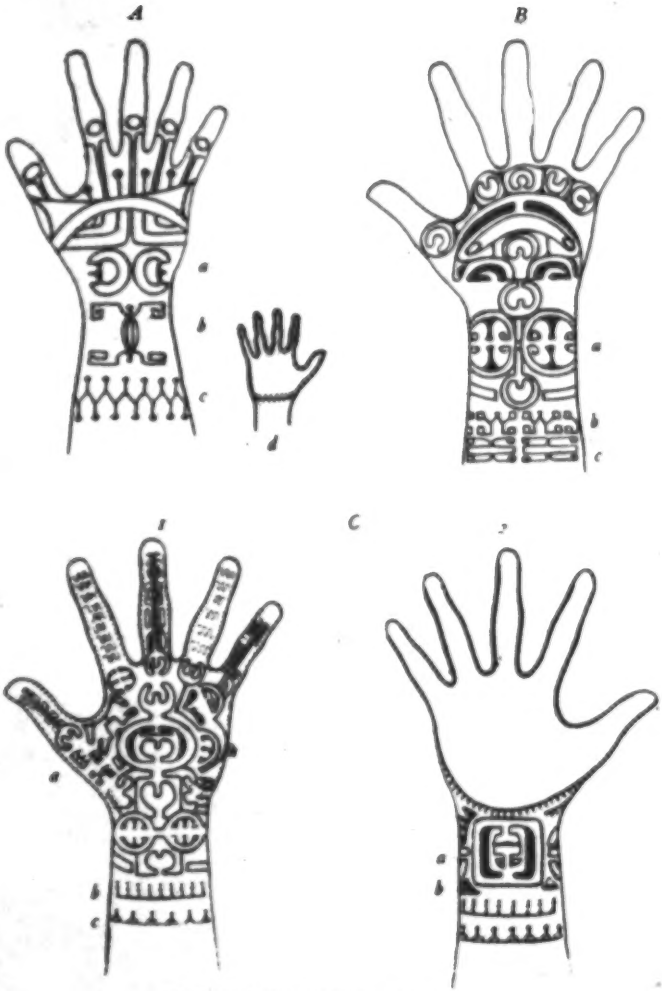

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 9]

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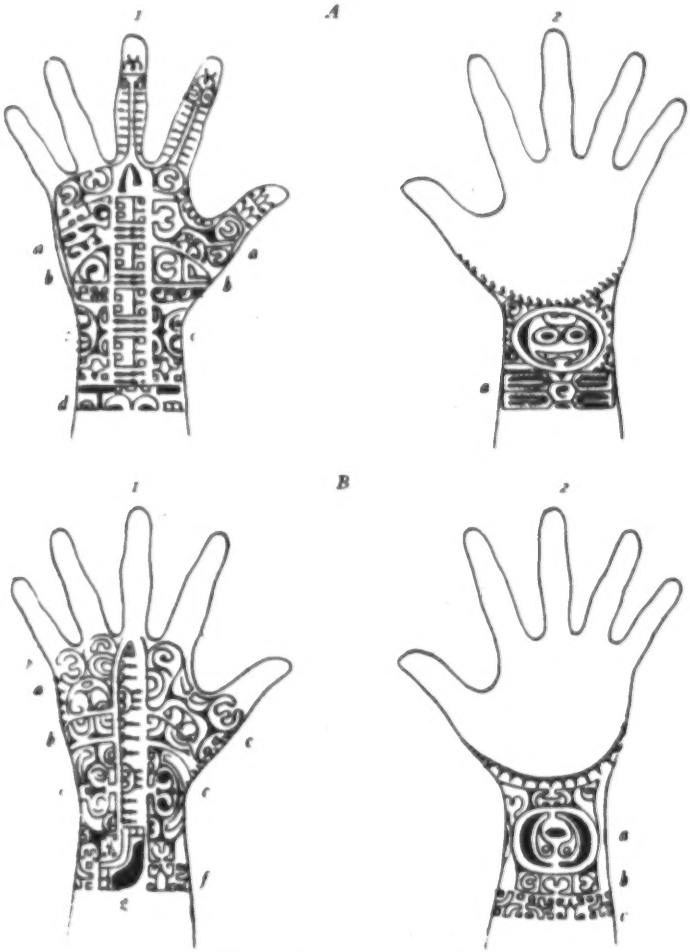
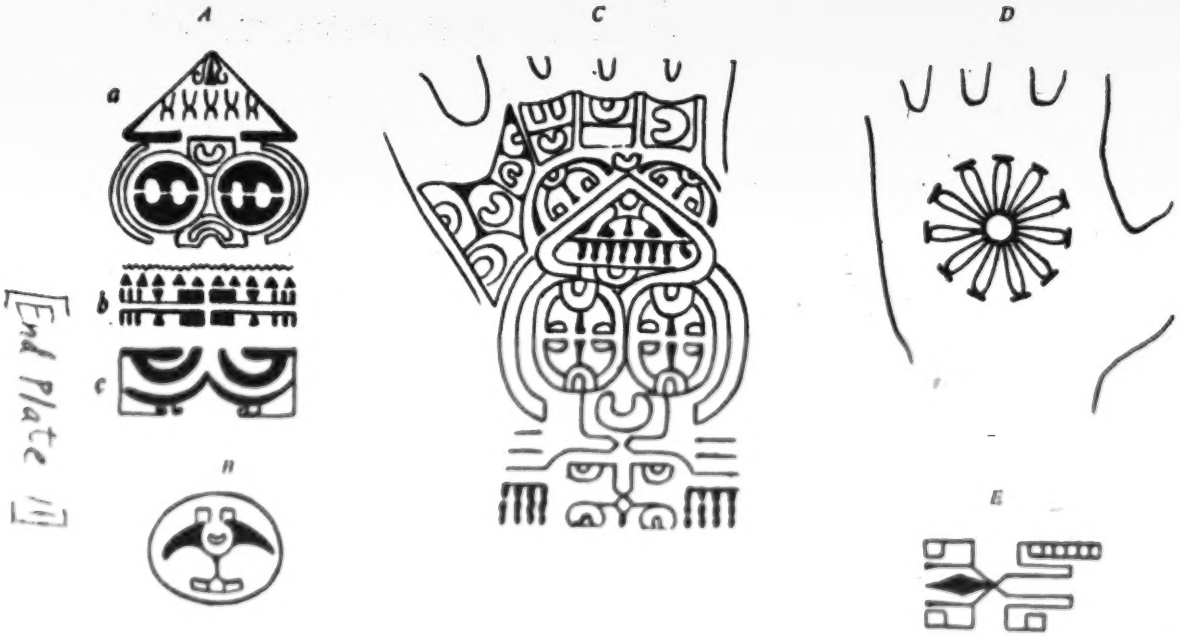


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 10]



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End Plate 11]

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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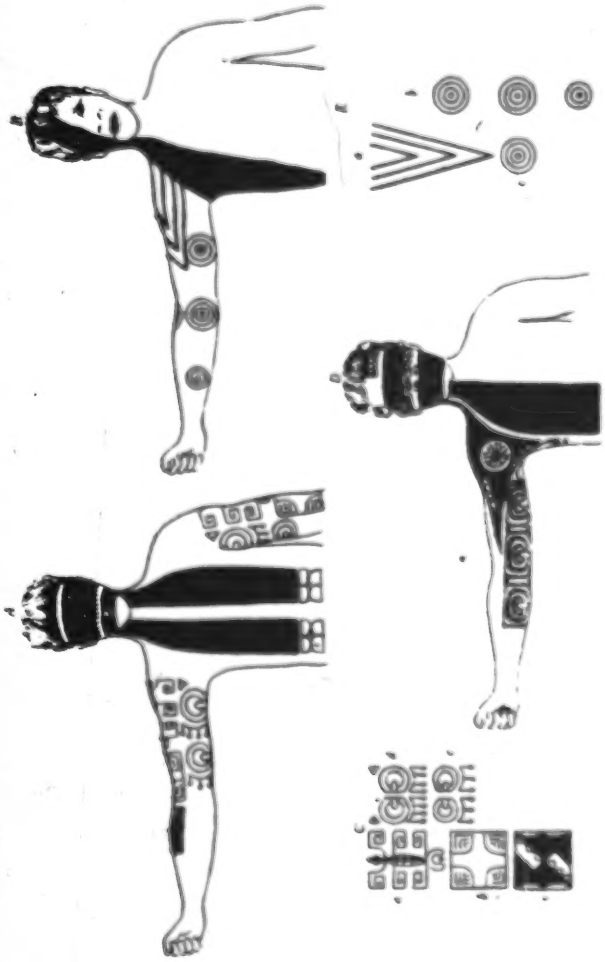

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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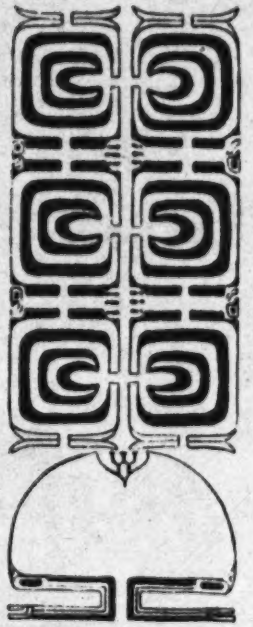
[End Plate 12]



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

B:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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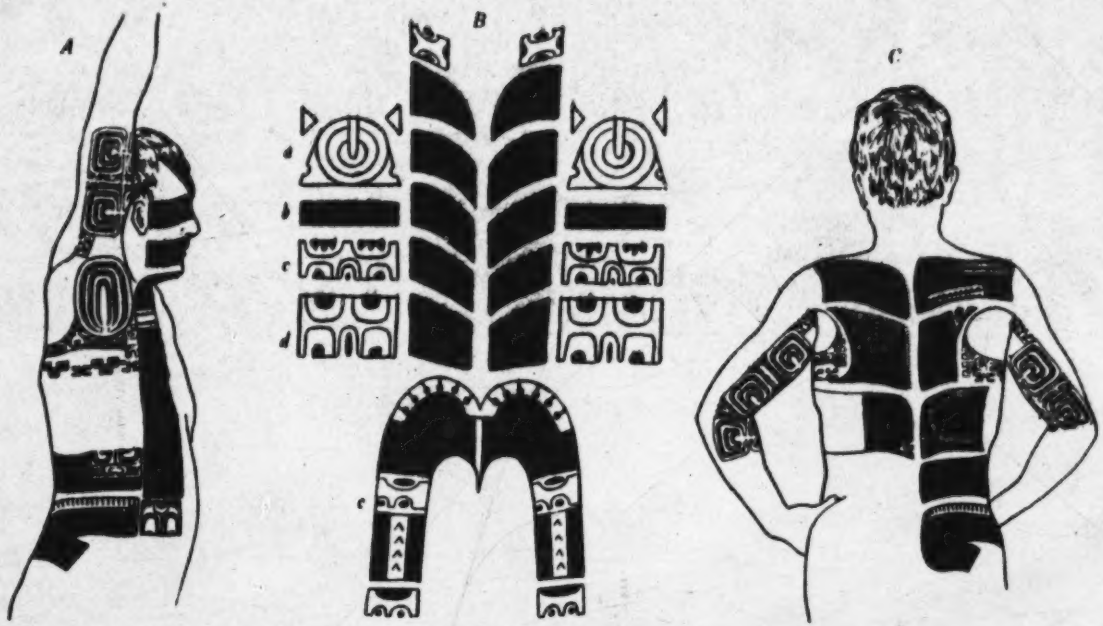
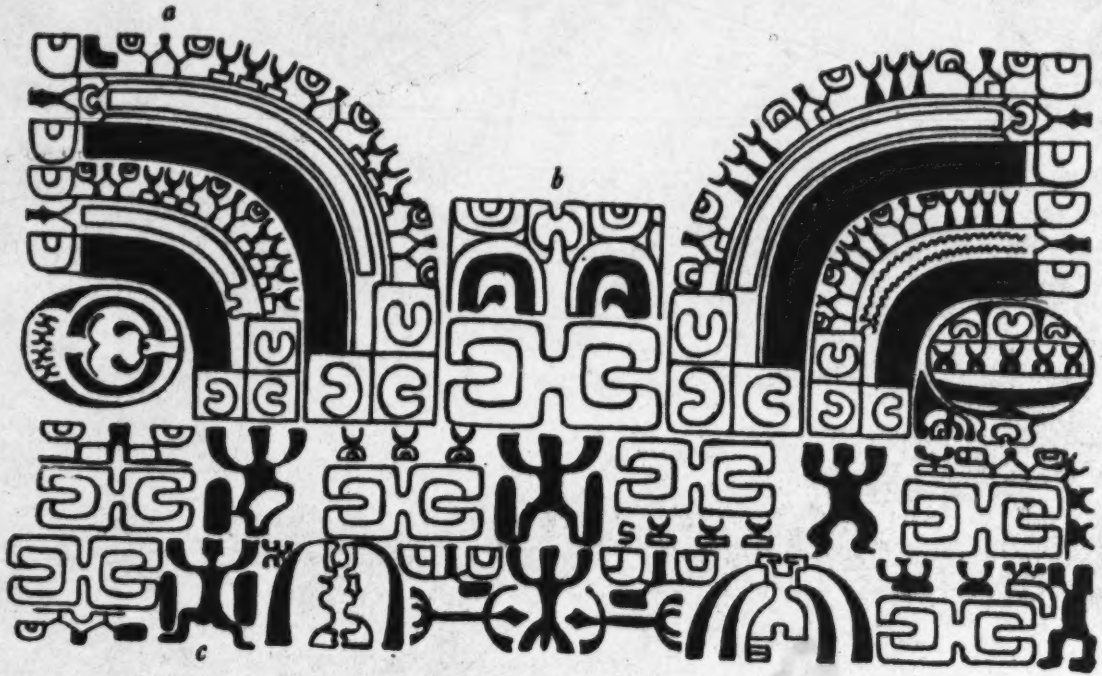


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 14]



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End Plate 15]

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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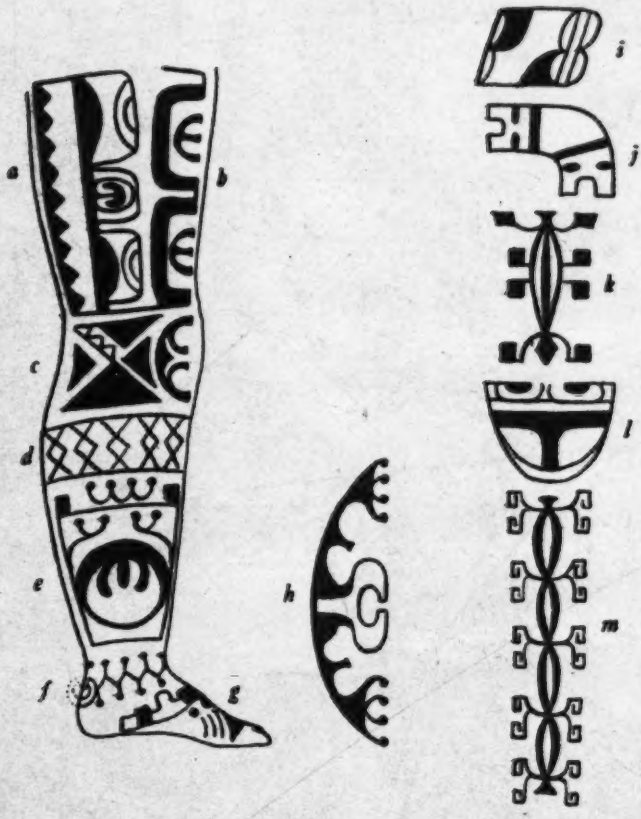

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 16]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 18]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 19]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 20]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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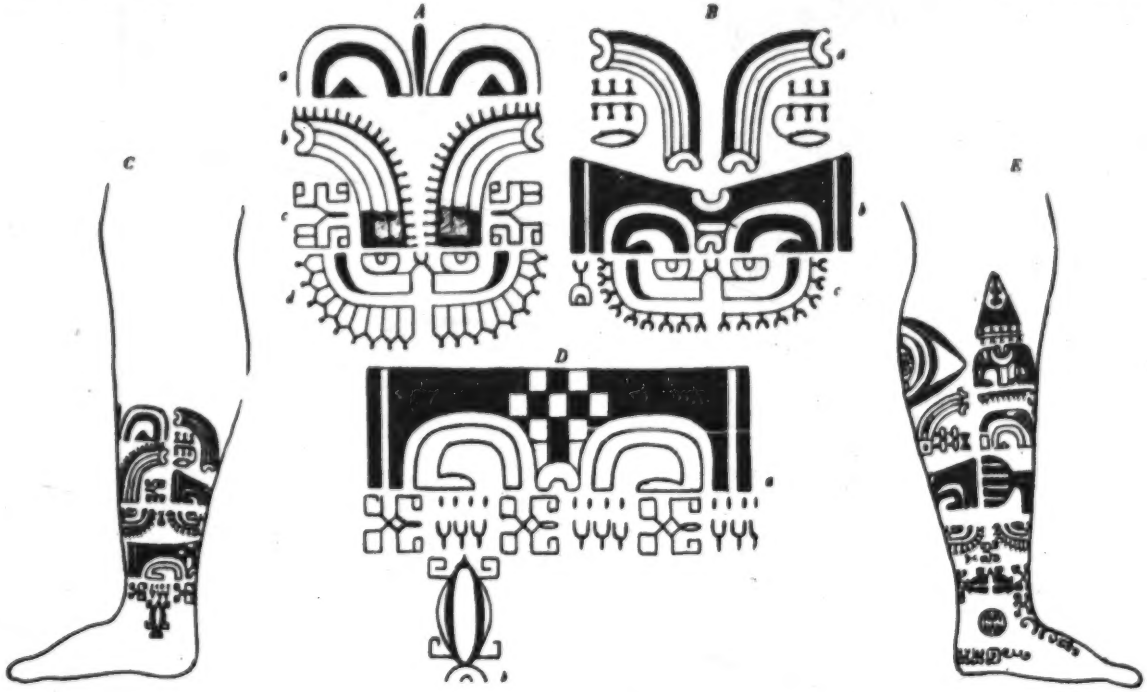
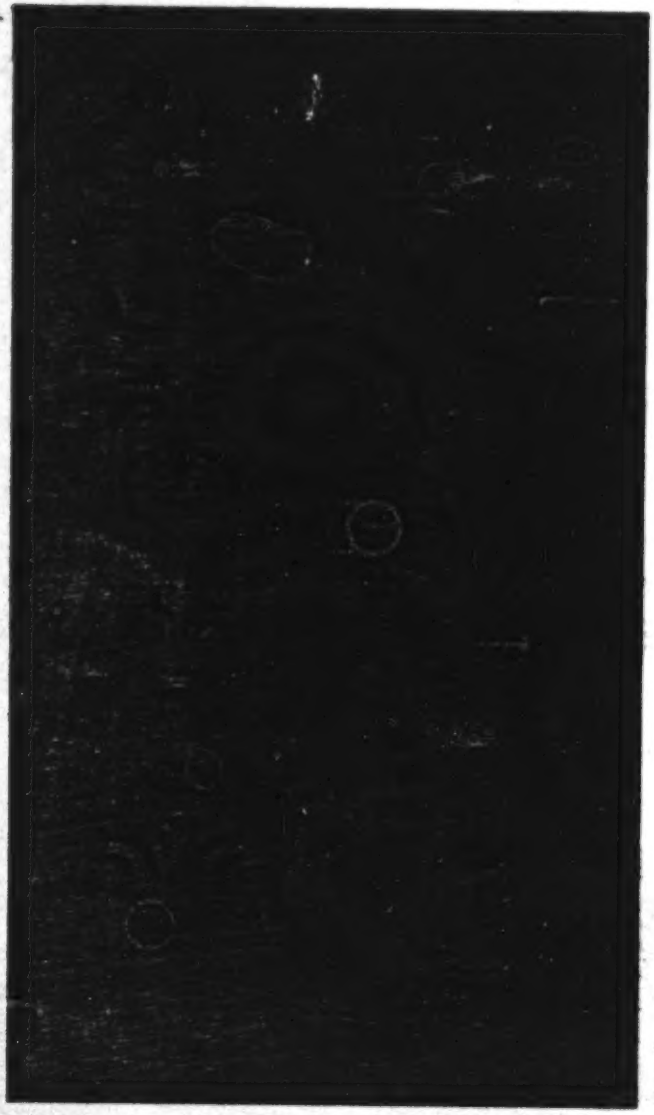


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 21]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921) 1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

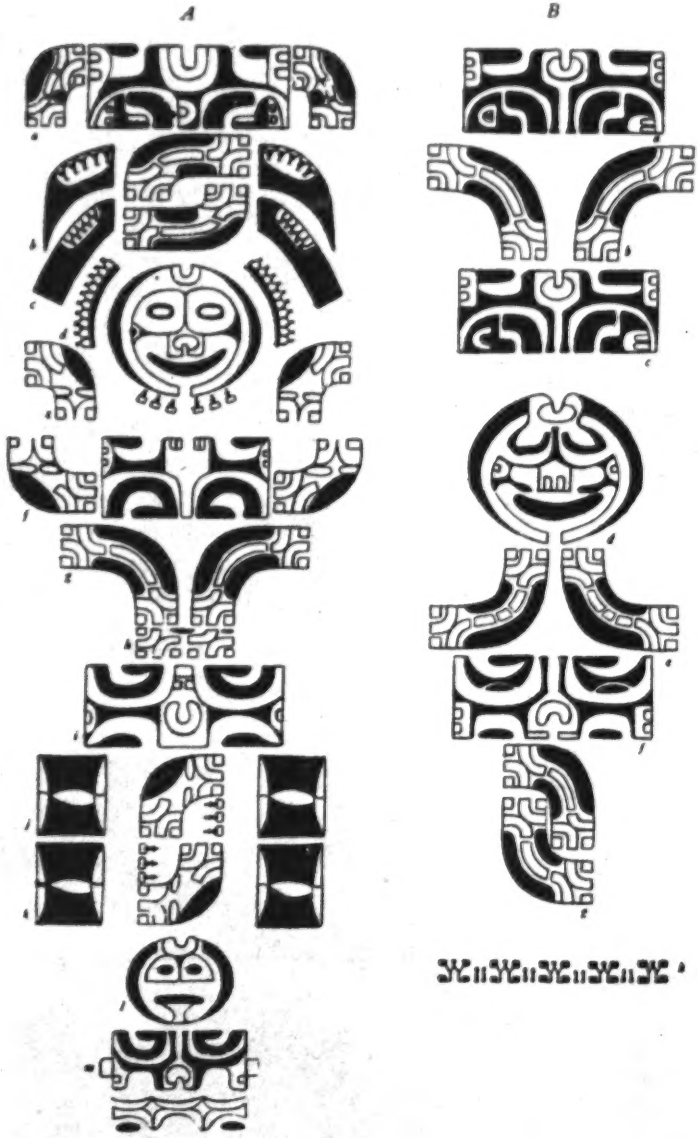
x304
531



[End Plate 22]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 23]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

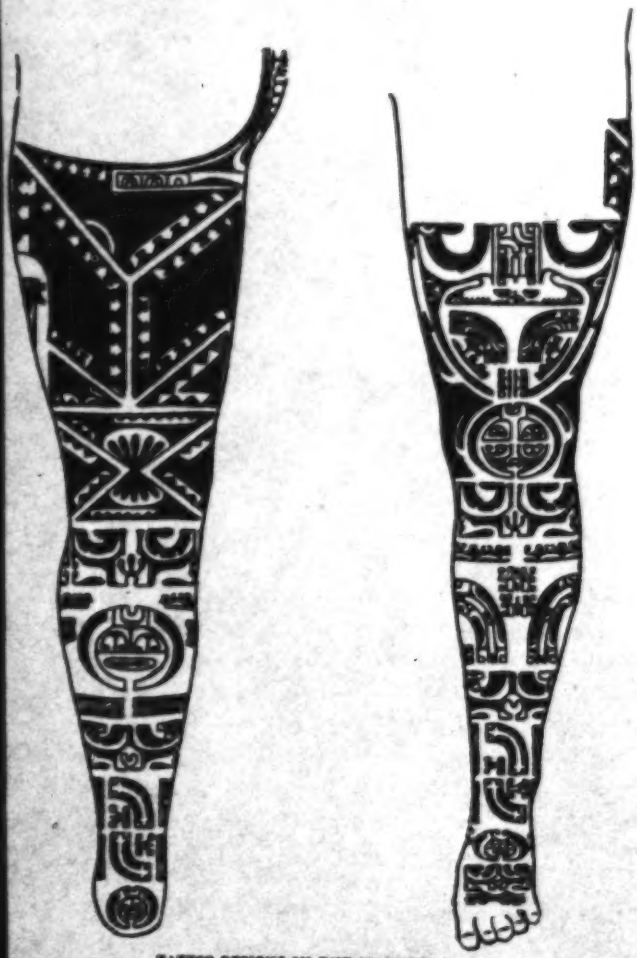
X304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 24]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531



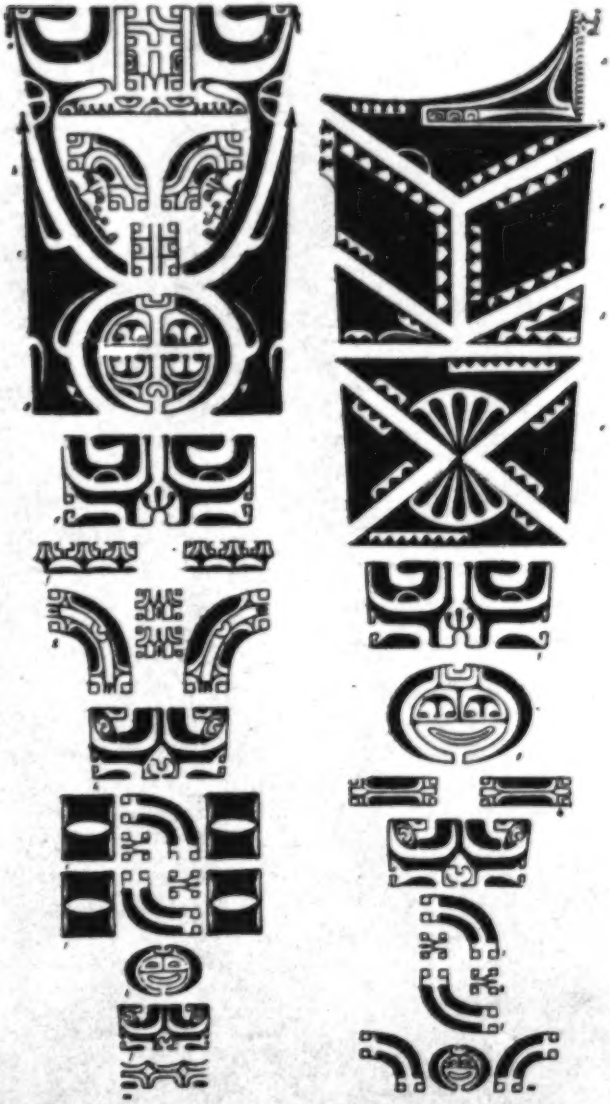
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 25]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A B

X 304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

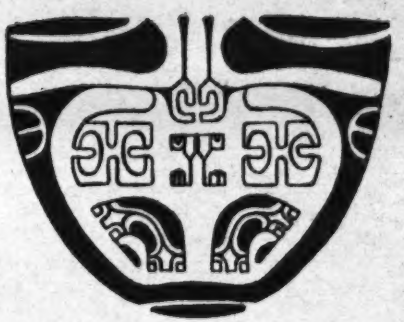
[End Plate 26]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Y 304
531

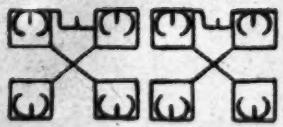
A

B



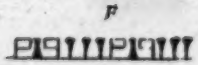
C

D



E

F

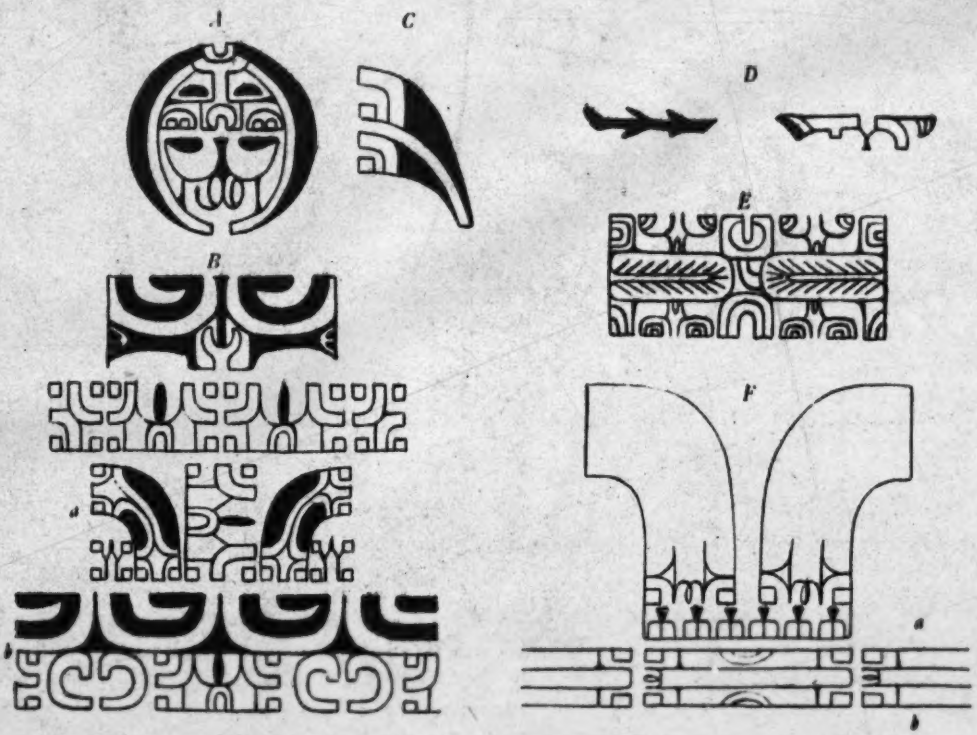


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 27]

B: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

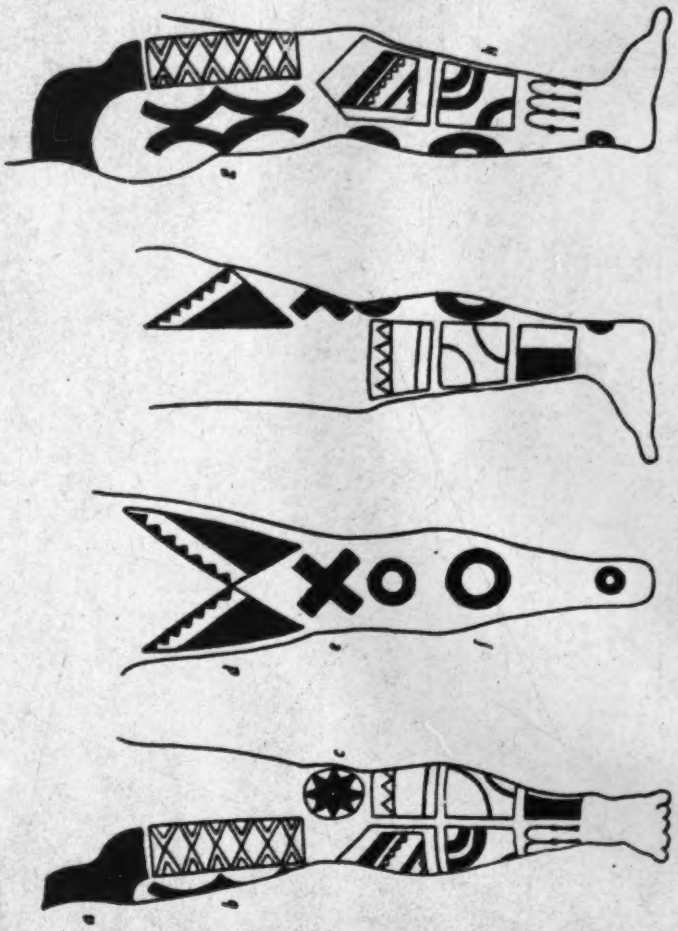
X304
531



End Plate 28

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531

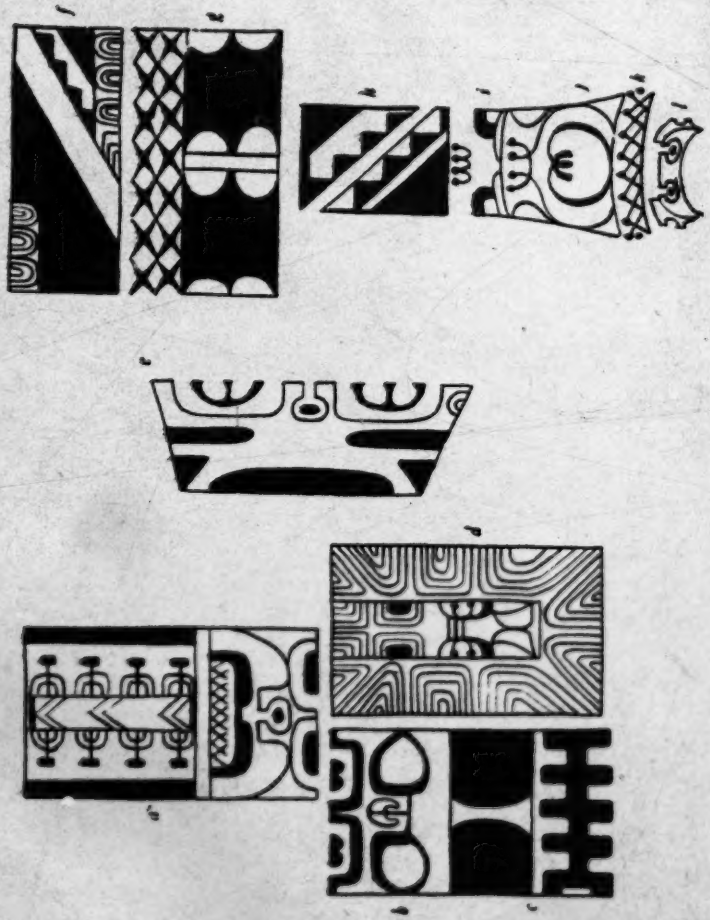


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 29]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Y 304
531



[End Plate 30]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

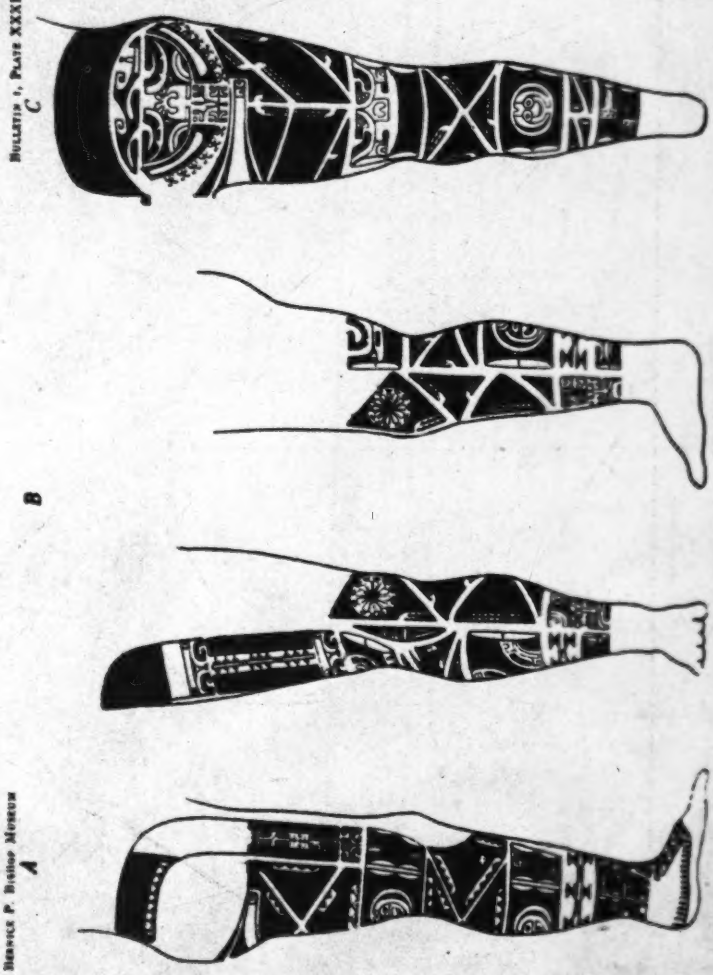
8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531

[End Plate 31]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 32]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
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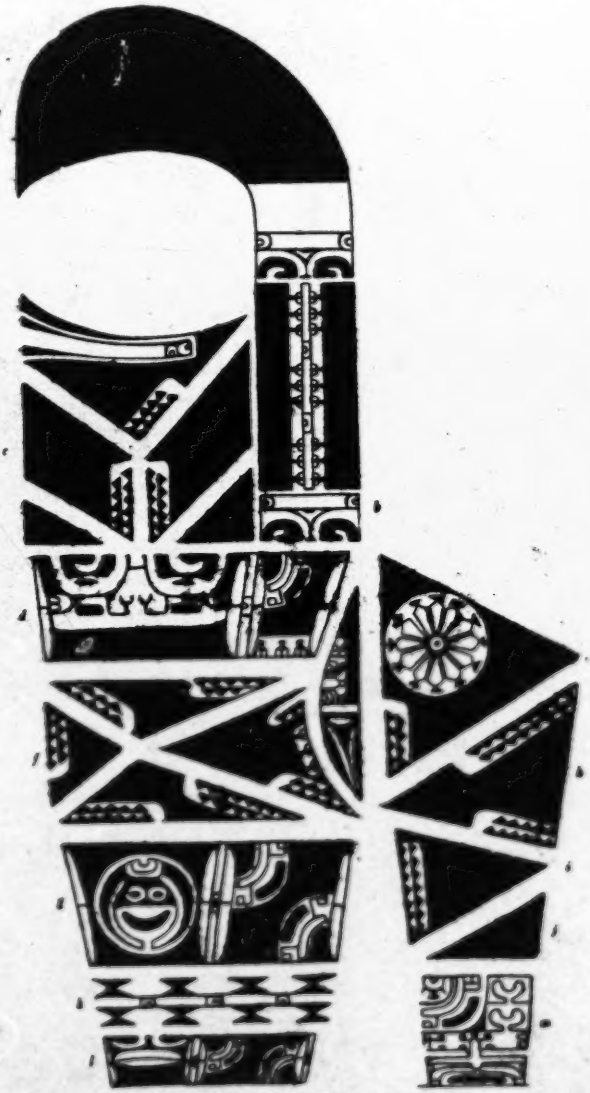
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 33]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531

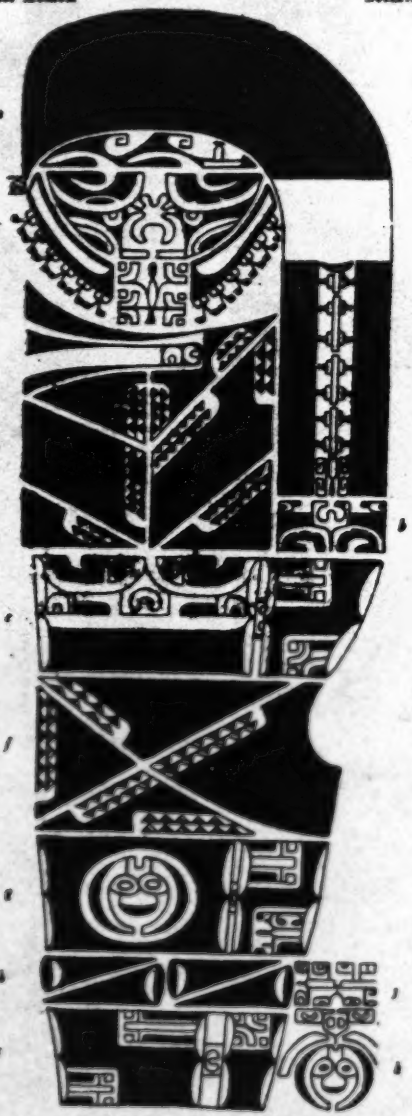


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 34]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304X
531

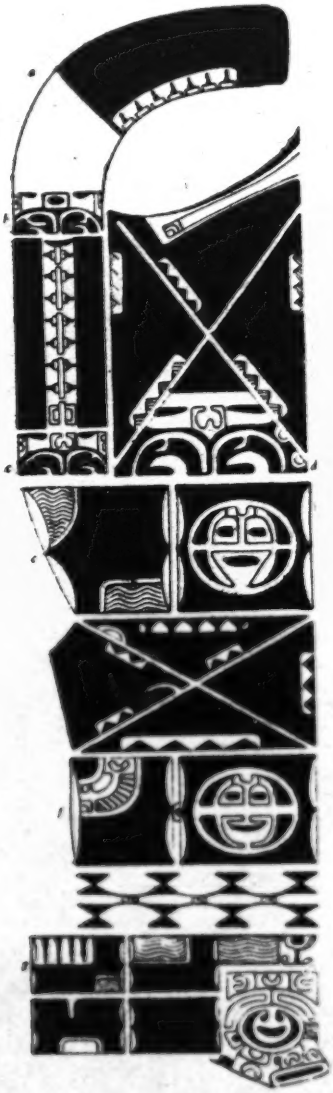


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 35]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 36]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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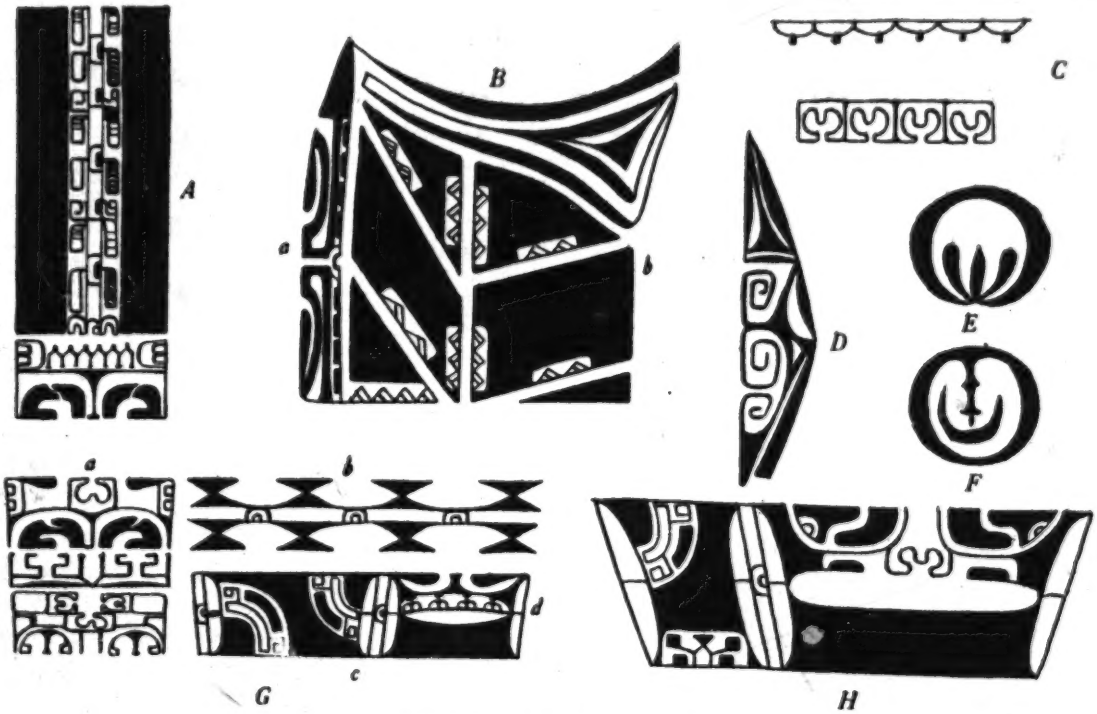
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 37]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 38

8: Handy
304

Marquesas OX6

[For information on tattooing see category 116, pp. 3-32, plates 1-38.]

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POLYNESIAN DECORATIVE DESIGNS

BY
RUTH H. GREINER
Bishop Museum Fellow of Yale University
1921-1922

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 7

WITH 29 PLATES AND 2 FIGURES

[Title Page]

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PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1923

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Polynesian Decorative Designs

By Ruth H. Greiner

INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of the present study of Polynesian decorative design is to determine the characteristics of Polynesian art, with a view of obtaining evidences of migratory movements of Pacific races.

Detailed studies have been made of the decorative designs found in the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand—island groups selected as representative of Polynesia, and for which the collections in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are the most complete.

128 Each distinct design is described and illustrated, but designs common to two or more localities are discussed only once. For each island group and for Polynesia as a whole, the designs recorded have been roughly classified as angular geometric, curvilinear, and naturalistic representations.

Most of the illustrations are based upon rubbings and sketches of designs in the collections of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Other drawings are based upon photographs and upon illustrations in published works.

It has seemed best not to isolate the design from the object which it decorates for certain designs are found to be adapted or at least limited to wood carving, others to tattooing, and still others to tapa decoration. Furthermore, the exchange of decorated objects between the peoples of two or more island groups has assisted greatly in the dissemination of designs which characterize those objects. Therefore, evidence of contact of one group with another is afforded by the comparison of decorations which are found, for example, on house posts, bowls, war clubs and tapa. For this purpose, tabulated summaries of designs and objects have been prepared for the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand, and general comparisons made of designs from different parts of Polynesia and also for Melanesia. It will be seen that the arrangement of designs upon the surface of the objects, as well as the form of the design, is characteristic of different groups.

121 The incompleteness of this survey is freely recognized. The paper is presented as a contribution to the interesting problem of the origin, characteristics, and racial significance of Polynesian art.

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MARQUESAN DECORATIVE DESIGNS

INTRODUCTION

*531 Marquesan culture shows a curious disharmony in the development and application of decorative designs. There is a very low development of the textile arts and almost no use of decorative designs in connection with them. Marquesan baskets are unornamented, and the mats when decorated at all show only the simplest checkerwork design used as a border pattern. The ceremonial staves used by the chiefs have a band of fabric at the top made of brown sennit decorated with black hair. The designs on them are mostly simple block arrangements although one staff examined showed series of conventionalized animals probably intended as representations of lizards (Pl. 1, *a*).

The Marquesans did not decorate their tapa as did the Hawaiians, Samoans, Fijians, and in fact most other Polynesians, although in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum there is a single wooden object with a covering of tapa fitted like a glove and decorated with designs common in wood-carving. The designs on this object were painted on the tapa probably because this material afforded a better surface than the wood. The primary purpose was to decorate the figure, not the tapa. It is difficult to understand why the same technique was not employed in decorating tapa used for wearing apparel and bedding.

Although deficient in the art of decorating textiles, the Marquesans developed to a high degree forms of ornamental lashing, carving in stone and wood, and tattooing.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

*531 284 The Marquesans made rather an extensive use of ornamental lashings to serve utilitarian purposes. The timbers forming the framework of houses were held together by lashings, the parts of drums were lashed together, stone tools when hafted had to be lashed, and the lashings for these and for other purposes were usually ornamental. The material used [283] was a flat plaited sennit dyed brown, reddish brown, black, more rarely yellow or bleached white; two colors were commonly used in a single lashing. Few of these ornamental sennit lashings are in existence. Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition were fortunate in obtaining photographs of two forms used in the construction of a house, and several drums in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum display a third form. One of the lashings has the appearance of a series of concentric elipses. Another shows diagonal lines coming from two directions crossing and interweaving in the center, the whole bounded on two sides by parallel vertical lines. This design can be almost duplicated in the carving on the

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house posts (Pl. III, *d*). A third design, found on a drum, is a series of 531x concentric diamonds which also is a common house post design. Un- 284 doubtedly other forms of ornamental lashings were used but information concerning them is no longer available.

CARVINGS IN THE ROUND AND IN HIGH RELIEF

The only figures carved in the round or in high relief by the Marque- 531x sans are representations of human beings. Large figures are carved in 532 wood and stone; small figures in wood, stone, bone or ivory. Most of the 778 large figures set up in the sacred places to represent gods are carved in the full round. Stone figures carved in the half-round or three-quarters round are set into the facing of stone walls of house platforms and sacred places; wooden figures carved in the full round are used as posts to support the roofs of dwellings. Small figures carved in human bone are used to ornament the handles of many coconut bowls and are used also as ear ornaments. Some ear ornaments are made of whale bone and whale tooth. Wooden staves surmounted by small human figures carved in the full round have been seen, and a number of objects such as fan handles, canoe paddles, war clubs and *popoi* pounders, display human figures carved in high relief.

The convention employed for the figures is that of the tiki. In most of 531x the carvings the head of the tiki is disproportionately large and has as 532 its most prominent feature round or pointed oval spectacle eyes with a high ridge through the center terminating in the ears and the nose. Supra-orbital ridges are generally indicated and these likewise terminate in the ears which on the small figures are usually represented by two connected spirals turned toward each other. On a few specimens only single spirals are seen and on larger figures a projecting longitudinal flange replaces the spiral. The nose is shown in different lengths but is always broad and flat. The mouth is very large and is always open, showing the tongue.

The bone ornaments on the handles of coconut bowls show only the 531x upper half of the body. Below the characteristic head the arms are shown at the sides of the body with the hands resting on the stomach. In one tiki figure the left hand touches the chin and in another the right arm rests on the right shoulder. Some tikis have five fingers on each hand; others have only three or four.

In the portrayal of the complete tiki figure the legs are shown in a 531x semi-squat or flexed position. In figures carved in the full round, the feet 532 are indicated but not the toes; two dolls which do show the toes were probably recently made. The figures are pierced between the legs so as to make them appear as naturalistic as possible. The sex is usually indicated

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x531 but is not over emphasized. Many of the heads of *popoi* pounders are
532 carved in high relief into tiki faces placed back to back. Some of the handles of war clubs and of canoe paddles show tiki faces or complete tiki figures also carved in high relief. One war club has a series of three figures one above the other on two sides of the handle. In the upper figure the hands rest on the stomach, in the middle one the right hand is raised to the mouth and in the lower figure the left hand is similarly raised. The upper figure has four fingers on each hand, the second has five fingers on the upraised hand and four on the hand resting on the stomach, and the lower figure has three fingers on one hand and none indicated on the upraised hand. All three of these tikis represent the male sex. The series on the other side of the handle includes one male and two female figures; only the upper figure shows any fingers and these only on the left hand. One of the most beautiful pieces of carving in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection of Marquesan objects is a fan handle. Unfortunately two pieces have been broken off the lower end of the handle. There were originally three double tiki figures—that is, two series of three figures each placed back to back. The upper and lower figures are quite conventionalized and form a sort of hilt; the central figure, the largest of three, is very naturalistic in its convention.

CARVINGS IN LOW RELIEF

x531 Carvings in the round and in high relief form only a small part of Marquesan decorative art, much more common are the carvings in low relief on flat surfaces: the ordinary carvings on such objects as wooden bowls, canoes, and clubs.

Marquesan carving is particularly rich in the number of design elements employed. For convenience in presentation and for comparison Marquesan designs are described under the headings: angular geometric designs, curvilinear designs, elements common to angular and curvilinear forms, motifs composed of several elements, and naturalistic representations.

Angular Geometric Designs

Plain straight lines are used in a number of positions and to serve several purposes. They are employed alone as a distinct design element, and are also used to separate zones or to fill parts of a larger design. The lines are carved at right angles to the long axis of the object (Pl. II *a*), parallel to the long axis of the object, or in a diagonal position (Pl. II, *e*). There are a few examples of radiating lines (Pl. VI, *c*) and in quite a number of designs lines are found with one or both edges scolloped (Pl. III, *e*).

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A series of V's, all of the same size and so placed that the apex of 531x one falls within the arms of the next, thus bringing the sides of the V's into parallelism, produces a very common design which in this study will be spoken of as the herring-bone design. Closely associated with this is the zigzag pattern found on a number of objects (Pl. II, *f*).

Crosshatching (a design formed by two series of diagonal lines crossing each other) (Pl. V, *a*); rows of dots (Pl. V, *g*); checkerwork (Pl. IV, *b*); and angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*) are designs rarely found in Marquesan carving. On the other hand triangles are employed in several arrangements although the variations are not as numerous as those found on Hawaiian and Samoan tapa. The Marquesans use plain triangles, triangles filled with V's, triangles filled with segments of concentric ovals (Pl. VI, *e*) or with lines parallel to one side of the triangles. They also use concentric triangles (Pl. VI, *d*), rows of interlocking triangles and groups of four triangles with the apexes meeting and the bases forming the sides of a square (Pl. II, *h*). In the interlocking triangles and in the groups of four triangles the triangles themselves are seldom plain but filled with lines parallel to one side (Pl. IV, *j*), a series of V's (Pl. IV, *k*), concentric triangles (Pl. IV, *l*), or plain triangles with a scolloped base (Pl. V, *e*). In the groups of four triangles each triangle may show a different form of fill.

Several arrangements of rectangles and diamonds are also used. There are plain rectangles, concentric rectangles (Pl. IV, *a*), segments of concentric rectangles, and rectangles pierced on one side by a groove. There are plain diamonds, concentric diamonds (Pl. II, *j*), and diamonds filled with an angular spiral (Pl. VI, *b*). Spirals also appear in rectangular and triangular form (Pl. VII, *d-h*).

Closely related to the spiral is a design element which will here be called the "hook scroll." It is formed by making an L-shaped groove, really a broad hook, piercing one side of the unit it is designed to fill, then making another L-shaped groove with sides parallel to the first and with the angle of the second within the arms of the first but piercing the unit at the opposite end of the L. A third L-shaped groove pierces the unit as does the first and a fourth L, if present, pierces the unit as does the second. The ridges between the grooves are connected and it is this part which forms the hook scroll (Pl. IV, c).

Plain crosses (Pl. IX, *c*) and staggared crosses (Pl. IX, *a-b*) are both used by the Marquesans, but the staggared design is the favorite.

Curvilinear Designs

Although both plain circles and concentric circles (Pl. III, *e*) are to be found in Marquesan carving, neither are common. Ovals, concentric ovals

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*531 (Pl. III, *f*), pierced ovals (Pl. VI, *a*), and segments of ovals (Pl. III, *g-h*), however, are found in large numbers. It should be noted that the Marquesan oval is not a true oval, resembling rather a rectangle with rounded corners. Precise classification is difficult.

Corresponding to the angular spiral is the less common circular spiral. Three forms of double spirals are also found; in one, both spirals are turned in the same direction (Pl. VIII, *a*), in another, the spirals are turned toward each other (Pl. VIII, *c*), and in the third the spirals are turned away from each other (Pl. V, *d*).

The term "broad hook" has been coined to describe a design element which the Marquesans use more than any other decorative figure. Its use even takes precedence over the angular spiral and the hook scroll of which it is really an essential part. The broad hook consists of a groove which in some figures resembles a segment of an oval. It has one long, straight arm and two shorter arms of unequal length turned at approximately right angles to the long arm. Some broad hooks have two arms instead of three, in which case one end is often pointed. Another form of broad hook is short and stubby and the longer arm has one convex and one straight edge instead of two parallel edges (Pl. VII, *j-k-l*).

Several Marquesan war clubs of fairly recent make display a form of double hook which resembles a letter U with wide horizontal flanges at the top. The ends of these flanges are pointed (Pl. VI, f).

Another design which appears many times on different objects is known to the natives as *pokoa*, and for want of a suitable English equivalent this term is retained. In its simplest form the *pokoa* is a rounded U, but there are many variations in the design; the more complicated forms showing stages in the development of a spiral and apparently the whole unit is related to the pierced ovals (fig. 1, *a-k*). For a discussion of the variant forms of this design see page 23.

A design semicircular in outline and having short vertical lines extending down from the concave side of the figure appears on a number of objects. Because of its resemblance to a comb it is here called the "comb design" (Pl. IV, *e*).

Some parallel wavy lines (Pl. III, *a*), corresponding to angular zigzags are to be found. Irregular curves are quite common, especially on house posts made in early times (Pl. III, *b*).

Elements Common to Angular and Curvilinear Forms

It is to be expected that several designs which appear both as angular geometic and curvilinear patterns are fundamentally expressions of the

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same concept. Perhaps the best example is the spiral, in which the basic 531x concept is a single line wound round and around a center. Whether each turn is a curve or an angle is a matter of secondary importance. Significant in this connection is the observation that some groups of people in the Pacific use one form of the spiral almost to the exclusion of the other. The Marquesans use both forms but the angular spiral is dominant. The pierced oval locally known as *eipuoto* is obviously related to the pierced rectangle, but the Marquesans use the curvilinear form more frequently than the angular form.

The comb design also has its counterpart in the angular geometric forms. The angular form consists of a horizontal or longitudinal line with short transverse lines (Pl. IV, *f*). On some objects two or three comb designs are grouped together and connected.

Motifs Composed of Several Elements

The term motif is here used to designate a design which is repeated several times on an object but which analysis shows to be composed of two or more design elements. An example is the elbow design or *kaake*. In its simplest form the *kaake* consists of a series of broad hooks, each hook being within the angle formed by the arms of the next in the series, the sides of each interior hook being parallel to the sides of the outermost hook. The outer hooks are shorter at each end than the inner ones and the remaining spaces are filled with hook scrolls. The elbow outline of the whole figure and the one long, plain, broad hook are constant features of the design, but the ends and the rest of the body are variously treated (Pl. VII, *a-b*). The design on the carved wooden bowl shown in Pl. VI, *g* is apparently related to the *kaake*, but a long curved outline has been substituted for the sharp elbow and the plain groove extending the full length of the figure is in the center of the design instead of on the inner or concave side. The *kaake* is used in tattooing as well as in carving and here still further minor variations in the design are apparent. Many illustrations are given by Willodean C. Handy (18)[1].

Small units known as *pohu* and consisting of several irregular grooves in a square or oblong space (Pl. IV, *d*) are employed to fill space. They are used in carving and in tattooing.

A common motif in bowl decoration consists of a series of oblong grooves with a longitudinal ridge in the center, the oblongs being separated by a plain space about equal in width to that of the oblong and the whole

[1] Throughout this paper the number in parenthesis refers to the bibliography on page 101.

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x531 row surmounted by a series of zigzags. The design is quite possibly related to a series of conventionalized human forms (Pl. v, *c*).

Another motif consists of a semi-oval unit filled with two broad hooks and two series of parallel diagonal lines (Pl. viii, *e*).

The cross seems to be a favorite design and both plain and staggard crosses are represented with the arms extended into hook scrolls or spirals (Pl. ix, *a-e*).

One motif which is used repeatedly is called by the natives *mata*. It is a much conventionalized representation of a human face although some *mata* border on the realistic and all stages between the naturalistic tiki representations and the conventionalized *mata* may be found. In its simplest form the *mata* consists of two half ovals or broad hooks, variously filled or plain; these represent the eyes. A curved groove convex upward represents the nose, and a wide groove around three sides of the unit represents the mouth. In some examples a form of *pokaa* serves to indicate the nose. In many *mata* some form of cheek fill is employed probably to represent tattooing. *Mata* are adapted to semi-oval, semi-circular, triangular, and rectangular spaces (Pl. xii, *A, a, c, e;* Pl. xii, *B, a-d;* Pl. xvi, *A, c*). In the modifications of the *mata* motif shown in Pl. xii, *A, b, d,* the two eyes are represented by a single broad hook filled with scolloped lines, two of the spirals represent either the ears or cheek fill, and the third spiral plain in figure *b* and scolloped in figure *d* represents the mouth. Examples of double *mata* are found in which the design may be seen equally well from either of two directions. There are also innumerable examples of *mata* within *mata;* one complete *mata* may serve as the eye of a larger *mata* or rarely the larger *mata* may in turn serve as one eye of a still larger *mata* (Pl. xii, *B, d*).

A design, called in this study the "block design," consists of a series of pairs of rectangular blocks of various sizes filled with incised lines, each block being connected by a diagonal line with the one at the alternate level in the next pair (Pl. xvi, *A, b*).

Naturalistic Representations

Plant Forms

The representations of natural objects appearing in Marquesan carving may be grouped under three headings: plant forms, animal forms, and human forms. True plant forms were found only on a few bowls, although a conventionalized figure somewhat resembling a palm leaf was found on several war clubs and *pakea* (Pl. iv, *g*). This plant design consists of a narrow elongated oval filled with radiating lines and pierced by a longitudinal groove. Small oblong units containing a sheaf of leaves

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were noted on the sides of two Marquesan bowls, and on one bowl are several groups of three leaves so arranged as to fill a roughly triangular space (Pl. VIII, *d*). Conventionalized floral units were seen only on the bottoms of a few bowls. These have nine and ten petals in the form of pointed ovals radiating out from a center consisting of concentric circles. Some of the petals in one flower are filled with the herring-bone design. Other bowls display groups of six pointed ovals radiating from a common center that may have been intended for floral effects. 531X

ANIMAL FORMS

Three classes of animal forms were found depicted in Marquesan carving. The most common form is evidently intended to represent an insect but the designs are too much conventionalized to permit the recognition of species. Scarcely any two of the insect motifs are exactly alike although certain features are fairly constant. The body is usually represented by a pointed oval and the legs by angular or curvilinear spirals.

The typical designs show three pairs of legs and a pair of antennae. Two pairs of legs represented by spirals turned in opposite directions are located near the center of the body; the third pair of legs is attached to the rear end of the body corresponding to the position of the antennae at the forward end. Some designs show only two pairs of legs, one pair centrally located and the other at the rear end, and a few designs show only one pair of legs and the antennae. In some representations it is impossible to tell which end of the insect is the head as both ends are similarly finished, either with or without heads. A number of the insect bodies are filled in with herring-bone designs or have concentric diamonds or triangular spaces filled with V's in the center and herring-bone on either side. One motif was found in which the body was pinched together in the middle suggesting a pair of tiki eyes. This same figure has what seems to be a pair of antennae at either end of the body. Illustrations of a number of the insect motifs are given in Plate XVIII, *a-j*, *n-u*.

One bowl displays three motifs highly suggestive of lizards. Each figure has a long, slender body pointed at either end, a head, and two pairs of legs. In two examples very short transverse ridges attached to the sides of the body may be intended to indicate ribs. The legs of the lizards project out at right angles from either end of the body, recurve, and end either in combs or in hook scrolls or segments of concentric circles. The head is a plain oval knob and the tail is a semi-oval with a longitudinal line drawn through the center (Pl. XVIII, *l*). The space between the forward and the rear legs is carved with small designs at a lower level than the body of the lizard and in no wise connected with it.

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x531 A third animal representation consists of a long, slender body having straight parallel sides. At one end is a circular head and the other end is marked in some examples by concentric semi-ovals. The figure has innumerable pairs of legs which in some of the designs appear extended at right angles to the body while in others they occupy a diagonal position. Lines extending from the head may be intended to represent antennae (Pl. XVIII, *k* and *m*).

HUMAN FORMS

Tiki figures similar to those carved in the round and in high relief (p. 5) are conventionally used in the decoration of flat surfaces. Examples of complete tiki figures are rare in flat decoration but tiki faces or parts of tiki faces are common. One tiki figure has round, open eyes showing the pupils, pairs of hooks of unequal length for ears, concentric rectangles representing the mouth, with an inner rectangle probably indicating the tongue. The nose is the typical tiki nose. The body is much conventionalized, showing the shoulders and a pair of large angular spirals probably intended to represent arms.

Double tiki figures may also be noted. In one example each figure has a face consisting of eyes, nose, and mouth, disproportionately large, but no ears. Each of the two bodies are bordered by arms but a single pair of legs centrally located serves both figures. Another double tiki shows some unusual features. It has two heads but in place of the typical double spirals three of the ears are represented by single spirals. The arms and legs are in proper relation to the head but are not connected with any other part of the body. One set of hands has four fingers; the other, only three. Of the legs only the thigh and knee are shown. (Pl. XI, *b* and *c*).

Tiki faces may be found on nearly every object carved by the Marquesans. Typically all the facial features are shown. The eyes are usually pointed ovals with a line drawn through the center connecting the nose and ears, indicating closed eyes; but some faces have round, open eyes. In the process of conventionalization the various features gradually disappear (Pl. X, *a-j*). The feature most frequently lacking is the mouth. Other features which disappear are the ears and nose, until finally only the eyes remain. Some figures show only a single eye with one or two ears attached.

A few human figures examined are not of the tiki convention. They resemble the figures in petroglyphs: a roughly, circular head, a wide, straight band for the trunk of the body, arms akimbo, and legs spread apart. Some of them have grotesquely distorted heads (Pl. XVII, *f*). In nearly all figures the legs are short and heavy and the hands and feet are

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absent (Pl. XVII, *a-b*). One figure (Pl. XVII, *c*) has a triangular body 531x and thin, spindly legs.

One motif which recurs a number of times seems to be a conventionalized representation of a human being. It depicts only the head and shoulders, the head being a triangle with apex pointing downward and joined to an inverted U. In some figures there is a longitudinal line drawn through the center of the U, making that portion of the figure look like a small letter m. This third or central vertical line represents the trunk of the body, while the outer lines represent the shoulders and the arms of the person (Pl. v, *b*).

USE OF DECORATIVE DESIGNS

Except for objects carved in recent years there is little indication that the carver had a preconceived notion of the completed decoration. The Marquesan did not make a pattern and then arrange his designs to achieve a symmetrical effect. He used whatever designs occured to him at the time so that no two objects are decorated exactly alike and seldom is an object found which has what is known as balance. Certain carvers did, however, develop an individual style and their work may be quite easily recognized even in a large collection by the choice of designs, the general arrangement of the designs, or the technique in the carving.

Designs on House Posts

In addition to house posts carved in the round according to the tiki 531x convention (p. 5) there are a great many posts with angular geometric 412 and curvilinear designs. In former times the designs were cut on the posts 353 by stone adzes but metal tools have been used for many years. This change has had very little influence upon the selection of designs.

It will be noted that the designs are never applied in a continuous 531x band running the full length of the post but are carved in sections of vari- 353 ous widths. Each section is separated from the next either by a single line or by a group of parallel lines at right angles to the long axis of the post. A few posts show an irregular longtitudinal division somewhere near their center. This consists of an area of uncarved wood separating the carvings of different designs.

Angular geometric motifs are predominant in the designs on house posts but compared with recent work the older carvings show a more liberal use of curvilinear patterns. With the assistance of Ralph Linton (22) the following summary of the design elements and motifs used in the house post decorations has been prepared:

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ANGULAR GEOMETRIC DESIGN ELEMENTS

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1. Straight horizontal grooves used singly or in series to separate the sections or zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones (Pl. II, *a*). Variations of this design element include:
   a. Horizontal grooves with length equal to half the width of the post, arranged in two vertical series so that the outer ends of corresponding grooves of each series are at alternate levels and their points interlock (Pl. II, *b*).
   b. Horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post, arranged in three vertical series, the outer ends of corresponding grooves of the two outer series being at the same level and the inner series alternating with them (Pl. II, *c*).
   c. Horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth the width of the post, arranged in four vertical series, the outer ends of corresponding grooves of the two outer series being at the same level and the two inner series alternating with them and with each other (Pl. II, *d*).
2. Straight diagonal grooves, used to fill zones (Pl. II, *e*).
3. Series of parallel horizontal zigzag lines (Pl. II, *f*).
4. Narrow bands of plain alternate interlocking triangles (Pl. II, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, their bases forming the sides of the zone, the interior of the triangles being filled with:
   a. Lines parallel to the base.
   b. Lines parallel to one side.
   c. A series of V's, diminishing in size as they approach the base with sides parallel to the sides of the triangle. Two or more varieties of fill may be used in different triangles of the same zone (Pl. II, *h*).
6. Diamond-shaped figures:
   a. Large diamonds with lateral corners touching the edges of the post, leaving four triangles in the corners of the zone (Pl. II, *j*).
   b. Small diamonds arranged in close order to fill the entire zone. The space within these diamonds is filled either with concentric diamonds or with angular (commonly broken) spirals, with sides roughly parallel to the sides of the diamond (Pl. II, *k*).
7. Wide straight lines with one or both edges scolloped (Pl. III, *c*). The lines in some designs are so arranged that the edges of the scollops nearly meet, giving a beaded effect approaching that found in bowl decoration. In other designs the scollops interlock in such a way that a wavy line is formed. The wide scolloped line is carved in horizontal position, worked into zigzags, into a series of V's filling a triangular space, and into an angular spiral.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

1. Circles, single or in concentric series (Pl. III, *e*).
2. Ovals, single or in concentric series (Pl. III, *f*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, commonly half or quarter sections, plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference. (Pl. III, *g-h*).
4. Parallel wavy lines (Pl. III *a*).
5. Irregular curves. In some of the older house posts the irregular curves are worked into mazes that fill entire zones (Pl. III, *b*).
6. *Mata* (Pl. XII, *A, ov; B, a-d*).

Of the curvilinear design elements the segments of circles and ovals appear to be most in favor, the irregular curves taking second place.

Many house posts show angular geometric and curvilinear patterns employed together. There are zones in which a series of concentric ovals is superposed upon a series of concentric diamonds, zones of concentric circles upon a background of horizontal parallel lines (Pl. III, *e*), and

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zones in which a semi-circle is substituted for a V in a series of V's, used 531x
to fill a triangle. One post shows a series of concentric ovals superposed 353
upon a series of V's, and a group of six wide horizontal lines superposed upon the concentric ovals making a triple overlapping of design.

One design motif consists of two quarter sections of concentric ovals placed side by side so as to form a half oval with the sections separated by two, or by three, horizontal lines which project out beyond the outer oval. (Pl. III, *g*). This design is probably related to the concentric ovals pierced on one side by a horizontal line, used frequently in under-arm tattooing (18).

Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition photographed a house post which displays a zone filled with two segments of concentric ovals and a small pierced oval so arranged as to give the appearance of a *mata*. The representation may not have been intentional, for no other example of a *mata* carved on a house post is known.

Designs on Canoe Models

The study of designs used to decorate canoes has of necessity been lim- 531x
ited to an examination of canoe models as no complete Marquesan canoes 501
have been preserved from ancient times and the fragments of old canoes photographed by members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition do not show any designs. The old canoe models in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are very exact in their construction so that it seems probable that the designs carved on those models are likewise good replicas of the ones formerly used. The newer models are carved on the bottom as well as on the bow, stern, and side planks. Canoes which actually saw service were not carved in this manner and it is therefore difficult to judge the value of the designs on the recent models.

Like the house posts, the designs on the canoe models are inscribed 531x
between parallel lines which run transversely to the long axis of the canoe. These zones are of various widths and some of them are divided longitudinally. Both angular geometric and curvilinear patterns are used separately and in combination. On the bottom of one model are no angular geometric patterns and on the side planks only two angular figures consisting of concentric triangles at either end (Pl. VI, *d*). One motif on the top of the bow piece combines angular geometric with curvilinear figures.

The bow and stern pieces and side planks of most of the canoe models are carved with purely angular geometric designs. These are for the most part straight, horizontal, and diagonal grooves used in series to separate zones and also to fill zones, diagonal grooves so arranged as to give the

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X531 appearance of interlocking triangles (Pl. IV, j), and a few examples of zones filled with groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, their bases forming the sides of the zone. The interiors of the four triangles are filled with series of V's diminishing in size toward the base, and with sides parallel to the sides of the triangles. Large concentric diamonds are found in many places, some of them becoming rectangular spirals. With one canoe model is a model of a paddle carved with two series of concentric triangles placed base to base suggesting a possible origin of the diamond (Pl. VII, *c*). Triangular spirals are about as common as quadrangular ones (Pl. VII, *d*, *e*). Two of the commonest curvilinear designs found on the canoe models are the broad hook and the *kaake* (pp. 8 and 9).

Two motifs recognized as tattoo designs were also noted. One of these consists of three concentric ovals, the outer oval being interrupted in the center of both long sides by a broad hook, and the inner oval similarly interrupted by small concentric half ovals. The center of the unit is filled with three half ovals and two horizontal grooves. One of the grooves has numerous short transverse grooves on one side, each groove with a rounded tip. The other motif consists of three concentric ovals pierced at one point by a long, straight groove that reaches to the center of the figure. In the tattoo pattern from which this canoe design was probably derived, there are two such ovals side by side and both pierced by a single horizontal grove.

On the upper side of the bow piece of one canoe model is a motif representing some insect, possibly a cockroach. The body is a pointed oval with a disjointed head and three pairs of spiral legs. On part of the bow piece the central element of the insect figure is repeated three times. The carver intended either to represent three bodies or one body in three segments. In this figure the legs are disjointed and not spiral; some of them are connected with two longitudinal grooves which border the figure.

Many *mata* and modified *mata* were noted on the canoe models and *mata* within *mata* were also seen. Tikis, on the other hand, are few in number, although they are found on the tip of the bow of each canoe. The features of the tikis are quite true to type, the eyes being broadly elliptical, in fact almost round. In some tikis the eyes touch each other; in others they are connected by a line, or extension of the nose, the eyes being represented as closed and supraorbital ridges indicated. The ears are represented by double curvilinear spirals; no examples of the angular spiral ears so common in the tikis found in the bowl decoration were seen. The noses have long, narrow bridges and broad, flat nostrils. The mouths are either narrow concentric oblongs with rounded corners or

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approximately triangular figures, in which the hypotenuse serves as the 531x upper lip; the opposite angle rounded off serves as the lower lip and an inner triangle represents the tongue. Small, conventionalized figures at the sides of the mouths represent the arms and hands. It is interesting to note that the hands have five fingers in place of the more common three or four found on many tiki figures carved in the round. The elevated position of the arms and hands has probably given rise to the still more conventionalized forms of cheek fill.

Considered as a whole, angular geometric patterns were probably the chief elements of design used to decorate the canoes in the earlier days. The more recent canoe models show a liberal use of ovals and segments of ovals which are for the most part worked into *mata*. Tiki faces are found upon the bow pieces only. A few tattoo designs have been used and likewise a very few conventionalized naturalistic figures. Angular spirals and toothed lines comprise most of the fill.

Designs on Canoe Paddles

All the canoe paddles examined are of fairly recent make but the designs on them are very similar to those found on the canoe models with, however, the addition of one or two more elements. The designs consist of horizontal bands or zones of uneven width within which are semi-circular, semi-oval, and complete oval divisions. In some designs the base of a semi-circular division in one zone meets the base of a semi-circular or semi-oval division in the adjoining zone, together making a complete unit.

The carvings on the blades of paddles are almost entirely curvilinear, no purely geometric elements or motifs being employed. Geometric elements were, however, exclusively employed on the terminal knob of the blade where the design consists of interlocking triangles, each filled with a series of V's diminishing in size as they approach the base and with sides parallel to the sides of the triangle (Pl. IV, *h*).

The elements of design repeated most frequently on the paddles are the broad hook and the spiral. These are used repeatedly as parts of such motifs as the *mata*, and also as a means of filling space.

Some of the *mata* on canoe paddles are very clear and complete, others are degenerate forms that may be merely accidental resemblances (Pl. XII, *B*, *a*, *b*). One semi-oval unit contains a very definite *mata* and several broad hooks below it, which suggest a second mata. It is possible that the unit was designed to show two *mata* facing each other but it is equally possible that the lower figure was intended to represent cheek fill (Pl. XII, *B*, *c*). Examples of *mata* within *mata* were also noted, one unit seeming to contain three *mata*, one within the other (Pl. XII, *B*, *d*).

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X531 Next to the *mata* the motif repeated most frequently is probably the *kaake* design (p. 9). In several designs four of these *kaake* with their sides and apexes nearly meeting, occupy the center of a zone, the space between them appearing as a cross. In some units this space is partly filled with broad hooks or a series of small chevrons of the coarse herring-bone pattern, showing that the cross was not intended as a design unit. In other units the space between the *kaake* is large and a wide double groove with closed ends appears in its center, thus forming a very attractive cross probably consciously employed as a separate and distinct design (Pl. IX, *c*). In a few designs, grooves of the broad hook type are so placed that the space between them forms a staggared cross with arms extended into hook scrolls (Pl. IX *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*). This unit is more common on war clubs and bowls than on canoe paddles.

One paddle shows a fine example of two sets of concentric ovals pierced and connected by a horizontal groove (Pl. XVI, *A*, *a*) such as appears in under-arm tattooing. On two paddles designs enclosed within small ovals were found which greatly resembled certain tattoo motifs used on the back of the legs. The designs within these ovals differ in minor detail in the two paddles, but the principal feature is the same, namely, a large oval pierced on one side by two short grooves which likewise pierce a smaller oval on the inside of the larger one. There are also figures which suggest *mata* and spaces filled with more or less angular spirals and broad hooks.

Few tiki faces are employed in the decoration of paddles and only one of those seen shows all of the facial features; the others lack ears. One design in the form of a narrow band shows two tiki figures facing each other. (See Pl. XI, *c*.)

One motif repeated on the two sides of a paddle vaguely suggests an insect with a slender body in two sections, a head, and four legs in the form of angular spirals.

Designs on Ancient War Clubs

The designs on the three genuine old war clubs (*uu*) in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are unlike the modern specimens made for sale to tourists. The difference is sufficiently marked as to justify separate description of the old clubs and their modern representatives.

All of the old war clubs have certain features in common. Their heads were designed to represent double tiki heads and this convention has been followed very closely, although the proportions of the various parts of the figure vary somewhat. Each club is carved on both sides of the head and the decorated zones are similarly located. The raised median

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line connecting the two knobs or striking surfaces of the clubs divides 531x the head horizontally into two parts. Above the median line are two small protruding tiki heads carved in the half round and framed in ovals made of radiating lines. These small heads with their frames represent the eyes of the large tiki mentioned just above. A third small tiki head carved in the half round is located in the center of the horizontal median ridge and serves as the nose of the large tiki. The knobs or striking surfaces of the clubs serve as the ears of the large tikis, and the wide carved band below the median ridge serves as the mouth. This carved band is divided into three narrower horizontal bands which, following the usual tiki convention, might be taken to represent the upper lip, the lower lip and the tongue. The upper band consists of two sections a half-inch to an inch apart, which in some figures are connected by a narrow raised band. In all figures examined the middle band or zone contains a tiki face, and the lower band, much the widest of the three, is filled in solidly with fine, detailed carving. Each of these bands has its minor variations. (See pp. 20-21.)

Several of the war clubs show incidental faces close to their upper edges. For instance, a small tiki face is to be seen at the very top of both decorated surfaces—that is, high on the forehead of the large tiki. The eyes of these faces are in line with the lower edge of the beveled surface which is intermediate between both the carved surfaces of the club and the top, or uncarved surface. The head of one of the *uu* is pointed to an exceptional degree which accounts for the fact that the eyes in the little tiki faces have a decided downward slant. On the other clubs the eyes are practically on a level. One *uu* has a small tiki face on both outer edges of the head of the club opposite the center of the oval frames serving as eyes to the large tikis. One-half of the little tiki face is on one carved surface of the club and the other half on the other carved surface, so that the whole face may be seen only on the edge of the club. The eyes of the small tikis on this club slant upward. A specimen (No. E, 5030) in the Peabody Museum, Salem, has tiki faces similarly located and on this specimen also the eyes slant upward.

A detailed study of the carved band on the lower half of the head of the club has brought out some interesting facts. In all but a very few specimens the two sections forming the upper of the three divisions consist of blocks of parallel horizontal lines with borders on the inner end, and in most specimens upon the upper and lower sides also. These borders display parallel vertical lines, zigzags, broad hooks, and a few simple curvilinear spirals. The end borders have as their central design the pierced oval motif. The bands which pierce the ovals either connect the two sec-

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X 531 tions of this band or appear as uplifted arms terminating just below the chin of the small, centrally located tiki head. In one club naturalistic representations of lizards are substituted for arms. The head and half the body of each lizard penetrates the band while the tail points up to the tiki head. On most of the clubs the space between the two sections of the top band is partially filled with a small unit, square or oblong in outline (Pl. IV, *d*) similar to the *pohu* motif used in tattooing. Designs characteristic of war clubs are shown by Linton (22, Pl. LXIX).

Two war clubs were found which differed from the others in the arrangement and selection of designs in this upper division of the decorated section representing the mouth of the large tiki. The designs have no borders and consist of straight lines and broad hooks, both having innumerable short transverse grooves, half sections of concentric ovals and oblongs, pierced ovals, and a few simple curvilinear spirals. On one of these clubs (L. W. J., Peabody Museum, Salem) the outline of the band is very irregular and is filled for the most part with a maze of angular grooves, within which may be distinguished a few pierced oblongs, a few circles, and segments of ovals and oblongs. One motif resembles a palm leaf (Pl. IV, *g*).

The unit of design employed in the central band is a tiki face. These tikis present several interesting variations. In some figures the eyes are on a level, while in others they slant upward, and in one club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) they slant downward. On most figures the eyes are about three-fourths of an inch apart but a photograph of the club in the Peabody Museum shows the eyes of one face to be one and one-eighth inches apart and of the other face one and three-eighth inches apart. On some clubs the eyes are plain, in others they display two encompassing ridges, the outer one wider and carved with parallel vertical lines, or with radiating lines. In one club half the outer ridge is carved with radiating lines and the other half with broad hooks, and what is still more unusual, the two halves are in alternate positions in the two eyes. Many of the faces show supraorbital ridges and a few of these are highly arched.

The club marked "L. W. J., Peabody Museum," displays very large, round eyes with a median transverse groove in place of the more usual ridge connecting nose and ears. Each eye is filled with carving that may be considered a transitional stage between a complete tiki face and a *sunia*. The upper half of the figure shows two eyes consisting of concentric circles, the outermost circles having each an L-shaped groove pointing outward and downward, apparently rudimentary ears. Between the eyes is a roughly circular unit, the central part of which is solid and has many short grooves radiating outward. It seems to be only fill. The nostrils are

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

represented by two sets of curved toothed grooves set end to end. The 531X whole lower half of the figure is plain and was probably intended to represent the mouth.

The noses on the tiki faces are of the conventional tiki type, but some of them are much longer than others. One war club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) shows the nostrils detached from the rest of the features although in proper position. This same club shows a nose on the second tiki face which consists of concentric semi-ovals closed at the bottom, a form more characteristic of a *mata*. The ears are present in some of the tikis and absent in others. When present they are invariably represented by double curvilinear spirals.

The lower of the three divisions, which united represent the mouth of the large tiki, is filled with a lot of small detail carving consisting of short vertical and longer horizontal parallel lines, simple angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*), zigzags, interlocking triangles with rounded apexes filled with curves roughly parallel to the sides of the triangles and having innumerable transverse lines, plam leaf motifs, concentric circles with and without a groove in the center, concentric ovals and half ovals pierced by a straight groove, quarter sections of concentric ovals, concentric squares pierced on one side, single and double broad hooks, and angular and curvilinear spirals. In several clubs a more or less symmetrical effect is achieved in this band by the presence of two long, narrow grooves in horizontal position and centrally located, each ending in a pierced oval at the outer edge of the club and frequently having a larger pierced oval directly above and below the long grooves, the remaining space being variously filled.

Designs on Modern War Clubs

The war clubs made in recent times for trade and for the tourists are [439 inferior to the older specimens in quality of carving and in simplicity and 411] effectiveness of decoration. Even the shape of the clubs has degenerated. Every square inch of available space on the sides of the heads of the modern war clubs is carved, and the tiki, which is the central concept in the decoration of the ancient clubs, is poorly delineated. A greatly elongated forehead has become the center of decoration and the eyes have been shoved down and brought closer together. In place of small tiki heads carved in the half round, the modern clubs show oblong-shaped projecting knobs with tiki faces carved in low relief on the front surface, or round, undecorated knobs. A similar knob represents the nose, and the ears—undecorated in the older specimens—are elaborately carved in angular geometric designs. As representation of a mouth, the wide carved

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*531 band on the handle just below the head of the modern club is a poor substitute for the carved band on the lower part of the head of the older clubs.

On the heads of most modern clubs the central and most prominent feature is a circular, oval, or square unit of design surrounded by a border of angular geometric or, rarely, curvilinear patterns. This is carved on what is really the forehead of the tiki. On many clubs directly above the central unit and breaking into the border is a double hook. (See p. 8 and Pl. VI, *f*.) In one example, a square central unit is divided into four triangles each containing a tiki face. Several of the oval units contain six tiki faces all turned toward the center of the unit, which is occupied by a small circle or by one of the many variant forms of a pierced oval or *pokaa* (p. 23 and fig. 1, *a-j*). The space between the tiki faces and the center of the unit is variously filled. In one specimen lines extend from the sides of the nostrils to a small central circle and the space between is filled with parallel horizontal lines. In other designs sections of concentric ovals extend downward from the lower lip of the tiki. Two large circular units each contain seven tiki faces just inside the perimeter, while the center of the unit is occupied by a circle about one and three-fourths inches in diameter with lines drawn to its center like the spokes of a wheel. The space between the spokes is filled with concentric triangles.

Some of the motifs are far more complex. One oval contains a large tiki face in the upper half of the unit, the lower half being filled with horizontal lines with incised sides. In the curvilinear patterns there seems to be no definite order, but rather a maze of short curved lines, segments of concentric ovals, spirals, and *pokaa*. Around the base of most of the protruding tiki heads is a border of concentric semi-circles with the open ends directed outward.

In one war club the central unit is replaced by about as great a variety of motifs as could possibly be carved in an area of its size. This conglomeration includes a tiki face, a *mata*, isolated eyes with one set or two sets of ears attached, *kouke* motifs, angular and curvilinear spirals, staggared crosses, and circles containing *pokaa* or variations of that element.

The lower half of the carved surfaces of the modern war clubs, including the handles, shows a free use of angular geometric design elements such as horizontal toothed lines, diagonal lines, interlocking triangles, concentric diamonds, and angular spirals. One design which repeatedly occurs is a modified staggared cross. There are several small oval units which contain tiki faces and *mata*. Close examination of one such oval disclosed six *mata*, each half of the unit having three *mata*, one within the other. The prevailing designs on handles are tiki figures and insects.

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Fig. 1. Drawings showing the development of the *pokaa* design.

The *pokaa* (p. 8) is found in so many variant forms on war clubs as to merit special attention. Fig. 1 shows twelve *pokaa* arranged in order of simplicity to demonstrate a possible line of development; *a* shows the simplest and most typical form. In *b* the same form is shown but with a short tongue extending down from the center of the arch; in *c* the tongue is longer, and in *d* the ends of the *pokaa* are recurved inward and upward and a tongue is lacking; *e* shows the arch broken in the center; *f* has a vertical line and dot between the arms of the figure; *g*, *h* and *j* show steps in the development of a spiral; *k* is a combination of *a* and *b*; *l* represents in reality two figures like that shown in *k*, placed back to back and connected by a straight groove (a marked similarity to the under-arm tattoo motif); and *m* differs from *l* only in having a rectangular outer edge.

A number of angular geometric and curvilinear elements and motifs are used as border patterns and as fill on modern war clubs, but the outstanding designs employed are the tiki faces, the isolated eyes with one or two sets of ears attached, the naturalistic representations of insects, and the variant forms of the *pokaa*.

Designs on Bowls

The Marquesans have extended their highly developed wood-working technique to the decoration of bowls. One fine old specimen (Pl. xiv) shows a predominance of curvilinear designs while another, a large and much weathered feast bowl (Pl. xiii) shows an even stronger predominance of angular geometric housepost designs. The more recently made specimens show coarse, wide lines, giving a heavier effect, and in their carvings angular geometric designs are employed as much as the curvilinear patterns. The bowls carved for commercial purposes at the present time [445 show very open but coarse angular geometric designs. Their decoration 437] appears to have occupied only the time necessary to produce a salable article.

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*531 In the decoration of bowls, the bottoms and the sides are treated as independent units. Three bowls examined have no carving on the bottom and one bowl has only a small portion of its sides decorated, evidently an unfinished article. In some bowls the bottom is treated as a single unit; in others it is divided into bands or more or less roughly triangular sections. The sides of all bowls have vertical divisions and many have longitudinal divisions also. In most bowls the vertical division lines or grooves do not extend from the top to the bottom of the bowl, but only the width of the longitudinal bands, and as the designs in the various bands are usually dissimilar it would seem that the carver completed one band or section of it before beginning work on a second band. Groups of parallel lines such as were used to separate divisions on house posts were seen on only one bowl. A photograph of a Marquesan bowl in the collection of M. Geo. LeGarde shows large diagonal divisions in addition to the vertical and longitudinal divisions. On a few bowls the designs extend to the top but a narrow border of one to four parallel lines is carved along the rim of most of the bowls.

The angular geometric elements used in the decoration of Marquesan bowls are listed in the following summary. The spirals and interlocking triangles are the most commonly used. With few exceptions the design elements and motifs are those also employed in the decoration of other objects, but numbers 5, 6c, 8 and 9 were not seen on house posts, canoe models, or war clubs:

1. Straight vertical and longitudinal lines:
   a. Single lines used to separate divisions.
   b. Groups of longitudinal lines used for borders.
   c. Blocks of short longitudinal lines similar to the angular comb design, used for fill.
   d. Wide vertical lines scolloped on one side and blocks of narrower longitudinal scolloped lines used for fill.
2. Blocks of parallel diagonal lines used for fill and to separate interlocking triangles.
3. Herring-bone design.
4. Zig-zags.
5. Crosshatching.
6. Interlocking triangles filled with:
   a. Lines parallel to one side.
   b. Series of V's.
   c. One row of triangles plain and the other filled with V's, or with the plain triangle having a scolloped base (Pl. v, *e*).
7. Groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes their bases forming the sides of a rectangular zone, and the triangles filled with V's.
8. Rows of dots (Pl. v, *g*).
9. Block design. (See p. 10 and Pl. xvi, *A*, *b*.)
10. Single triangles filled with V's or with segments of concentric ovals.
11. Concentric triangles.
12. Concentric rectangles.
13. Concentric diamonds.
14. Triangular and rectangular spirals.

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15. Plain crosses.
16. Staggered crosses and modifications of that motif.

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Few curvilinear design elements are employed in the decoration of bowls but some of these are used with great frequency. There are a few complete and a great many segments of concentric ovals. True spirals and even a few double spirals are found. Some arrangements of the double spirals suggest *mata* (Pl. v, *f*). The curvilinear form of the comb design, also broad hooks, *kaake* and several variant forms of the *pokoa* appear on the bowls.

One bowl shows a design obviously related to the *kaake*, the chief difference being the substitution of a curved outline for a sharp elbow (Pl. vi, *g*). A semi-oval unit filled with broad hooks and diagonal lines (Pl. viii, *e*) appears in the photograph of another bowl.

Floral effects and representations of leaves are rarely found on bowls. The floral motifs were seen only on the bottom of bowls, and bunches of leaves only on the sides. The floral patterns are more or less oval figures, with six, nine and ten petals radiating from a central point or small central circle. Pointed ovals similarly arranged and probably intended for conventionalized flowers appear upon a plain background or have the spaces between the petals filled with tiki faces, concentric triangles, or staggared crosses. Sprays of small leaves are found on the side of a very old and finely carved bowl in the collection of Madam Malius in Taoa, Hiva Oa (Pl. xiv and p. 10). A larger spray of leaves appears in another photograph of a bowl (Pl. viii, *d*).

Tiki faces are largely used in bowl decoration but complete tiki figures and *mata* are uncommon. The tendency to further conventionalize the tiki by dropping one after another of the facial features is especially evident in bowl designs (p. 12 and Pl. x, *a-j*). The bowl showing the curved *kaake* (Pl. vi, *g*) and the large spray of three leaves (Pl. viii, *d*) also displays in an oblong space what appears to be a much conventionalized *mata*, in which all the features are angular (Pl. xvi, *A*, *c*). The photograph of another Marquesan bowl shows several *mata* with noses represented by small solid squares and the mouths by large semi-ovals filled with parallel horizontal or diagonal lines.

Two small coconut shell bowls afford an interesting study of the relationship of tikis and *mata* (Pl. xv). One of the bowls shows four pairs of tiki eyes between the arms of a cross. The other has in the same position four sets of *mata* eyes but no other features. Still another coconut shell bowl or flask displays two *mata* faces with the eyes so placed as to give a curiously realistic effect—much more like that produced by a tiki than by the ordinary *mata*.

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A favorite design motif for bowls is a conventionalized insect. Some of the many variations of this motif are illustrated on Plate XVIII, *a-j*, *n-u*. The representation of a lizard described on page 11 and shown on Plate XVIII, *l* appears upon one bowl and much conventionalized representations of human beings, described on page 13, are also found. (See Pl. V, *c*.)

Designs on Treasure Boxes

A Marquesan treasure box in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum is decorated on the cover and the sides. The design on the cover is divided into two longitudinal sections and also into horizontal bands. It has no complete longitudinal divisions and some of the horizontal divisions are very irregular in outline. On the side of the box near the bottom is a narrow band extending along one side and one end. It is formed of a zigzag line on either side of a straight groove, the remaining space being a series of solid triangles. A band of like design appears on the cover in horizontal position crossing the longitudinal division.

The decorations on this treasure box include angular geometric patterns, curvilinear patterns, and a few naturalistic figures, but the predominant design element is a series of very irregular concentric diamonds. Many of the sides of the diamonds are curving—the result of careless workmanship.

The designs include also a series of concentric circles pierced by a groove, one example of plain concentric circles, and a great many curved lines in such position as to suggest that they were intended to be a series of V's but with apexes and sides rounded out. A possible line of evolution is suggested by several intermediate stages between a true V and a semicircle or oval as shown in figure 2.

Fig. 2. Drawings showing the transition from the triangle to the semi-oval. From designs on a treasure box.

One section of this box is carved into a maze in which both angular and curved lines are used with no apparent reason except to fill space.

This treasure box is the only object on which were found representations of human beings resembling those found in petroglyphs. Some few of them are veritable gargoyles. (See p. 12 and Pl. XVII, *a*, *b*, *c* and *f*.)

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Designs on Chisel Handles

The collection of Marquesan objects in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum includes two chisels with carved handles. The four design elements or motifs employed in their decoration are: single triangles filled with V's, interlocking triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, concentric diamonds, and a single crude tiki face. Both carved handles are models and may not be true representatives. 531x

Designs on Stilts

The shafts of the stilts used in Marquesan games are undecorated, but the steps of the stilts are commonly carved (22, Pl. LXVIII, *B*). The principal decoration on the three specimens in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are tiki figures carved in the round. In addition to these figures there are straight horizontal interlocking grooves of diagonal lines, such as are used on the house posts, herring-bone, zigzags, scolloped lines, interlocking triangles filled with V's, single triangles filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, staggared crosses, broad hooks, *kaake*, curved spirals, segments of concentric ovals and combs. Of these the staggared cross is the most common. [481]

Designs on Pakea

The Marquesan *pakea* is a crown made up of curved plaques of tortoise shell carved on the concave surface and separated by strips of a white shell, all attached to a headband of sennit. There are also carved celluloid plaques made of materials brought by white traders. [293]

Each plaque has at least one tiki face displayed as the central design. On some plaques complete tiki figures are used as a border design; on others half of a face forms the unit of design. There seems to be no uniformity in arrangement or choice of border design. The predominant angular geometric patterns include: straight horizontal lines, straight longitudinal lines, herring-bone, zigzags, interlocking triangles in which one row of triangles is plain and the opposite row is filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, segments of concentric rectangles, diamonds filled with angular spirals, rectangular spirals, hook scrolls, and staggared crosses. The single example of a checkerwork unit consists of a central square and four other squares placed at the four corners (Pl. IV, *b*), all included in a space one-fourth inch wide and five-sixteenths inch long.

The few curvilinear patterns noted include segments of concentric circles and ovals, broad hooks, *kaake*, combs, and the palm leaf.

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X531 The combinations of designs on the *pakea* are neither numerous nor very complex. There are examples of diamonds with herring-bone on either side of the diamond, herring-bone with a longitudinal groove running down the center, staggared crosses ending in four combs, and four-quarter ovals placed in a square space so that the curved surfaces nearly meet, but leave a small, plain cross in the center.

Tattoo Designs[2]

X531 304 The Marquesans arranged the tattoo designs upon the body for the most part in horizontal bands with many longitudinal and diagonal divisions in much the fashion followed in wood carving. Some of these bands are of solid color; others are split up into small, almost minute, designs. Large rectangular, triangular, circular, oval, and semi-oval units filled with smaller designs stand out prominently.

The design elements themselves are the same as those used in wood carving with one or two additions and a few subtractions. One tattoo design not used in carving is a representation of a small fish of unidentifiable species (Pl. xvi, *B, b*): another is a conventionalized bird (Pl. xvi, *B, c*). Among the design elements and motifs found in tattooing are straight and curved lines ending in dots, lines that dovetail into each other such as are found on some house posts (Pl. ii, *b*), double scolloped lines, zigzags, wavy lines, fretwork, crosshatching, herring-bone, chevrons, V's, concentric V's, single and concentric rectangles, segments of rectangles, the block design (Pl. xvi, *A, b*), rows of plain triangles, triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, interlocking triangles, and double triangles with apexes meeting to produce a form like an hourglass (Pl. xvi, *B, d*).

The oval used in tattooing is more nearly a true oval than is the oval used in carving. It is used singly or in concentric series, both plain and pierced, and in under-arm tattooing a series of two pierced and connected ovals is employed. Some circles are plain, others have a single dot in the center, and still others are arranged in concentric series or filled with *pokoa*, semi-ovals, radiating lines, double spirals, or faces (*mata*). Segments of circles, crude curvilinear and better angular spirals, and irregular curves are used here and there to fill in space. A face illustrated by Willowdean C. Handy (18, Pl. v, fig. 7) is decorated with large, well-formed curvilinear spirals which a native informant described as an ancient design used by all warriors. This same tattoo design is common in Melanesia and its use in the Marquesas suggests some former cultural

[2] This discussion of Marquesan tattoo designs is based largely on drawings by Willowdean C. Handy (18).

[See 8: Handy, this file — Analyst]

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connection. It is also interesting to inquire why the use of this design has not persisted. 531x 304

One form of *mata* deserves special attention. Its convention is confined to tattooing and is strikingly different from the tiki faces used in carving. The design is not so stereotyped as the tikis and strongly suggests the Jack-o'-lantern faces made by children on Hallowe'en. The eyes are represented by large ovals or small segments of concentric circles. The ears are rarely shown, the nose is commonly omitted, and some figures have no mouth, but this organ is usually emphasized and represented by a wide, curved line so that the whole face, while grotesque, is also pleasing and comical (Pl. XVI, *B, f, g*). Many circles contain two such *mata* opposite each other.

Mata of the same type as those employed in wood carving are also common in tattooing as are likewise the *kaake* and many forms of the *pokas* (fig. 1, *a, c, k*). It should be noted that the *kaake* used in tattooing is not strictly limited to the elbow-shaped design found in wood carving. Curved forms and straight bands, but with the characteristic *kaake* fill, are found in tattooing. One example of the curved type of comb design was also noted.

A number of conventionalized representations of natural objects find place in tattooing. Among these the insect designs hold first place. Only one example each of a lizard, a bird (Pl. XVI, *B, c*), and a fish (Pl. XVI, *B, b*) was noted. No true representations of plant life were found; although small circular units filled with curved lines, the convex sides nearly touching in the center of the circle (Pl. XVI, *B, e*), and similar units filled with long, slender ovals with short transverse bars at the outer edge (Pl. XVI, *B, a*) may have been intended for floral designs. There are also a few examples of the palm leaf design used in wood carving.

Tattoo patterns include a great many conventionalized designs representing human beings. Some of them represent the head by a large dot; others use a triangle or a straight bar. The shoulders and arms are represented by a short, horizontal line with a vertical line drawn down from both ends, and in a few figures by curved lines (Pl. XVII, *d*). In some of these designs it is impossible to tell whether the figure is facing up or down, as for example the designs in Plate XVII, *d*, 5-7, which may be turned upside down and still resemble human forms. A very characteristic convention is to represent the arms as upraised. In such figures the head is commonly omitted. In a great many figures the arms and legs terminate in square blocks. Plate XVII, *e* and *g* shows examples of designs which somewhat resemble petroglyphs. Several such naturalistic

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X531 figures in various poses that may well have pictographic significance are 304 shown by Mrs. Handy (18, Pl. xv, *C*).[1]

SUMMARY

X531 Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: House post designs, which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear; and tattoo designs.

Designs for house posts were extensively used on recent canoe models and were probably used on ancient canoes. The table of design elements (pp. 32-34) shows that bowl designs make use of the largest number of design elements and motifs. They even include most of the house post designs although in subordinate positions. The most important bowl designs not found on house posts are the hook scroll, curvilinear spirals, small tiki faces, floral designs, and representations of insects. The few angular spirals seen on house posts are not typical, but this design is important in bowl decoration. *Mata, kaake,* and pierced ovals are as characteristically bowl designs as tattoo designs. Bowl designs have been freely used in the decoration of canoe paddles, war clubs, treasure boxes, chisel handles, stilts and *pakea.*

X531 171 The designs of ornamental sennit lashings extensively used in the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa are similar to those carved on Marquesan house posts. It seems probable that these designs were originally worked out in the sennit lashings and that in the Marquesas they were later copied in wood carving.

X531 532 The tiki figure has gone through an extensive process of conventionalization, many stages of which are visible in the Marquesan carving. There is a gradual degeneration of design from the complete tiki figure carved in the full round, represented by the large wooden and stone idols and by a few wooden house posts, to tiki figures representing only part of the body, usually the upper half, as found on small bone ornaments. The next step is to omit the body entirely and show only the face which in turn is still further reduced, leaving out one facial feature after another until only the eyes or eyes with ears attached remain. It should not be inferred that the highly conventionalized forms are now used to the exclusion of the more complete tikis. The design is chosen to fit the object and the space to be decorated, but there are far more tiki faces than full tiki figures and more incomplete tiki faces than complete ones.

X531 The *mata* is closely related to the tiki face and may have been derived from it. *Mata* are much more in evidence on canoe models and canoe paddles than on war clubs and bowls; the opposite relation holds for tiki

1 [See 8: Handy, this file.—Analyst]

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faces. Of all the designs employed by the Marquesans those which are found most frequently are tikis, *mata*, angular spirals, broad hooks, hook scrolls, and representations of insects. 531x

It may here be remarked that the great number and the character of the designs employed by the Marquesans in carving and in tattooing suggest that it would have been an easy step to develop a system of picture writing, and that probably the Marquesans would have taken this step in a comparatively short time had the gradual evolution of their culture not been interrupted by the coming of Europeans with their far more effective system of writing.

In Table 1 all the design elements and motifs used in Marquesan carving are listed together with the objects upon which they are found.

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TABLE NO. 1

MARQUESAN DESIGN ELEMENTS AND MOTIFS USED IN CARVING

DESIGN ELEMENT OR MOTIF	OBJECTS CARVED								
	HOUSE POSTS	CANOE MODELS	CANOE PADDLES	WAR CLUBS	BOWLS	TREASURE BOX	CHISEL HANDLES	STILTS	PAKEA
1. Straight horizontal lines	×	×	×	×	×	×			×
1a. Straight horizontal interlocking grooves	×			×				×	
2. Straight longitudinal lines				×	×	×			×
3. Scolloped lines	×	×	×		×			×	
3a. Toothed lines		×		×					
4. Parallel diagonal lines	×	×	×	×	×			×	
5. Radiating lines				×					
6. Herring-bone			×	×	×			×	×
7. Zigzags	×			×	×	×		×	×
8. Crosshatching					×				
9. Rows of dots					×				
10. Single triangles:									
10a. Triangles filled with V's					×	×	×	×	
10b. Triangles filled with segments of ovals					×				
11. Interlocking triangles filled with:									
11a. Lines parallel to one side		×		×	×		×		
11b. A series of V's			×	×	×			×	×
11c. Plain	×					×			
11d. Scolloped base					×				
11e. Concentric triangles				×					
12. Groups of four triangles meeting at the apex	×	×		×	×			×	×
13. Concentric triangles		×	×	×	×	×			
14. Checkerwork									×

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TABLE NO. 1—*Continued*

MARQUESAN DESIGN ELEMENTS AND MOTIFS USED IN CARVING

531x

DESIGN ELEMENT OR MOTIF	OBJECTS CARVED								
	HOUSE POSTS	CANOE MODELS	CANOE PADDLES	WAR CLUBS	BOWLS	TREASURE BOX	CHISEL HANDLES	STILTS	PAKEA
15. Block design	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16. Concentric rectangles	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
16a. Segments of concentric rectangles	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
16b. Pierced concentric rectangles	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	×
17. Solid diamonds	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—
18. Concentric diamonds	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	—	—
19. Diamonds filled with angular spiral	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	×
20. Angular fretwork	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
21. Angular spirals:	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21a. Triangular spirals	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
21b. Rectangular spirals	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
21c. Hook scroll	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
22. Plain crosses	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
23. Staggared crosses	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	×	×
23a. Modified staggared crosses	—	—	—	×	×	—	—	—	—
24. Plain circles	×	—	—	—	—	×	—	—	—
25. Concentric circles	×	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
26. Plain ovals	×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
27. Concentric ovals	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
28. Pierced ovals (eipuoto)	—	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—
29. Segments of concentric circles and ovals	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×
30. Curved spirals	—	—	×	×	×	—	—	×	—

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE NO. 1—*Continued*

*531

MARQUESAN DESIGN ELEMENTS AND MOTIFS USED IN CARVING

DESIGN ELEMENT OR MOTIF	OBJECTS CARVED								
	HOUSE POSTS	CANOE MODELS	CANOE PADDLES	WAR CLUBS	BOWLS	TREASURE BOX	CHISEL HANDLES	STILTS	PAKEA
31. Broad hooks		×	×	×	×			×	×
32. Double hooks				×					
33. Elbows (kaake)		×	×	×	×			×	×
34. Pohu				×					
35. Pokaa	×		×	×	×	×			
36. Combs				×	×			×	×
37. Parallel wavy lines	×								
38. Irregular curves	×		×	×		×			
39. Leaf designs:									
39a. Palm leaf				×					×
39b. Other leaf forms					×				
40. Floral units					×				
41. Animal forms:									
41a. Insects		×	×	×	×				
41b. Lizards				×	×				
41c. Centipedes						×			
42. Mata	×	×	×	×	×				
42a. Modified mata		×			×				
43. Tiki		×	×	×	×		×	×	×
43a. Isolated eyes with or without ears			×	×					
44. Other forms of human figures					×	×			

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

*531

(From drawings by the author except as otherwise indicated)

PLATE I.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON THE HANDLES OF CHIEFS' STAVES.

These designs are: *(a)*, conventionalized lizard, combined with checkerwork; *(b)*, a modified checkerwork design.

PLATE II.—MARQUESAN HOUSE POST DESIGNS.

The designs are: *(a)*, straight parallel horizontal lines; *(b)*, straight horizontal interlocking grooves; *(c)*, straight horizontal interlocking grooves in three divisions; *(d)*, straight horizontal interlocking grooves in four divisions; *(e)*, parallel diagonal lines; *(f)*, zigzag lines; *(g)*, plain interlocking triangles; *(h)*, square unit filled with a group of four triangles meeting at apex; *(j)*, concentric diamonds; *(k)*, small diamonds arranged in close order to fill a zone.

PLATE III.—MARQUESAN HOUSE POST DESIGNS.

The designs include: *(a)*, wavy lines; *(b)*, irregular curves; *(c)*, scalloped lines; *(d)*, interlocking diagonal lines; *(e)*, concentric circles with parallel lines; *(f)*, concentric ovals; *(g)*, half section of concentric ovals pierced by two parallel vertical lines; *(h)*, segment of concentric ovals.

PLATE IV.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON WOODEN BOWLS.

The bowl designs include: *(a)*, concentric rectangles; *(b)*, checkerwork; *(c)*, hook-scroll; *(d)*, shell design called by the natives *pohu*; *(e)*, comb design; *(f)*, angular comb design; *(g)*, palm leaf design; *(h)*, fretwork; *(j)*, interlocking triangles filled with lines parallel to one side; *(k)*, interlocking triangles filled with V's; *(l)*, interlocking triangles filled with concentric triangles.

PLATE V.—MARQUESAN DESIGN ELEMENTS USED IN BOWL DECORATION.

The designs include: *(a)*, crosshatching: *(b)*, conventionalized design representing the human form; *(c)*, still further conventionalized human forms; *(d)*, double spirals; *(e)*, interlocking triangles separated by parallel lines, alternate triangles having a scollop in the base; *(f)*, (face), *mata*, formed by double spirals; *(g)*, rows of dots.

PLATE VI.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS.

The drawings include: *(a)*, pierced oval; *(b)*, diamond filled with a spiral; *(c)*, radiating lines; *(d)*, concentric triangles; *(e)*, triangle filled with segments of ovals; *(f)*, double hook; *(g)*, curved *haake* design.

PLATE VII.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS.

The drawings include: *(a)*, a common form of *haake*; *(b)*, another form of *haake*; *(c)*, two concentric triangles placed base to base suggest a possible origin of the diamond; *(d)*, triangular spiral; *(e)*, double triangular spiral; *(f, g, h)*, rectangular spirals; *(j, k and l)*, forms of the broad hook.

PLATE VIII.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS.

These drawings include: *(a)*, double angular spiral with both spirals turned in the same direction; *(b)*, double curvilinear spiral with the spirals turned in the same direction; *(c)*, double angular spiral with the spirals turned in opposite directions; *(d)*, leaf design; *(e)*, semi-oval unit filled with broad hooks and diagonal lines.

[pp. 35 - 100 not processed]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PLATE IX.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON CANOE PADDLES AND BOWLS.

The patterns are: *(a-b)*, staggered crosses found on paddles; *(c)*, plain cross found on a paddle; *(d)*, modified form of staggered cross found on a bowl; *(e)*, cross adapted to a roughly triangular space found on a bowl.

PLATE X.—MARQUESAN USE OF THE TIKI FACE MOTIF.

The conventionalization of the figure shows: *(a-b)*, complete tiki faces; *(c-d)*, a facial feature eliminated; *(e)*, all the usual facial features with the nose and mouth out of position; *(f)*, the nose eliminated; *(g* and *j)*, single eyes with ears directly attached; *(h)*, even the ears omitted, leaving only a pair of tiki eyes.

PLATE XI.—MARQUESAN TIKI FIGURES CARVED IN THE FLAT.

The carvings represent: *(a)*, tiki figure carved on a bowl (twice original size); *(b)*, two tiki figures facing each other, showing faces, arms and knees—design on a war club; *(c)*, two tiki figures facing each other, showing faces, arms and body, but only a single pair of legs—design on blade of a canoe paddle.

PLATE XII.—MARQUESAN MATA DESIGNS.

A. Designs on canoe models: *(a* and *c)*, ordinary types; *(b* and *d)*, modified designs; *(e)*, a very naturaltistic *mata* design, showing the close connection between the *mata* and the *tiki*.

B. *Mata* designs found on canoe paddles: *(a)*, *mata* adapted to a triangular space; *(b)*, design possibly intended for a *mata*; *(c)*, a double *mata* in a semi-oval unit; *(d)*, design containing several *mata*, one within the other.

PLATE XIII.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON A FEAST BOWL.

(Reproduced from rubbings.)

PLATE XIV.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON A BOWL.

This bowl is in the collection of Madam Malius in Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa. Original rubbing by Ralph Linton.

PLATE XV.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON COCONUT BOWLS.

(Reproduced from rubbings.)

PLATE XVI.—MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON BOWLS AND TATTOO DESIGNS.

A. Carvings: *(a)*, ovals connected by a horizontal groove, very similar to the under-arm tattoo design, found on wooden bowl; *(b)*, tattoo block design, found on canoe paddle; *(c)*, *mata* adapted to a rectangular unit, all features being angular.

B. Marquesan tatoo designs: *(a)*, approach toward floral design (Handy); *(b)*, representation of a fish (Handy); *(c)*, representation of a bird (Handy); *(d)*, the hourglass design (Handy); *(e)*, semi-ovals within a circular unit; *(f)*, human face (design made from a rubbing of a wooden bed post, carved to show tattoo designs; *(g)*, human face (Handy).

PLATE XVII.—MARQUESAN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HUMAN FORM.

The figures are: *(a)*, columnar body and arms akimbo; *(b)*, body and arms the same as in *(a)* but the legs much heavier; *(c)*, triangular body, arms hanging straight down, head detached but with an elaborate headdress; *(d-e)*, much conventionalized figures; *(f)*, very grotesque figure; *(g)*, a form noteworthy because of its square head (Handy). *(a, b, c* and *f)* are carved on a treasure box; *(d, e* and *g)* are tattooing designs.

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PLATE XVIII.—MARQUESAN REPRESENTATION OF ANIMAL FORMS.

The drawings include: *(a-j* and *n-s)*, probably representations of insects, although the species cannot be identified; *(k* and *m)*, probably representations of centipedes; *(l)*, represents a lizard or a tortoise.

PLATE XIX.—HAWAIIAN TAPA DESIGNS.

The figures include: *(a)*, a modified form of herring-bone design; *(b)*, arches formed by combination of zigzag and vertical lines; *(c)*, a simple form of cross; *(d)*, zigzags and diamonds combined; *(e)*, diamond-shaped block filled with diagonal rows of smaller diamonds; *(f)*, crosshatching superposed upon crossbarring; *(g)*, one form of interlocking triangles; *(h)*, fretwork composed of right angle triangles; *(j)*, group of rosettes; *(k)*, single rosette; *(l)*, modified form of a cross, width eight inches; *(m)*, irregular figures; *(n)*, modified form of the heart design, usually grouped in fours as in *(l)*.

PLATE XX.—HAWAIIAN TAPA DESIGNS.

The figures include: *(a)*, form of interlocking triangles; *(b)*, form of four-pointed star; *(c)*, four pointed star; *(d)*, cross with arms extended into leaf-like forms; *(e)*, group of four heart-shaped units arranged in the form of a cross (width about 12 inches); *(f)*, leaf design probably intended to represent a papaya leaf (width about 18 inches); *(g)*, design probably intended to represent the ieie vine and used as a continuous pattern; *(h)*, one form of the crescent design.

PLATE XXI.—HAWAIIAN DESIGNS ON GOURDS AND CALABASHES.

The patterns are composed of: *(a)*, simple crenulated lines; *(b)*, crenulated lines, dots on both sides of the line in alternate position; *(c)*, groups of parallel crenulated lines; *(d)*, serrated lines; *(e)*, dots with short lines struck through them; *(f)*, rows of dots between parallel lines; *(g)*, brick or stone wall design using vertical crenulated lines; *(h)*, brick wall design using vertical and horizontal crenulated lines; *(j)*, triangular design having convex base; *(k)*, band design consisting of leaves—the plant cannot be identified from the design; *(l)*, band design consisting of rows of triangles, the apex of one touching the center of the base of the next in line—probably representing the fruit of the hala; *(m)*, the hourglass arrangement of triangles.

PLATE XXII.—SAMOAN TAPA DESIGNS.

The figures represent: *(a)*, triangle filled with diagonal lines and a rhombus; *(b)*, triangle filled with smaller interlocking triangles; *(c)*, triangle filled with herringbone design; *(d)*, triangle filled with diamonds; *(e)*, triangle filled with wavy lines; *(f)*, all-over triangular design.

PLATE XXIII.—SAMOAN TAPA DESIGNS.

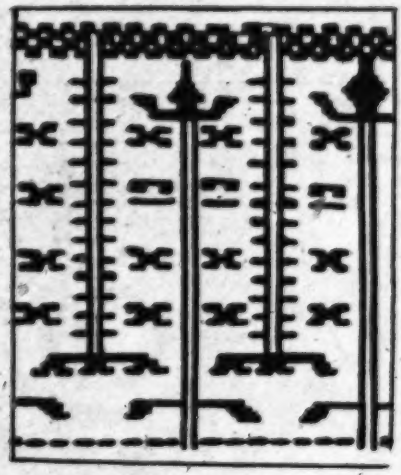
The designs include: *(a)*, triangle filled with V's having concave sides; *(b)*, triangles containing shallow crescents; *(c)*, triangle filled with V's and group of four small triangles; *(d)*, interlocking triangles filled with V's and vertical lines; *(e)*, chain of pointed ellipses; *(f)*, group of two diamonds within an oblong block; *(g)*, floral effect created by groups of semi-ellipses radiating from a central point; *(h)*, two overlapping diamonds containing segments of circles; *(j)*, row of connected crescents; *(k)*, row of modified pointed ellipses; *(l)*, motif including diamonds, segments of circles and four pointed stars; *(m)*, pointed ellipse filled with band of triangles and diagonal lines; *(n)*, pointed ellipse filled with zigzags; *(o)*, two forms of triangles both supposed to represent the bat; *(p)*, design representing the swallow; *(q)*, a representation of a jelly fish *(a, p* and *q* after Kraemer.)

PLATE XXIV.—SAMOAN DESIGNS ON WAR CLUBS.

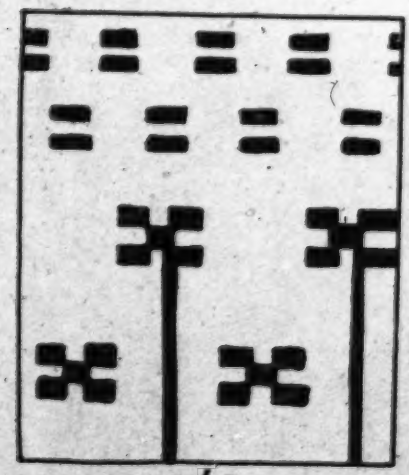
The designs include: *(a)*, band design showing use of single triangles and double rows of triangular depressions which leave raised zigzags; *(b)*, band-design

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x531



a



b

MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON HANDLES OF CHIEFS' STAVES

[p. 104]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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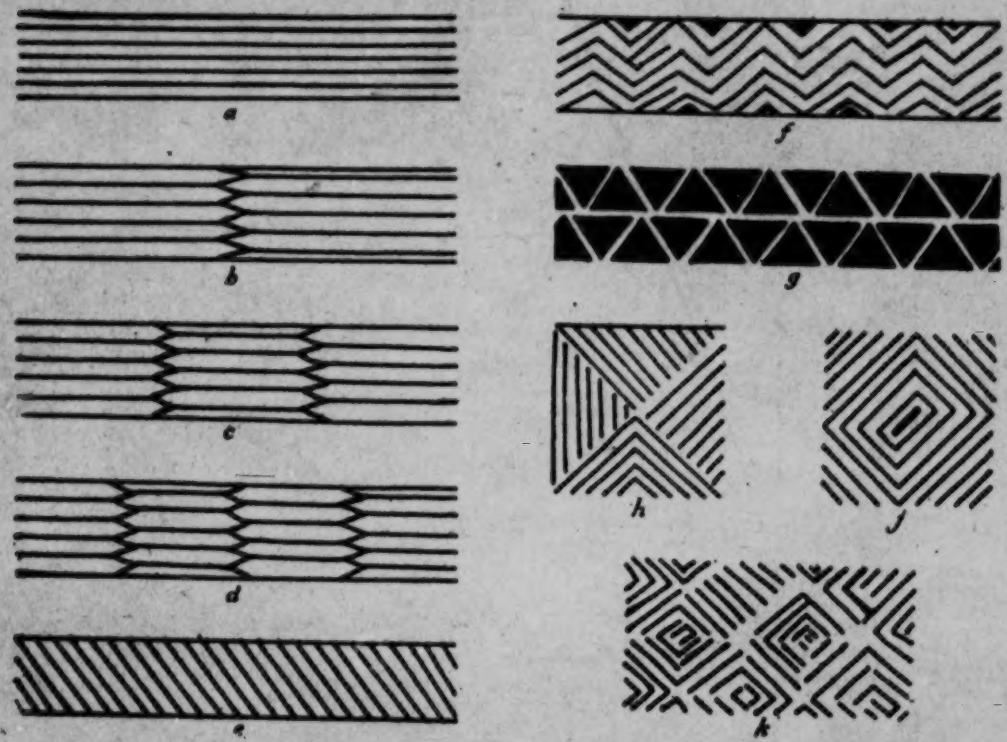
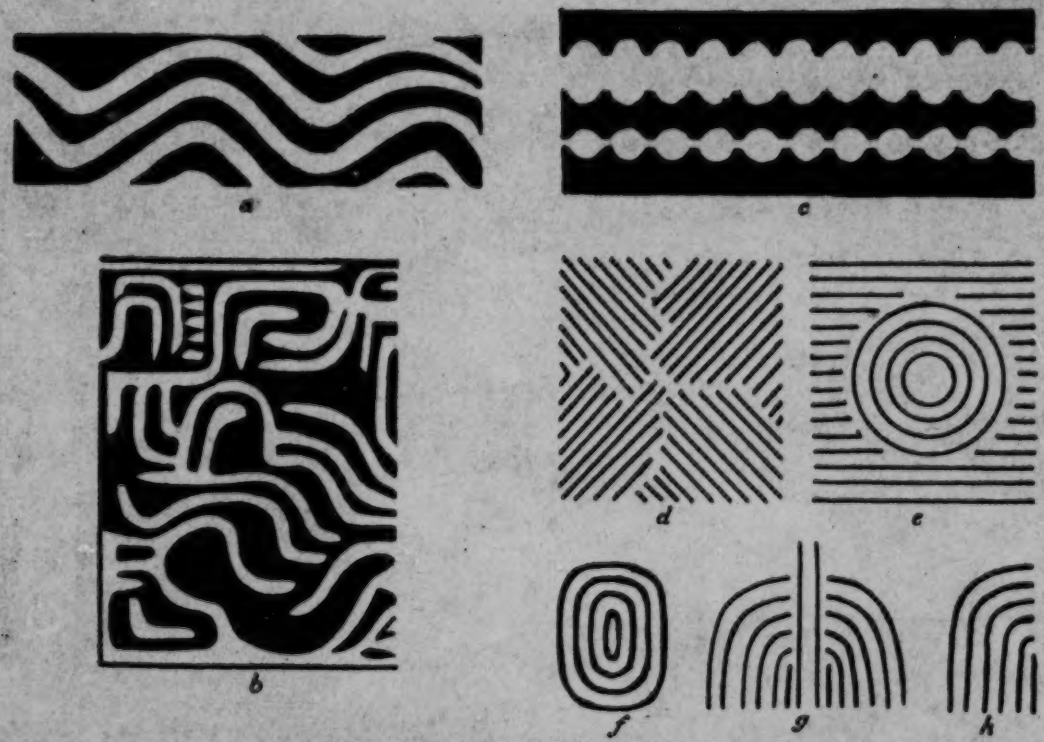


MARQUESAN HOUSE POST DESIGNS

[p. 105]



MARQUESAN HOUSE POST DESIGNS

[p.106]

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9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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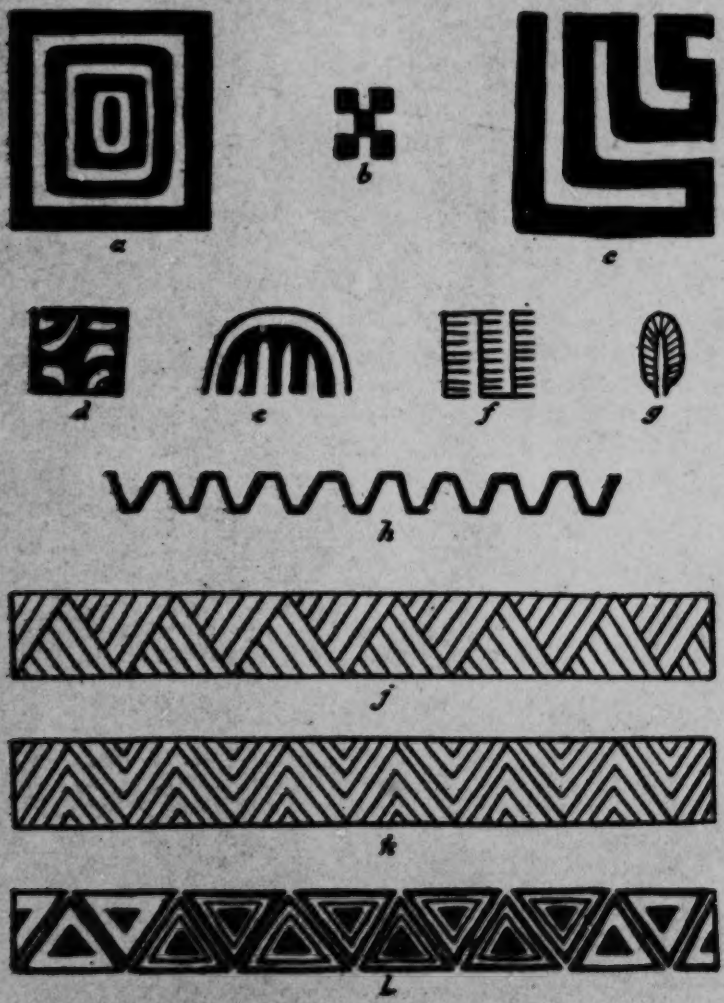


MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON WOODEN BOWLS

[p. 107]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531

a

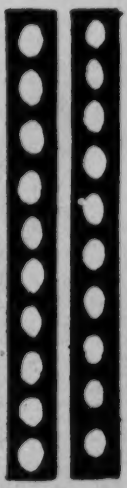
b

c

e

d

f



g

MARQUESAN DESIGN ELEMENTS USED IN BOWL DECORATION

[p. 108]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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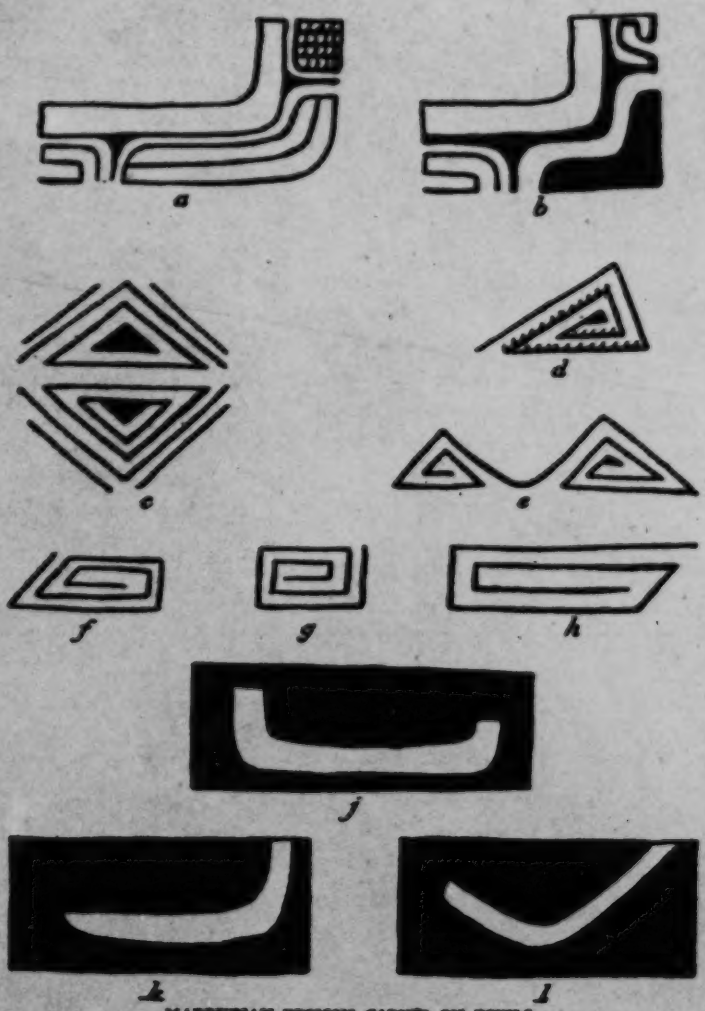
MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS

[p. 109]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531

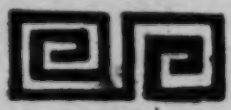


MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS

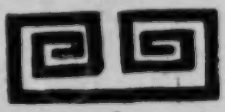
[p. 110]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531



a



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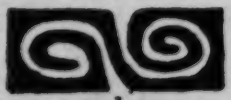
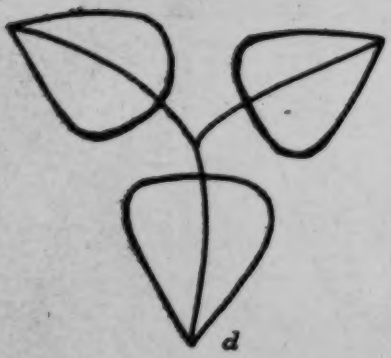


b



d

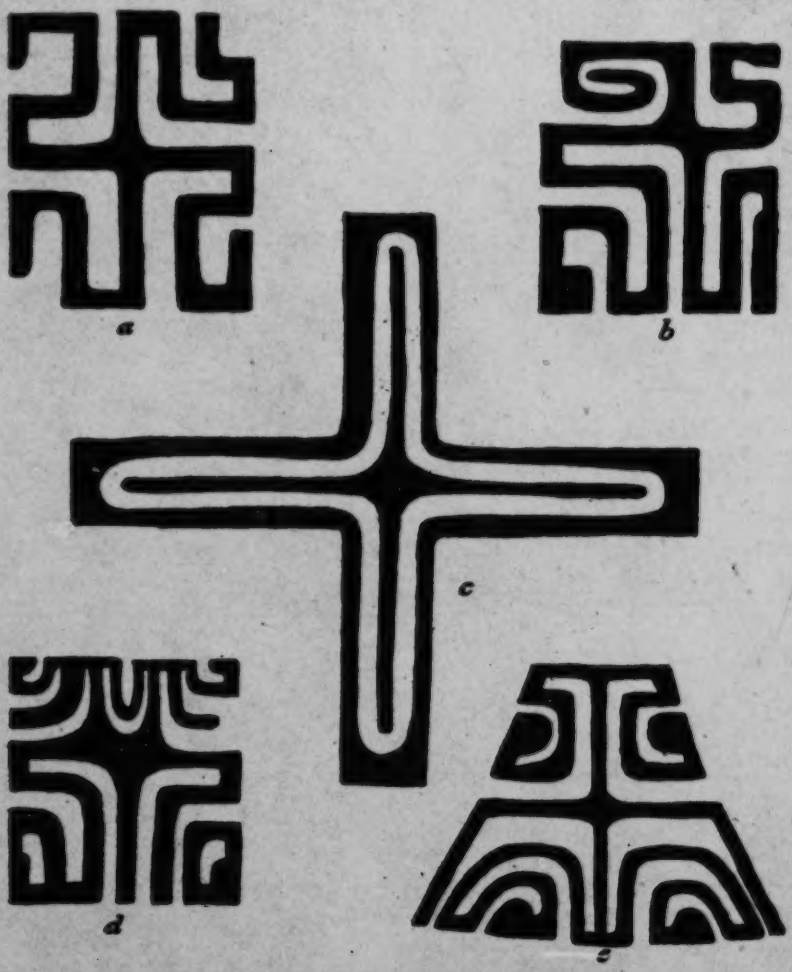
e

MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS

[p. 111]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 531

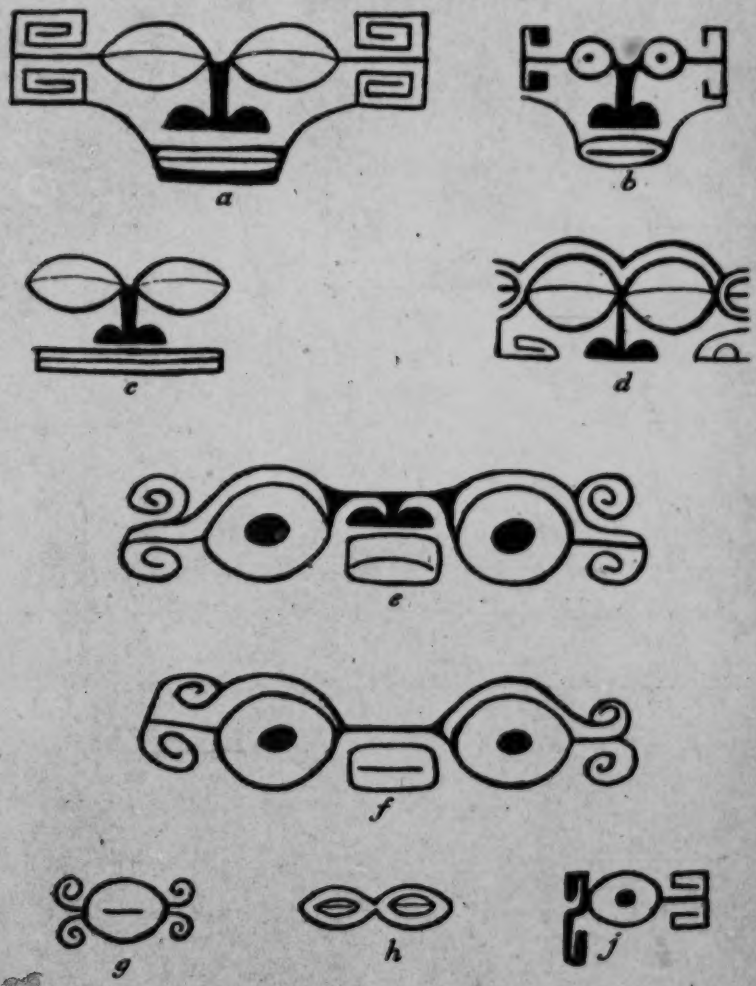


MARQUESAN DESIGNS CARVED ON CANOE PADDLES AND BOWLS

[p. 112]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 531



MARQUESAN TIKI FACE MOTIF

[p. 113]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MARQUESAN TIKI FIGURES CARVED IN THE FLAT

[p. 114]

Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X571

Marquesan mata designs: *A*, designs on canoe models; *B*, designs on canoe paddles

[p.115]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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MARQUESAN DESIGNS ON A FEAST BOWL

[p. 116]

9: Greiner X-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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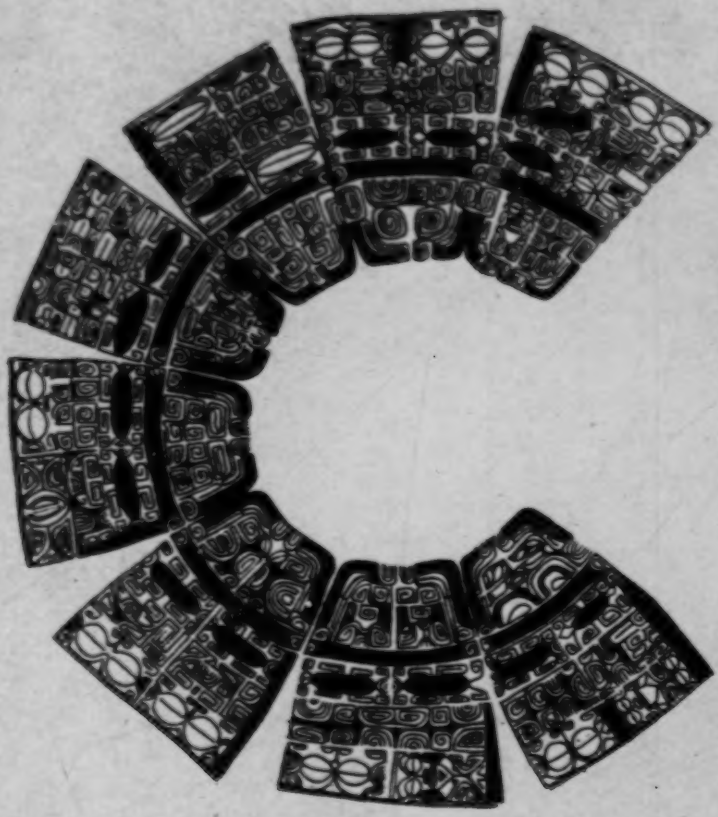

Boas, P. Bazar Mexico

Boas I, Plate XIV

MARQUESAN DESIGNS IN A BOWL

[p.117]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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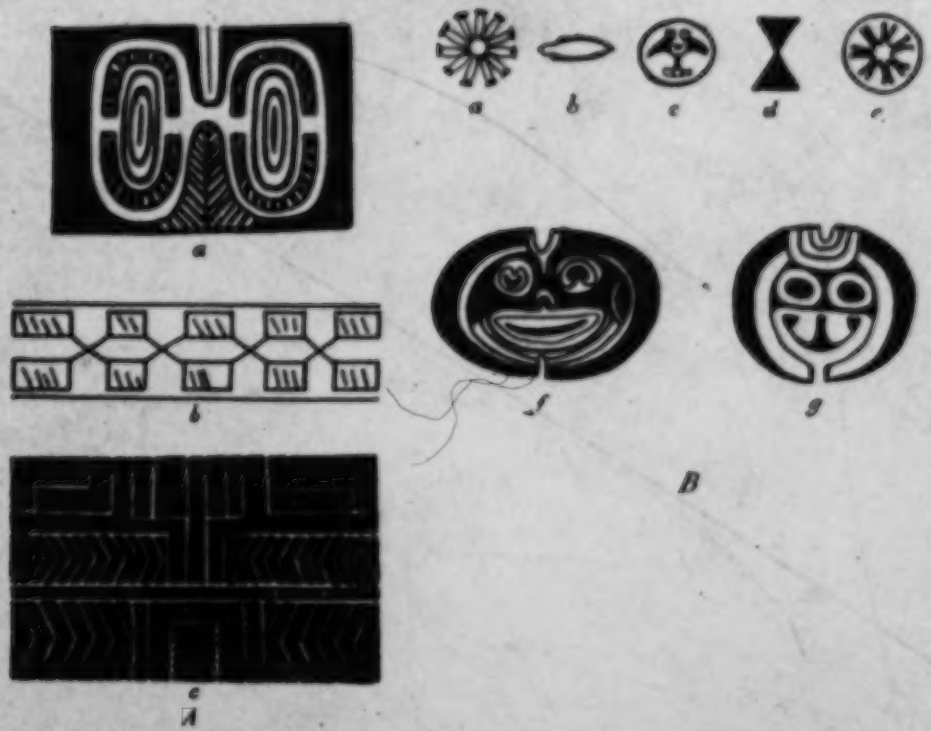
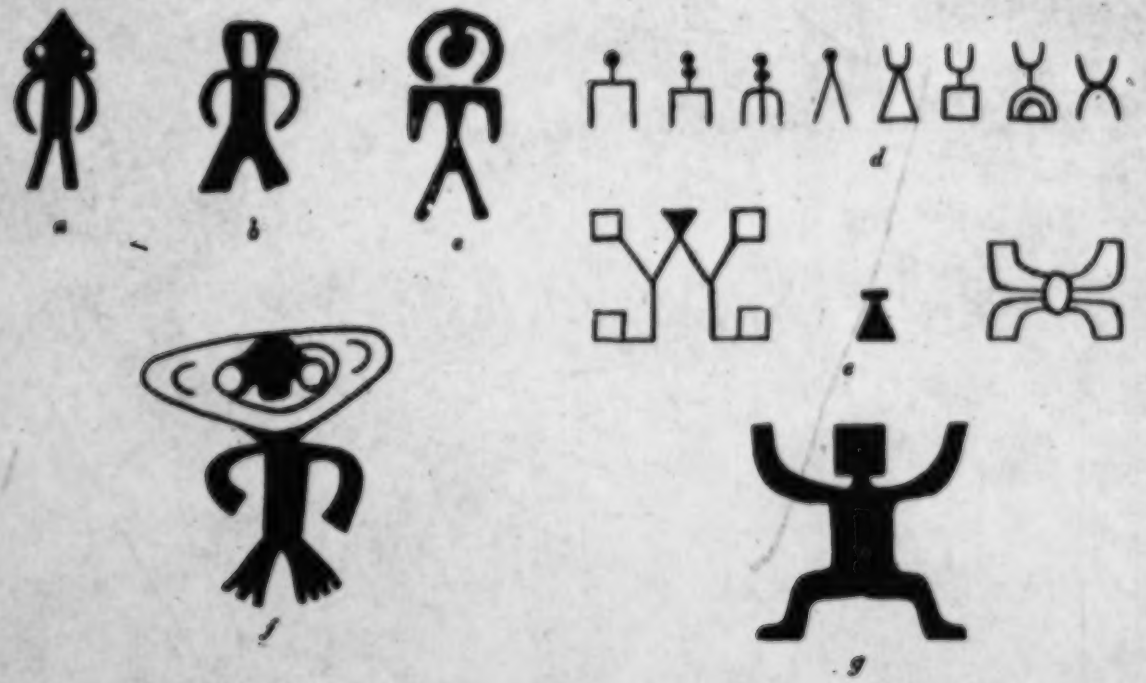


MARQUESAN BOWL AND TATTOO DESIGNS: *A*, DESIGNS CARVED ON BOWLS; *B*, TATTOO DESIGNS

[p. 116]



MARQUESAN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HUMAN FORM

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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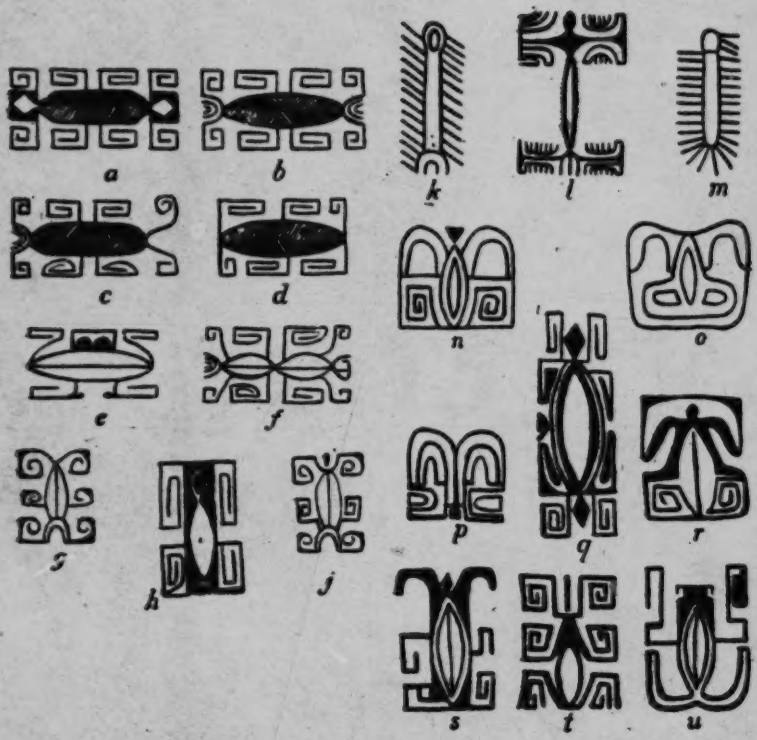
[p.120]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x 531



MARQUESAN REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMAL FORMS

[p. 121]

9: Greiner
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Marquesas OX6

[For discussion of Marquesan decorative designs, see category 116, pp. 3-34, 101-3, and plates I-XVIII.]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY

The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization

BY ABRAM KARDINER M.D.
FACULTY MEMBER, NEW YORK PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE
ASSOCIATE IN ANTHROPOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

WITH A FOREWORD AND
TWO ETHNOLOGICAL REPORTS

BY RALPH LINTON
PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

[title page]

NEW YORK: MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1939

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and 245
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [783]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals
were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages,
funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de-
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the [769]
commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his
death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally,
and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were
used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was
also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear
and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded
the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the
men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden
to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with
anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch
was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside
for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what
remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing
could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was
always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out
alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from
land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies.
Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let
down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were
harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the
flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for
days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human
captive.

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226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [851]

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was [721] in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

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designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [461] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was
467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of
788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations
554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal
[423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513 352

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352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

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604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene-
611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture; that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] [554]
members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

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619 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms
344 which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills
798 which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal
[782 of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen
769] and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usu-
595 ally two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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Households were graded

in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households. 592 554

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed. [565]

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. 342 592 554 [483]

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment [554] of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or 162 wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural [592] wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice [847] infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, 592 a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband 595 outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592

The household also included the children of the women, 595 either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were 842 perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 851

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595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Ques-
842 tioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
851 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 853
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given [552
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all 831]
the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

Below the priests ranked the *toa,* the important warriors. 554
These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga,* 701
or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the 623
council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of 622
their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833]
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke. 868

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women 853
took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their [832]
breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; [514]
they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child 865
doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum [276
or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, 261]
observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was 854
under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, [176]
who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 855
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855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The 857
group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell.

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-con- [156]
fidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical [574]
of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations

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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga*, ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before they became *kaioi*. Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty 304 rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

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on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations. 304 881

The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim, tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but
[535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

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would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking 833
pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm.

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, 836
many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms 833
of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience.

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the 833
woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown.

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband 762
appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride. [156]

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife. 152 578 595

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs. 583

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the house-
[793] hold. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
273] that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and 152
open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It [609]
was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief, although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded 763
death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of 152
an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, 626
an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view. They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe, there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles, the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which was previously discussed.

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior
727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic-
301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special
722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace
[558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit.
[411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive 727
groups, but both women and children participated in the can- 266
nibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his 727
victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a [266
special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse 558]
than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, 727
sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured 754
and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. [761 775] 782 776

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos*, a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief. 775 765

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance. 775

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men. 764

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back 784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all 152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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793 have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

776 Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and

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would often make an offering to the god before beginning his 776
task. The *tuhunga* were also priests to the gods of their crafts, though they had little formal ritual and, except in the case of the fishermen, no sacred place.

Below the gods was another series of supernatural beings, the *vehini-hai*, or wild women. The natives were not clear as to whether or not these spirits were of human origin, but they did have human form. They were malevolent toward children, watching them continuously, sometimes merely making them sick and at other times stealing or eating them. They were also dangerous to young men. Appearing as beautiful women, the *vehini-hai* would present themselves to some charming young man in a lonely place and invite him to go along with them. If he complied, they would lead him to their caves, where they would turn back into ogresses and devour him. Occasionally however, the *vehini-hai*, instead of eating her victim, would try to establish him in an affectionate relationship, which was, needless to say, a very uncomfortable and dangerous position for the young man. The men who had encountered these *vehini-hai* said that they usually appeared as beautiful young girls, but that they were always hungry, and if one could steal glances at them when they were off guard, one could see their eyes shoot out and their long hungry tongues pop out and lick the ground. This was warning that one's associate was an ogress and not a lovely lady, and that it was time to get away.

Still another series of supernatural beings were the *fanaua*. 776
They were the spirits of dead men who became the familiars 602
of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding. They never operated against men. No woman had more than one *fanaua*. This spirit might be the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, i.e., a father, grandfather, or even some important member of the family several generations back. In such cases his relations with the woman were probably not on the basis of sexual attraction, although I could get no exact information on this point. The *fanaua* might also be a 776

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776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 776 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb [158] 843 (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low 754
rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick 776
and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As [787]
soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate [681]
relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit 775
of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after 776
death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was
therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a 776
fanaua's victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract 766
the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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776 remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected
766 over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevo-
776 lence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua,* corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

791 Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua,* might be
754 either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar
776 spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

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789 natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

Folklore and Legends

773 From Handy's[1] volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi,* who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

[1] E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

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basket of eels, which the mother puts in her back, and she dies. 773
Before dying she tells the children to plant a seed on her back. Since they fear her ghost, they bury her in the ground, and a fruit tree grows. The girl wants the seed. They eat the fruit and fell the tree, and the mother comes to life again. Then the mother pursues the children, and threatens to kill and eat them. They flee from her to an island which the mother cannot climb. There they have no food, but they plant the seed that came out of the mother. It grows and they eat the fruit. The mother succeeds in getting on the island, and finally wants to climb up on the girl's hair. She does so, and when the brother cuts her hair, the mother falls and dies. The children now feel safe. They take the corpse of the mother and bake it. There is no mention of their eating it. One brother is a glutton, and eats not only food but utensils. He meets his death by eating forbidden cocoanuts belonging to a chief. The girl is wooed by two chiefs, one of whom kills the other.

Another story deals with a handsome married man who is carried away by the *vehini-hai*. The wife sets out in pursuit, but cannot catch up with him, and dies. The three wild women suggest eating the youth. One of them suggests that there is nothing to gain from eating him. The good ogress cautions the bad, and the latter is transformed with beauty. The woman ceases to be a man-eater, and the captured youth stays with them.

Another story deals with father-daughter incest. A man is married to a woman, but when she is three months pregnant, he deserts his wife for a new woman. The first woman has a daughter, who grows up to be very beautiful. The father of the girl hears of her beauty, and among others seeks her favors, not knowing it is his daughter. He comes while the mother and her brothers are away looking for food during a famine. He takes the girl. The mother returns and the girl tells of her adventure. The mother recognizes the man as the girl's father. The woman reproaches first the daughter, and then the father, and then presents them to each other, i.e., father and daughter.

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773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.[2] They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[832] [2] White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

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CAPTAIN COOK'S VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

EVERY MAN WILL GO WITH THEE BE THY GUIDE

IN THY MOST NEED TO GO BY THY SIDE

LONDON: PUBLISHED
by J·M·DENT & CO
AND IN NEW YORK
BY E·P·DUTTON & CO

[title page] 1906

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ovo males. They either have but few females among them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance.

In general the people of this island are a slender race. They did not see a man that would measure six feet; so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances, are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours.

The women's clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth, about six feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, and another over their shoulders, make a complete dress. But the men, for the most part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist. The Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort, was much valued by them.

Harmless and friendly as these people seem to be, they are not without offensive weapons, such as short wooden clubs and spears.

Their houses are low miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or eight feet distance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The whole is thatched over with leaves of sugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch, and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all-fours.

The gigantic statues are not, in Captain Cook's opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at least he saw nothing that could induce him to think so. On the contrary, he rather supposes that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families.

On the 16th of March they stood out to sea, and having now a steady settled trade-wind, and pleasant weather, the forge was ordered to be set up, to repair and make various necessary articles in the iron way.

133 On the 7th of April they saw an isle, which, as it was a new discovery, they named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it; the second was that of St. Pedro; the third, La Dominica; and the fourth, St. Christina. They ranged the S.E. coast of La Dominica, without seeing the

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least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these 133
places, and followed them down the coast.

At length, having come before the port they were in 648
search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore.

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again 648
in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them 439
bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot.

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipita- 648
tion. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place.

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648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more
439 distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

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and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291
of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins
like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of
the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264
so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515
in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252
a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231
that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had
been but that moment eating, without giving it the least
washing, or even washing their hands which were equally
dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231
hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem
to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and
fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when
land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer
approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected
together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in
several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some
were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-
armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant
Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them.
They saw them land without the least opposition. Some
little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all
armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore,
in order to be ready to support their people in case of an
attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after
the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the
Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met
him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the
woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made
them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed
they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five
dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no
fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two
dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea,
was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has
something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in
circuit.

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MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By Louis R. Sullivan

BASED ON THE FIELD STUDIES OF E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY AND WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY

p.

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MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN
Based on the Field Studies of E. S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgments

114 THE field studies which form the basis of this paper were made by E. S. Craighill Handy in conjunction with his ethnological survey of the Marquesas. In the field Mr. Handy was ably assisted by his wife, Willowdean C. Handy. Ralph Linton assisted in the photography. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the field notes were turned over to me for analysis and interpretation. The mathematical computations were prepared by Mrs. Lois Treadwell Ruml and my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan, who also prepared the appendix and assisted throughout the preparation of the manuscript.

The somatological studies in the Marquesas followed the plan of those already completed for Samoa[1] and Tonga.[2] In addition to the somatological records Mr. Handy supplied me with full and valuable notes on the history of the population, opportunities for intermixture with whites and Asiatics, and customs of deformation of parts of the body. I am likewise indebted to him for valuable suggestions as to possible inter-island differences in culture and physical type which made my analysis much easier. The comparative data from Samoa and Tonga were furnished by the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, acknowledged in previous papers.

The Population

124 The material submitted for study consisted of the records of 201 persons. When the admitted mixed-bloods, senile and adolescent individuals were eliminated there remained two series consisting of 84 adult men and 74 adult women. Three persons with a small amount of Hawaiian blood were included in the analysis. By nativity the individuals examined were distributed as follows: Nuku Hiva 18, Ua Huku 18, Ua Pou 47, Hiva Oa 61, Tahu Ata 2, and Fatu Hiva 12. The material was not selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Marquesan people of today. Incidentally the 201 persons represent about 11 per cent of the total population.

[1] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

[2] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Tongan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4, 1922.

161 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[5]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

144 In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it
167 is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

[186] Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

161 TABLE I.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

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DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[5] Personal communication.

	Men	Women	
Nuku Hiva	524	456	
Ua Huka	105	84	
Ua Pou	196	180	
Fatu Hiva	321	318	
Tahu Ata	260	260	
Hiva Oa	1,116	1,045	
Total	2,522	2,343	4,865

8. 1905: Pacific Islands Pilot gives 3,500.
9. 1922: Estimated roughly at 1,800.

Method

All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. In outline the measurements were as follows:

Anthropometric characters

1. Stature: recorded to the nearest centimeter (shoes removed).
2. Shoulder height: same position as in 1.
3. Arm length: acromion to tip of middle finger.
4. Height sitting.
5. Arm reach or span: maximum.
6. Head length: glabella to opisthocranium.
7. Maximum head width.
8. Minimum frontal diameter.
9. Maximum face width: bizygomatic.
10. Bigonial diameter at the angles of the mandible avoiding as much of the muscles as possible.
11. Anatomical face height: nasion to gnathion.
12. Nasal height: nasion to subnasal.
13. Nasal width: alare to alare avoiding pressure.
14. Physiognomic ear length or height.
15. Physiognomic ear breadth.

Indices

16. Relative shoulder height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 2} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
17. Relative arm length $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 3} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
18. Relative sitting height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 4} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
19. Relative arm reach or span $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 5} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
20. Cephalic or length-breadth index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 7} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 6}} \right.$
21. Transverse fronto-parietal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$
22. Transverse cephalo-facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 9} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$

141 23. Zygomatico-frontal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

24. Zygomatico-mandibular index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 10} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

25. Anatomical facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 11} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

26. Nasal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 13} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 12}} \right.$

27. Physiognomic ear index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 15} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 14}} \right.$

122 Through a series of accidents Handy was not supplied with a stature rod
141 until near the conclusion of his studies. He used a makeshift apparatus consisting of a pole and a tape. While the measures were taken with the greatest care Handy suggests that the body measurements may not be strictly comparable with other studies but are valuable for intra-group comparison. I had no opportunity to do field work with Handy, but he was trained in anthropometic technique by Professor E. A. Hooton, whose technique is for the most part similar to my own and that of Gifford and McKern. It is possible but not altogether certain that Handy located the nasion at a point lower than Gifford, McKern and I did. This possibility should be borne in mind in comparative studies on facial height and nasal height.

The anthropometric data were supplemented by observations on characters not quantitatively measurable or attribute characters. The conceptions held and the standards used for this part of the field work have been discussed in detail in a previous paper of this series.[4] It is sufficient to say that such characters were described in terms of their total range in mankind. It is obvious of course that their chief value lies in their utility for intra-group studies. Only the most general comparison can be made with the studies of other students. Hair samples and photographs of the individuals studied were submitted with the records. These enabled me to gauge the differences in the conceptions as given by Handy, Gifford, McKern, and myself. The most important difference is in our standards for hair form. Handy had a tendency to class hair form about two degrees higher than I would have done in the scale of waviness or curliness. In particular he used curly in the popular sense, whereas I reserve this term for a very particular and rare form of hair. This does not imply that Handy is wrong and that I am right. It is most probable that I somewhat minimize the degree of curliness and that Handy somewhat magnifies it. In regard to women who have longer hair our views are more nearly in accord.

[4] B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. VIII, 4, 1922.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and 141
writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the 114
cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, 128
and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a 141
series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a 141
high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers 304
would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

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304 or peaked. There is no evidence of any other kind of wrapping or deformation. The effects of this treatment of infants are very evident in the photographs, particularly in the foreheads of elderly men. The practice is identical with that in [171] Hawaii. It is difficult to say just how much it would affect the cephalic index if at all. Handy also states that the nose was flattened during infancy.

TABLE II.—SERIATION OF ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

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1. STATURE			2. SHOULDER HEIGHT			3. ARM LENGTH			4. ARM REACH		
Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female
145	—	0	115	—	0	55	—	—	145	—	—
6	—	0	16	—	0	6	—	—	6	—	—
7	—	1	17	—	0	7	—	—	7	—	—
8	—	0	18	—	0	8	—	—	8	—	—
9	—	0	19	—	1	9	—	—	9	—	1
150	—	1	120	—	0	60	—	0	150	—	3
1	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	0	1	—	1
2	—	2	2	—	0	2	—	0	2	—	1
3	—	0	3	—	0	3	—	1	3	—	1
4	—	2	4	—	0	4	—	0	4	—	0
155	—	2	125	—	1	65	—	2	155	—	1
6	—	6	6	—	1	6	—	0	6	—	0
7	—	5	7	—	1	7	—	2	7	—	6
8	—	5	8	—	3	8	—	2	8	—	3
9	—	4	9	—	6	9	—	6	9	—	8
160	0	9	130	0	7	70	0	6	160	0	6
1	2	5	1	0	5	1	0	6	1	0	6
2	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	0	1
3	5	4	3	0	5	3	3	8	3	2	4
4	3	4	4	2	6	4	3	2	4	0	2
165	2	6	135	1	7	75	3	6	165	1	6
6	6	6	6	5	1	6	3	6	6	1	2
7	5	2	7	6	4	7	6	1	7	5	2
8	4	1	8	4	8	8	8	1	8	2	4
9	7	3	9	10	2	9	12	1	9	2	0
170	5	1	140	6	4	80	5	2	170	4	5
1	3	0	1	9	1	1	5	1	1	3	1
2	6	0	2	10	2	2	6	0	2	3	0
3	5	0	3	5	1	3	2	1	3	5	2
4	6	1	4	4	0	4	4	—	4	3	1
175	4	—	145	0	1	85	1	—	175	6	0
6	4	—	6	2	0	6	1	—	6	3	0
7	1	—	7	2	0	7	2	—	7	3	0
8	5	—	8	3	0	8	0	—	8	2	0
9	1	—	9	1	0	9	0	—	9	3	0
180	1	—	150	2	—	90	0	—	180	2	0
1	0	—	1	2	—	1	0	—	1	7	1
2	0	—	2	0	—	2	1	—	2	4	2
3	0	—	3	1	—	3	0	—	3	3	0
4	1	—	4	0	—	4	1	—	4	4	0
Total	79	73	155	1	—	Total	67	57	185	5	—
			6	1	—				6	1	—
			7	0	—				7	0	—
			8	0	—				8	1	—
			9	0	—				9	0	—
			Total	78	71				190	0	—
									1	1	—
									2	0	—
									3	1	—
									4	0	—
									195	0	—
									6	0	—
									7	1	—
									Total	78	70

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5. SITTING HEIGHT			6. HEAD LENGTH			7. HEAD WIDTH			8. MINIMUM FRONTAL		
Centimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female
75	0	1	170	—	2	135	—	0	85	—	—
6	1	0	1	—	1	6	—	0	6	—	—
7	0	1	2	—	2	7	—	0	7	—	—
8	0	1	3	—	0	8	—	0	8	—	—
9	0	3	4	—	3	9	—	1	9	—	—
80	0	3	175	—	2	140	0	1	90	0	0
1	5	6	6	—	2	1	0	0	1	0	1
2	1	3	7	—	4	2	0	0	2	0	1
3	2	7	8	2	2	3	3	0	3	2	2
4	4	9	9	0	1	4	2	3	4	1	0
85	6	3	180	1	7	145	2	3	95	1	7
6	11	13	1	1	3	6	1	6	6	1	3
7	7	7	2	3	5	7	2	6	7	7	1
8	8	5	3	1	7	8	5	5	8	5	3
9	10	5	4	0	0	9	4	5	9	2	3
90	6	1	185	2	6	150	3	11	100	11	17
1	6	1	6	3	6	1	3	6	1	3	5
2	5	1	7	3	4	2	8	7	2	6	7
3	1	0	8	9	3	3	12	9	3	8	5
4	2	0	9	3	2	4	7	2	4	6	3
95	2	—	190	7	4	155	10	2	105	8	4
6	0	—	1	1	1	6	6	2	6	4	2
7	1	—	2	3	2	7	2	3	7	2	0
8	0	—	3	5	0	8	3	0	8	3	0
9	0	—	4	3	1	9	2	1	9	1	0
Total	78	70	195	6	2	160	4	1	110	4	2
			6	2	1	1	0	0	11	1	0
			7	5	0	2	2	0	12	4	1
			8	3	0	3	0	0	13	2	2
			9	2	0	4	1	0	14	1	1
			200	6	0	165	2	—	115	0	0
			1	3	0	6	0	—	16	0	0
			2	2	0	7	0	—	17	0	0
			3	3	0	8	0	—	18	1	0
			4	1	0	9	0	—	19	0	0
			205	1	0	Total	84	74	120	—	0
			6	0	0				1	—	1
			7	2	1				2	—	0
			8	0	0				3	—	0
			9	0	0				4	—	2
			210	1	—				125	—	1
			Total	84	74				Total	84	74

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9. FACE WIDTH			10. BIGONIAL			11. FACE HEIGHT			12. NOSE HEIGHT		
Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female
125	—	0	90	0	1	90	—	0	35	—	0
6	—	0	1	0	1	1	—	0	6	—	0
7	—	2	2	0	2	2	—	1	7	—	0
8	—	1	3	0	2	3	—	0	8	—	0
9	—	4	4	1	1	4	—	0	9	—	1
130	1	7	95	1	1	95	—	0	40	0	0
1	0	0	6	0	1	6	—	0	1	0	4
2	0	5	7	0	1	7	—	0	2	1	3
3	2	7	8	1	2	8	—	0	3	0	4
4	0	6	9	0	3	9	—	0	4	0	4
135	2	4	100	2	7	100	0	0	45	1	2
6	0	8	1	0	2	1	0	2	6	1	7
7	6	6	2	3	6	2	0	0	7	3	3
8	3	8	3	2	10	3	1	2	8	4	7
9	2	2	4	1	1	4	0	3	9	6	2
140	11	3	105	5	7	105	0	3	50	7	9
1	3	3	6	4	4	6	0	1	1	9	9
2	5	4	7	5	3	7	0	2	2	7	5
3	8	1	8	6	3	8	0	1	3	6	7
4	5	2	9	1	1	9	0	1	4	8	2
145	9	0	110	13	3	110	4	6	55	8	1
6	7	0	11	4	1	11	2	1	6	2	1
7	7	0	12	6	2	12	0	3	7	9	1
8	3	0	13	4	2	13	0	1	8	6	1
9	3	1	14	6	1	14	2	6	9	2	1
150	3	—	115	6	1	115	1	2	60	1	—
1	0	—	16	2	—	16	1	9	1	2	—
2	1	—	17	2	—	17	3	8	2	1	—
3	1	—	18	1	—	18	4	5	3	0	—
4	0	—	19	1	—	19	1	0	4	0	—
155	1	—	120	0	—	120	6	1	Total	84	74
6	0	—	1	1	—	1	3	4			
7	1	—	2	0	—	2	4	2			
8	0	—	3	0	—	3	4	3			
9	0	—	4	0	—	4	5	2			
Total	84	74	Total	78	69	125	2	2			
						6	6	0			
						7	5	1			
						8	1	0			
						9	5	1			
						130	4	0			
						1	5	0			
						2	2	0			
						3	3	1			
						4	2	0			
						135	2	0			
						6	0	0			
						7	0	—			
						8	1	—			
						9	1	—			
						140	1	—			
						Total	81	74			

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13. NOSE WIDTH			14. EAR HEIGHT			15. EAR WIDTH			16. RELATIVE SHOULDER HEIGHT		
Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
30	—	0	50	—	0	20	0	0	75	0	0
1	—	0	1	—	0	1	0	0	6	0	0
2	—	1	2	—	0	2	0	1	7	0	0
3	—	0	3	—	0	3	1	1	8	1	0
4	—	0	4	—	2	4	0	0	9	0	1
35	0	1	55	0	2	25	0	0	80	4	4
6	0	3	6	0	1	6	2	4	1	4	6
7	0	1	7	0	2	7	0	5	2	18	14
8	3	12	8	1	4	8	2	1	3	18	19
9	4	7	9	1	2	9	2	6	4	21	17
40	6	17	60	4	8	30	5	12	85	9	4
1	12	6	1	2	12	1	16	11	6	1	6
2	8	15	2	3	4	2	12	5	7	0	0
3	16	2	3	6	5	3	20	11	8	1	0
4	7	2	4	7	5	4	7	7	9	0	0
45	9	4	65	9	2	35	5	4	90	0	—
6	7	2	6	9	3	6	0	3	1	1	—
7	5	0	7	6	6	7	7	1	Total	78	71
8	4	0	8	10	3	8	1	1			
9	2	0	9	6	6	9	2	1			
50	—	1	70	4	1	40	1	—			
1	—	0	1	4	3	1	0	—			
2	—	0	2	2	1	2	0	—			
3	—	0	3	2	0	3	1	—			
4	—	0	4	2	1	4	0	—			
Total	83	74	75	1	—	Total	84	74			
			6	1	—						
			7	1	—						
			8	1	—						
			9	1	—						
			80	1	—						
			Total	84	73						

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17. RELATIVE SITTING HEIGHT			18. RELATIVE ARM LENGTH			19. RELATIVE ARM REACH			20. CEPHALIC INDEX		
Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
35	0	—	35	—	0	90	0	0	70	0	0
6	0	—	6	—	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
7	0	—	7	—	0	2	0	0	2	2	0
8	0	—	8	—	1	3	0	1	3	2	0
9	1	—	9	—	0	4	1	0	4	4	1
40	0	—	40	0	0	95	0	1	75	1	2
1	0	—	1	0	0	6	1	2	6	9	1
2	0	—	2	2	3	7	0	1	7	9	5
3	0	—	3	1	4	8	0	9	8	10	3
4	1	—	4	3	11	9	1	14	9	4	6
45	0	0	45	8	14	100	5	6	80	10	8
6	1	0	6	14	13	1	6	10	1	11	10
7	0	1	7	19	4	2	12	9	2	10	7
8	4	0	8	11	6	3	11	5	3	1	6
9	5	3	9	6	1	4	8	5	4	4	8
50	8	5	50	0	—	105	13	1	85	1	2
1	14	11	1	1	—	6	7	2	6	4	7
2	27	17	2	0	—	7	7	2	7	1	5
3	12	10	3	0	—	8	3	2	8	1	3
4	4	11	4	0	—	9	0	—	9	—	—
55	1	8	55	2	—	110	2	—	90	—	0
6	1	2	6	—	—	11	0	—	1	—	1
7	—	0	7	—	—	12	0	—	2	—	0
8	—	2	8	—	—	13	0	—	3	—	0
9	—	0	9	—	—	14	1	—	4	—	0
Total	79	70	Total	67	57	Total	78	70	Total	84	74

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21. FRONTO-PARIETAL			22. CEPHALO-FACIAL			23. ZYGOMATICO-FRONTAL			24. ZYGOMATICO-MANDIBULAR		
Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
55	0	—	80	—	—	60	0	—	65	0	1
6	0	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	6	0	0
7	0	—	2	—	—	2	1	—	7	0	0
8	1	—	3	—	—	3	0	—	8	3	1
9	0	—	4	1	3	4	0	—	9	0	2
60	1	1	85	0	4	65	1	0	70	3	1
1	1	1	6	0	3	6	2	1	1	3	0
2	1	3	7	2	2	7	4	1	2	2	4
3	4	4	8	2	9	8	7	1	3	4	3
4	10	1	9	3	7	9	4	0	4	5	5
65	12	8	90	7	10	70	6	3	75	3	13
6	7	10	1	3	9	1	13	8	6	19	14
7	8	14	2	8	11	2	11	6	7	8	5
8	10	10	3	13	5	3	12	8	8	10	6
9	7	7	4	13	3	4	6	10	9	6	5
70	8	1	95	14	5	75	1	9	80	7	6
1	3	4	6	5	2	6	6	5	1	2	1
2	4	0	7	7	1	7	2	7	2	1	1
3	1	1	8	3	0	8	1	2	3	3	2
4	2	1	9	0	0	9	3	1	4	0	0
75	0	1	100	1	—	80	0	1	85	2	—
6	2	0	1	0	—	1	0	2	6	0	—
7	1	1	2	2	—	2	0	1	7	0	—
6	0	1	3	0	—	3	2	1	8	1	—
9	1	2	4	0	—	4	0	1	9	1	—
80	—	2	Total	84	74	85	0	1	Total	83	70
1	—	1				6	0	0			
2	—	0				7	0	2			
3	—	0				8	0	1			
4	—	0				9	0	1			
Total	84	74				90	0	0			
						1	1	1			
						2	0	0			
						3	0	0			
						4	0	0			
						Total	84	74			

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25. FACIAL INDEX

Index	Male	Female
65	—	0
6	—	0
7	—	0
8	—	0
9	—	1
70	0	0
1	0	0
2	1	0
3	0	0
4	1	0
75	2	2
6	1	1
7	0	3
8	3	3
9	2	4
80	2	3
1	4	5
2	1	7
3	1	5
4	4	1
85	6	4
6	2	3
7	6	6
8	2	10
9	9	0
90	5	2
1	5	2
2	7	5
3	2	2
4	4	2
95	1	0
6	3	0
7	1	0
8	0	2
9	0	0
Total	77	73

26. NASAL INDEX

Index	Male	Female
60	0	1
1	0	0
2	0	0
3	1	0
4	0	0
65	0	0
6	1	1
7	0	0
8	1	0
9	0	1
70	0	1
1	1	3
2	2	0
3	1	0
4	4	4
75	3	2
6	5	4
7	4	3
8	9	5
9	5	4
80	3	4
1	4	2
2	4	1
3	4	2
4	3	1
85	3	2
6	5	5
7	2	2
8	6	4
9	2	1
90	1	3
1	0	3
2	0	0
3	0	3
4	2	2
95	0	3
6	3	1
7	0	0
8	2	3
9	0	0
100	1	1
1	0	0
2	0	1
3	0	0
4	0	0
105	0	0
6	0	0
7	1	0
8	0	1
Total	83	74

27. EAR INDEX

Index	Male	Female
35	0	—
6	0	—
7	0	—
8	1	1
9	0	1
40	4	0
1	1	0
2	4	3
3	1	7
4	2	0
45	4	4
6	8	4
7	5	2
8	11	11
9	8	2
50	6	3
1	5	5
2	7	7
3	4	5
4	2	7
55	4	1
6	1	4
7	3	4
8	1	2
9	1	0
60	0	—
1	0	—
2	0	—
3	0	—
4	1	—
Total	84	73

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE III.—SUMMARY OF ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS OF MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE 79 persons				FEMALE 73 persons			
	Average	S. D.	V	E[a]	Average	S. D.	V	E
141 1. Stature	170.3	5.12	3.00	.58	160.7	5.11	3.20	.60
2. Shoulder height	141.6	4.83	3.40	.55	133.7	4.97	3.70	.59
3. Arm length	79.6	4.12	5.17	.50	72.5	4.05	5.50	.54
4. Arm reach	176.7	7.05	4.00	.80	162.6	7.04	4.32	.84
5. Sitting height	87.4	4.54	5.20	.51	84.5	3.41	4.00	.41
6. Head length	193.2	7.00	3.60	.76	183.2	6.77	3.70	.79
7. Head width	153.2	4.87	3.20	.53	150.1	3.98	2.70	.46
8. Minimum frontal	103.2	5.19	5.00	.57	102.1	7.10	7.00	.82
9. Face width	143.2	4.88	3.40	.53	135.5	4.50	3.30	.52
10. Bigonial	109.5	5.23	4.80	.59	103.0	5.67	5.50	.68
11. Face height	124.1	7.30	5.80	.80	114.5	7.28	6.40	.85
12. Nose height	53.1	3.97	7.50	.43	48.6	4.40	9.00	.51
13. Nose width	43.2	2.70	6.20	.30	40.4	2.80	6.90	.33
14. Ear height	67.1	4.53	6.80	.49	62.7	5.99	9.60	.70
15. Ear width	32.7	3.05	9.30	.33	31.2	3.22	10.30	.37
16. Relative shoulder height	83.2	1.78	2.10	.20	83.0	1.58	1.90	.19
17. Relative sitting height	51.2	2.33	4.60	.26	52.6	2.03	3.90	.24
18. Relative arm length	46.8	2.17	4.63	.26	45.1	1.88	4.20	.25
19. Relative arm reach	103.8	3.00	2.90	.34	100.8	2.90	2.90	.35
20. Cephalic index	79.4	3.52	4.40	.38	82.0	3.66	4.50	.42
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.4	3.75	5.60	.41	68.0	4.50	6.60	.52
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.5	3.13	3.30	.34	90.3	3.08	3.40	.36
23. Zygomatico-frontal index	72.0	4.37	6.06	.48	75.2	5.06	6.70	.59
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.8	4.02	5.20	.44	75.9	3.32	4.40	.40
25. Facial index	87.0	6.17	7.10	.70	84.7	5.69	6.70	.67
26. Nasal index	81.9	7.75	9.50	.85	83.6	9.17	10.90	1.07
27. Ear index	48.9	4.82	9.90	.52	49.6	4.83	9.70	.56

[a] In this table E = probable error of the average. S. D. = standard deviation, and V = coefficient of variation in percentage.

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TABLE IV.—SUMMARY OF THE ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
Hair form:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Straight	25	30.5	19	25.7
Low waves	26	31.7	26	35.1
Deep waves	5	6.1	9	12.2
Curly	22	6.8	14	18.9
Frizzly	4	4.9	5	6.8
Woolly	0	.0	1	1.3
Totals	82	—	74	—
Hair color:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Black*	70	87.5	53	84.2
Dark brown	5	6.3	4	6.3
Reddish brown	3	3.8	6	9.5
Light brown	0	.0	0	.0
Blond	0	.0	0	.0
Golden	0	.0	0	.0
Red	0	.0	0	.0
Gray	2	2.4	0	.0
Totals	80		63	
Beard; upper cheek:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	4	5.1	—	—
Scant	49	62.0	—	—
Medium	16	20.3	—	—
Heavy	10	12.6	—	—
Totals	79			
Beard; lower cheek:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	40	49.4	—	—
Scant	24	29.6	—	—
Medium	13	16.0	—	—
Heavy	4	5.0	—	—
Totals	81			
Beard; chin:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	4	5.1	—	—
Scant	49	62.0	—	—
Medium	16	20.5	—	—
Heavy	10	12.6	—	—
Totals	79			

* Many showed a reddish-brown tint in certain lights.

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CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
X 142 Hair on chest:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	50	65.8	—	—
Scant	16	21.0	—	—
Medium	5	6.6	—	—
Heavy	5	6.6	—	—
Totals	76			
Hair on forearm:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	39	48.2	—	—
Scant	23	28.4	—	—
Medium	12	14.8	—	—
Heavy	7	8.6	—	—
Totals	81			
Hair on legs:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	15	19.0	—	—
Scant	42	55.2	—	—
Medium	14	17.7	—	—
Heavy	8	10.1	—	—
Totals	79			
Eye color:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Black	2	1.2	0	.0
Dark brown	76	91.6	67	90.5
Blue	6	7.2	7	9.5
Gray	0	.0	0	.0
Blue-brown	0	.0	0	.0
Gray-brown	0	.0	0	.0
Totals	84		74	
Conjunctiva:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Clear	8	10.3	23	31.1
Not clear	70	89.7	51	68.9
Totals	78		74	
Epicanthic eye fold:				
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Absent	18	21.7	15	20.3
Trace	46	55.4	30	40.5
Medium	16	19.3	21	28.4
Marked	3	3.6	6	10.8
Totals	83		74	

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CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
Nasal bridge:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Low	13	15.5	40	54.8
Medium	66	78.5	31	42.5
High	5	6.0	2	2.7
Totals	84		73	
Axes of nostrils:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Anterior-posterior	4	4.8	1	1.4
Oblique	42	50.6	27	37.0
Transverse	37	44.6	45	51.6
Totals	83		73	
Slope of forehead:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Vertical	8	9.6	24	32.9
Moderate	70	84.3	49	67.1
Low	5	6.1	9	.0
Totals	83		73	
Glabella:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Smooth	12	14.8	57	78.1
Medium	44	54.3	14	19.2
Prominent	25	30.9	2	2.7
Totals	81		73	
Lips:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Thin	7	8.4	8	10.8
Medium	54	65.1	48	64.9
Thick	22	26.5	18	24.3
Totals	83		74	
Prognathism:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	79	98.8	66	90.4
Slight	0	.0	1	1.4
Medium	1	1.2	6	8.2
Marked	0	.0	0	.0
Totals	80		73	
Keikodonty:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Lateral incisor teeth:				
No rim	42	61.8	44	81.5
Trace of rim	16	23.5	6	14.8
Medium rim	10	14.7	2	3.7
Marked rim	—		—	
Totals	68		54	

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CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
X 142 Mesial incisor teeth:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
No rim	39	59.1	41	75.9
Trace of rim	16	24.2	9	16.7
Medium rim	11	16.7	4	7.4
Marked rim	—		—	
Totals	66		54	

Number of cusps on lower second molar: Right:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Four cusps	17	23.9	20	33.9
Five cusps	54	76.1	39	66.1
Totals	71		59	

Number of cusps on lower second molar: Left:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Four cusps	16	22.5	17	30.4
Five cusps	55	77.5	39	69.6
Totals	71		56	

Ear lobe:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	1	1.2	0	.0
Small separate	8	9.6	5	6.8
Small attached	47	56.7	32	43.2
Large separate	9	10.8	10	13.5
Large attached	18	21.7	27	36.5
Totals	83		74	

Helix roll:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Flat	0	.0	0	.0
Rolled first third	20	23.8	13	17.6
Rolled first two-thirds	62	73.8	57	77.0
Rolled throughout	2	2.4	4	5.4
Totals	84		74	

Darwin's tubercle:	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Present	3	4.8	0	.0

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In form the hair is typically not straight. It is either low waved or deeply waved (or curly according to the classification in this paper). It is black or dark brown in color. As elsewhere in Polynesia, there is a reddish tint near the end in certain lights. Only by the greatest stretch of the imagination can this be called blond. Some Marquesans have a dirty reddish or rusty brown hair that looks dry and dead. Often this reddish-brown hair appears in streaks. 142X

The beard is for the most part confined to the chin. Some of the Marquesans grow a dense moustache. Body hair is not abundant. It is better developed on the legs than on the arms or chest. There are a large number of nearly glabrous individuals. While I have expressed hairiness in terms of amount, in the light of Trotter's[8] findings it would be preferable to express it in terms of degree of development.

The eyes are dark brown in color, the conjunctiva not clear. It is dull, yellowish, or bloodshot in a large number of individuals. The eye fold is not well developed. The eye opening varies from the wide-open to the narrow obliquely placed eye-slits with a trace of a fold. The nasal bridge is of moderate elevation. Many Marquesans have nostrils transversely placed. These features have been discussed in detail and illustrated in my paper on Tonga.[9]

The glabella is well developed in the men. The lips are of average thickness or well above. The enamel rim on the upper incisor teeth is of very moderate frequency.

The significance of these various physical characters may perhaps best be shown by describing the Marquesans in terms of the Samoans and Tongans and to some extent in terms of the Maoris of New Zealand.

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[8] Trotter, Mildred. A study of facial hair in the white and negro races: Washington Univ. Studies, vol. IX, Sci. Ser. No. 2, pp. 273-280, 1922.

[9] Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4.

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GENERAL COMPARISON OF MARQUESANS WITH SAMOANS AND TONGANS.

X 142 114 The Bayard Dominick Expedition has furnished the comparative data from Samoa and Tonga. For New Zealand a unique and important contribution to somatology is that of Te Rangi Hiroa, a Maori, who has recently begun to publish in serial form a careful and thoroughly scientific study of his race. The first number,[1] dealing with skin color, hair form and color, eye color, weight, and stature has already appeared. Judging from this there is every reason to expect that the completed work will form one of the most important contributions to somatology.

Although skin color is of great interest the observations upon this character were most unsatisfactory. All of the observers complained that Fritsch's standard was not adapted to the study of the Polynesians. From my own experience with it I can sympathize with them. Furthermore the Fritsch standard is not expressed in numbers and I gave to the standards arbitrary numbers of my own. As the Fritsch chart is little known and to give the results in terms of it would be useless, it became necessary to translate these results into the terms of von Luschan's scale. I did this as best I could, but found it necessary to use two numbers in many instances. In order that there might be no personal peculiarities in the results I later asked four of the men engaged in these studies to match Fritsch's scale with von Luschan's scale. Here again great differences of judgment were shown by observers in the field. In view of this it seems best to state the results of skin color as a mere approximation. Two numbers were most frequently used—numbers 10 and 18 for unexposed skin color. Translated into terms of von Luschan's scale 10 was variously given as 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Number 18 is much darker and approaches 17, 18, or 22, 23, 24 of von Luschan's scale. For Tonga and Samoa Gifford and McKern most often reported 10 as the skin color for men. Handy gives 10 and 18 in about equal proportions. This would indicate that the Marquesans were considerably darker than the Samoans and Tongans. For exposed skin, however, no such differences occur. The Tongans, Samoans, and Marquesans are very similar. Buck's studies on the Maoris seem to indicate that they are also somewhat darker than the Samoans and the Tongans.

X 142 144 From Table V it will be noted that the Marquesans have more wavy hair than either the Samoans or the Tongans. Some of the difference may be accounted for by differences in standards of observation. This is true particularly of the curly hair of the Marquesans. (See p. 144.) But it seems fairly

[1] Hiroa, Te Rangi (P. H. Buck), Maori somatology: Journ. Polynesian Soc., vol. xxxi, No. 2, 1922.

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certain that there is less straight hair in the Marquesans than in Samoa or Tonga. In Samoa and Tonga reddish-brown hair was reported, but its presence was somewhat discounted by the fact that a custom of bleaching by the use of lime was reported. Handy found a fairly high percentage of reddish-brown hair in the Marquesas, but no such process to account for it. On this point he says:[8]

> You will note that we have frequently marked hair color both black and reddish-brown. This indicates hair of the type that is almost universal with them, which appears to be black unless one sees it so that the light comes through it, when it is seen to have a strong auburn or reddish-brown tinge. I have never found any evidences of the custom of bleaching hair in the Marquesas neither in modern nor in ancient times. There was formerly a bleaching of the skin, but this is not practised now. I am convinced that this russet color in the hair was indigenous to the Marquesans before the coming of the early explorers.

This reddish tint of the hair has been the basis for much discussion and speculation. It has been attributed to intentional bleaching, to the natural bleaching effect of sunlight and salt water or both, to intermixture with the whites, or more often as evidence of a Nordic origin of the Polynesians as a whole. Speaking of hair color Buck[9] says:

> The general colour is black, but brown and reddish hair occur. Certain tribes have been stated to have had more than their share of red hair, and in these tribes it is said to occur in certain families. . . Although amongst the Maoris the confusion in colour caused by the Samoan and Tongan custom of limeing the hair, does not exist, yet owing to the admixture of white blood, great care has to be exercised in recording cases of red or brown hair as being full Maori. . . There was only one case in the whole series (760 men) of reddish brown hair and that was in a full Maori. Contrary to expectations, his skin color was 18 on von Luschan's scale (18 is the darker prevailing color of the Maori).

In Hawaii the reddish-brown hair under discussion is often found. I have seen in Hawaii thousands of mixed-bloods no one of whom had exactly this type of hair. I can confirm Doctor Buck's statement that it occurs in family groups. In two families studied it had persisted for three generations at least. As a rule it does not seem to be accompanied by a diminution of iris pigment or skin pigment. In only one family was it accompanied by weak eyes and in that only in the younger members of the family. It occurs in both sexes. Reddish-brown hair apparently occurs throughout Polynesia and I have seen the same type of hair in Chinese and Japanese who otherwise were typical members of their race. While the condition is interesting and important it should not be allowed to have too much influence on the imagination. I recommend Doctor Buck's paper for interesting comments on the Maori vocabulary and tradition dealing with hair color, hair form, and skin pigment.

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[8] Personal communication.
[9] Op. cit.

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TABLE V. COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS IN SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS ON A PERCENTAGE BASIS

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CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
Hair form:						
Straight	55.1	41.5	30.5	47.8	34.4	25.7
Low waves	27.5	41.5	31.7	39.1	46.9	35.1
Deep waves	10.1	14.4	6.1	8.8	12.5	12.2
Curly	5.8	2.5	26.8	0	5.2	18.9
Frizzly	1.4	0	4.9	4.3	1.0	6.8
Woolly	0	0	0	0	0	1.3
Hair color:						
Black	91.4	94.1	87.5	56.9	87.6	84.2
Dark brown	4.3	4.2	6.3	8.8	4.1	6.3
Reddish brown	4.2[a]	1.6[a]	3.8	34.7[a]	7.2[a]	9.5
	MALES ONLY					
Development of hair:	UPPER CHEEK			CHEST		
None	10.1	2.1	63.4	59.7	23.4	65.8
Scant	46.3	15.8	17.1	22.3	28.7	21.0
Medium	31.9	33.7	14.6	14.9	25.5	6.6
Heavy	11.5	48.4	4.9	3.0	22.3	6.6
	LOWER CHEEK			ARM		
None	14.5	4.2	49.4	3.0	0	48.2
Scant	43.3	37.2	29.6	19.1	10.5	28.4
Medium	23.2	18.1	16.0	35.3	43.2	14.8
Heavy	18.8	40.4	5.0	42.6	46.3	8.6
	CHIN			LEG		
None	0	0	5.1	0	0	19.0
Scant	23.2	19.4	62.0	7.2	7.3	53.2
Medium	27.5	30.6	20.3	42.0	66.7	17.7
Heavy	49.2	50.0	12.6	50.7	26.0	10.1
Nasal bridge	MALE			FEMALE		
Low	21.4	21.7	15.5	56.9	30.5	54.8
Medium	64.3	70.4	78.5	39.1	67.4	42.5
High	14.3	7.8	6.0	4.3	2.1	2.7
Axes of nostrils						
Antero	2.9	1.7	4.8	0	5.3	1.4
Oblique	57.3	78.3	50.6	39.1	69.5	37.0
Transverse	39.7	20.0	44.6	60.9	25.3	61.6
Keilodonty						
Lateral incisors: No rim	51.5	42.1	59.1	57.1	36.3	75.9
Lateral incisors: Trace	34.3	42.9	24.2	23.8	40.6	16.7
Lateral incisors: Marked	14.1	14.9	16.7	19.0	23.1	7.4
Mesial incisors: No rim	68.2	57.9	61.8	76.0	62.6	81.5
Mesial incisors: Trace	25.7	29.8	23.5	14.3	26.4	14.8
Mesial incisors: Marked	6.0	12.3	14.7	9.5	10.4	3.7

[a] Said to be bleached with lime.

TABLE VI. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

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CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	171.7	173.0	170.3	161.2	162.5	160.7
2. Head length	190.6	191.0	193.2	183.0	184.1	183.2
3. Head width	154.8	154.8	153.2	148.1	150.0	150.1
4. Minimum frontal	103.4	104.8	103.2	101.5	103.0	102.1
5. Face width	145.9	143.5	143.2	136.5	136.1	135.5
6. Bigonial diameter	104.6	104.8	109.5	99.0	99.2	103.0
7. Face height	131.1	128.2	124.1	121.1	124.1	114.5
8. Nose height	59.8	57.5	53.1	54.3	56.7	48.6
9. Nose width	43.8	44.4	43.2	41.2	41.9	40.4
10. Ear height	66.1	66.0	67.1	61.2	64.5	62.7
11. Ear width	35.2	34.5	32.7	33.6	33.4	31.2
12. Cephalic index	81.3	81.1	79.4	80.8	81.6	82.0
13. Fronto-parietal index	66.8	67.6	67.4	68.8	68.7	68.0
14. Cephalo-facial index	94.2	92.8	93.5	92.4	91.2	90.3
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	70.9	73.1	72.0	74.5	75.4	75.2
16. Zygomatico-mandibular	71.7	73.2	76.8	72.5	72.5	75.9
17. Facial index	89.9	89.2	87.0	89.8	90.8	84.7
18. Nasal index	73.6	77.6	81.9	76.3	74.2	83.6
19. Ear index	53.3	52.4	48.9	54.9	51.8	49.6

If the results may be taken at their face value the Marquesans are a much more glabrous people than either the Samoans or Tongans. While again allowances must be made for different observers it seems impossible that such large differences can be wholly explained in this way. Transverse nostrils are also more frequent in the Marquesas. On the other hand, the incisor rim is somewhat less frequent. [142]

In Table VI the anthropometric averages are given. The Marquesans are considerably shorter than the Tongans and a little shorter even than the Samoans. The average of this series is less than that given by Deniker. The Marquesan head is longer and narrower than the heads of the Samoans and Tongans, the face is narrower and lower. The bigonial diameter is much greater. The nose is slightly narrower but markedly lower. Such differences result of course in a slightly lower cephalic index (in the males only), a larger zygomatico-mandibular index, a smaller facial index, and a larger nasal index. Again, it is possible to account for these differences in part by differences in technique, but there will still be a residue that must be explained in another way.

In Table II attention has been called to the great irregularity in distribution. There is not only a great range but a most irregular distribution within that range. This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation recorded in Table VII and in Table VIII. The Marquesan males have a greater standard deviation than either the Samoan or Tongan in ten of nineteen

144 characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in two others they
144 exceed the Tongans. The excess in standard deviation for the females is in eleven of nineteen characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In both sexes the excess for facial index and nasal index is enormous. Practically the same excessive variability is revealed by the coefficients of variability. The Marquesan men have coefficients of variation greater than either the Samoans or Tongans in ten of nineteen characters. In five others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In the female series the excess of variation is even more accentuated. The Marquesan women are more variable than either the Samoans or Tongans in thirteen of nineteen characters and in five others they exceed the Samoans.

TABLE VII. COMPARISON OF THE STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	5.25	5.21	5.12	4.92	5.83	5.11
2. Head length	5.69	6.89	7.00	5.22	6.47	6.77
3. Head width	4.46	4.26	4.87	3.87	5.06	3.98
4. Minimum frontal	5.98	4.87	5.19	3.96	4.65	7.10
5. Face width	5.23	5.94	4.88	3.79	6.03	4.50
6. Bigonial	5.13	5.81	5.23	3.93	4.80	5.67
7. Face height	6.56	6.81	7.30	6.41	5.79	7.28
8. Nose height	3.64	3.91	3.97	4.53	3.75	4.40
9. Nose width	2.59	3.02	2.70	2.56	2.86	2.80
10. Ear height	4.23	4.57	4.53	3.33	3.97	5.99
11. Ear width	2.76	2.62	3.05	2.30	2.35	3.22
12. Cephalic index	3.53	3.14	3.52	2.98	4.09	3.66
13. Fronto-parietal index	3.30	3.51	3.75	3.12	3.22	4.50
14. Cephalo-facial index	2.84	4.68	3.13	2.63	3.23	3.08
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	3.55	4.23	4.37	3.34	3.33	5.06
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	3.84	4.56	4.02	3.50	3.57	3.32
17. Facial index	4.87	4.43	6.17	5.03	4.72	5.60
18. Nasal index	5.86	7.58	7.75	7.99	6.15	9.17
19. Ear index	3.79	3.93	4.82	4.53	3.91	4.83

TABLE VIII. COMPARISON OF THE COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATION OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS (IN PERCENTAGE) 141 144

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	3.05	3.01	3.00	3.05	3.58	3.20
2. Head length	2.98	3.60	3.60	2.85	3.51	3.70
3. Head width	2.88	2.75	3.20	2.61	3.37	2.70
4. Minimum frontal	5.78	4.64	5.00	3.90	4.51	7.00
5. Face width	3.59	4.13	3.40	2.77	4.43	3.30
6. Bigonial	4.90	5.54	4.80	3.96	4.83	5.50
7. Face height	5.00	5.31	5.80	5.30	4.66	6.40
8. Nose height	6.09	6.80	7.50	8.34	6.61	9.00
9. Nose width	5.91	6.80	6.20	6.21	6.82	6.90
10. Ear height	6.39	6.92	6.80	5.44	6.15	9.60
11. Ear width	7.84	7.59	9.30	6.84	7.03	10.30
12. Cephalic index	4.34	3.87	4.40	3.68	5.01	4.50
13. Fronto-parietal index	4.94	5.19	5.60	4.54	4.68	6.60
14. Cephalo-facial index	3.01	5.04	3.30	2.84	3.54	3.40
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	5.01	5.78	6.06	4.49	4.41	6.70
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	5.42	6.22	5.20	4.83	4.92	4.40
17. Facial index	5.42	4.96	7.10	5.60	4.75	6.70
18. Nasal index	7.96	9.76	9.50	10.47	8.28	10.90
19. Ear index	7.11	7.50	9.90	8.25	7.58	9.70

TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)

CHARACTER	45 MALE 39		30 FEMALE 43	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
1. Stature	169.5	171.1	160.2	161.2
2. Shoulder height	142.2	141.7	134.5	133.1
3. Arm length	79.6	79.5	73.4	71.9
4. Sitting height	87.3	87.4	84.0	84.8
5. Arm reach	176.0	177.5	163.5	161.9
6. Head length	192.7	193.7	183.6	182.7
7. Head width	153.9	154.8	148.4	151.4
8. Minimum frontal	101.9	104.5	101.3	102.6
9. Face width	142.1	144.4	133.8	136.7
10. Bigonial	109.2	109.8	102.2	103.6
11. Face height	128.0	120.6	117.1	112.6
12. Nose height	53.8	52.2	50.6	47.3
13. Nose width	42.8	43.9	39.7	40.9
14. Ear height	67.1	67.0	62.9	62.5
15. Ear width	32.6	32.9	31.3	31.0
16. Relative shoulder height index	83.4	82.8	83.8	82.5
17. Relative arm length index	46.9	46.7	45.6	44.8

[or]

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TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)—CONTINUED

CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
18. Relative sitting height index	51.2	51.0	52.4	52.6
19. Relative arm reach index	103.8	103.8	101.5	100.3
20. Cephalic index	78.9	79.9	80.7	82.9
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.2	67.6	68.3	67.8
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.6	93.5	90.2	90.3
23. Zygomatico-frontal index	71.8	72.4	75.8	75.1
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.9	76.6	76.4	75.6
25. Facial index	90.2	83.5	87.6	82.4
26. Nasal index	80.1	84.2	78.7	87.2
27. Ear index	48.8	49.1	51.0	49.7

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TABLE X. COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II) (FREQUENCY IN PERCENTAGE)

CHARACTER	(44) MALE (38)		(31) FEMALE (43)	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
Hair form				
Straight	18.2	44.7	22.6	27.9
Low waves	43.2	18.5	45.2	27.9
Deep waves	9.1	2.6	9.7	13.9
Curly	29.5	23.7	16.1	23.3
Frizzly	0	10.5	6.4	4.7
Woolly	0	0	0	2.3
Axis of nostrils				
Antero-posterior	9.1	0	3.2	0
Oblique	54.5	46.2	54.9	23.8
Transverse	36.4	53.8	41.9	76.2
Keilodonty: Rim on mesial incisor				
Absent	45.0	80.8	68.2	81.3
Slight	32.5	11.5	22.7	12.5
Marked	22.5	7.7	9.1	6.2
Rim on lateral incisor				
Absent	50.0	80.8	71.5	87.9
Slight	31.0	11.5	19.0	12.1
Marked	19.0	7.7	9.5	0

INTER-ISLAND DIFFERENCES

In the seriation tables and the tables of standard deviations and coefficients 141
of variation (Tables II, VII and VIII) there is evidence of non-homogeneity in 142x
this series. Handy suggests from observation and a study of his records shows that there are possibly inter-island differences in physical type correlated with differences in culture. From his own observation Handy concludes that the people of the island of Ua Pou have larger and rounder heads and faces and straighter hair; while the people of Fatu Hiva and Hiva Oa have smaller, longer heads and curlier hair. In this opinion he was confirmed by a settler who had been resident in the islands for about twelve years. Since the series is so small it will be necessary to group the islands in order to get series of dependable size. On this point Handy again helps out with the statement that cultural and traditional evidence points to the possibility of two different subdivisions within the island groups. Some evidence (language for example) points to the grouping of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka in one group and Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva in the other. On [184]
the other hand, other evidence (traditional, other linguistic, and also archaeological) groups the western half of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and the western half of Hiva Oa with Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva for one section and eastern Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and eastern Hiva Oa for the second section.

As the first grouping divides the material used for study into almost equal parts, it seems best to adopt it tentatively. Before dealing with the distribution of the differences it seems wise to determine the magnitude of these differences. The southeastern islands of Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa will be called for convenience Group I. The northwestern islands of Ua Pou, Ua Huku, and Nuku Hiva will be called Group II.

The results of such a grouping will be found in Table IX and Table X. In 141
Group I the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, the bigonial diameter is less, the face and also the nose is markedly higher, the nose is narrower, the relative shoulder height is greater, the cephalic index is smaller, the facial index is larger, and the nasal index is smaller. The other differences are contradictory in the two sexes. The results for hair form 142x
are also somewhat doubtful and contradictory. In Group I the hais of the men is somewhat more wavy but for the women the reverse is true. In Group I the axes of the nostrils are more often antero-posterior and oblique; in Group II they are more often transverse. The incisor rim is likewise more frequent in Group I.

Fourteen different colors were given as approaching the skin color of the Marquesans. These colors were arranged into a series of increasing pigmentation. The lighest in color was numbered one, the darkest was given a value of fourteen.

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*142 In this way it is possible to give an index of pigmentation for each island or group of islands. The smaller the number is the lighter is the skin color. The results are given in Table XI.

TABLE XI. INDEX OF RELATIVE PIGMENTATION OF THE SKIN BY ISLANDS AND GROUPS OF ISLANDS*

Island	NUMBER		MALE		FEMALE	
	Male	Female	Unexposed	Exposed	Unexposed	Exposed
Fatu Hiva	12	1	7.1	9.0	7.5	4.5
Hiva Oa	33	29	6.2	6.1	5.2	6.3
Group I	45	31	6.9	6.9	5.3	6.2
Ua Pou	23	26	9.2	9.0	6.7	8.1
Ua Huku	7	10	10.9	9.4	9.0	8.7
Nuku Hiva	11	7	9.0	9.6	6.0	7.5
Group II	41	43	9.4	9.2	7.1	8.1
Total Group	86	74	7.8	8.0	6.4	7.3

The differences in pigmentation are very marked. The natives of Hiva Oa are the lightest while those of Ua Huku are darkest. All of the islands of Group I have a lower index of relative pigmentation than do the islands of Group II.

141 The inter-island differences, in addition to the other signs of variability, are
*142 indicative of a non-homogeneous group. The variability is too great and the inter-island differences too far reaching to be accounted for by mere local peculiarities. There is every indication that more than one physical type is under consideration. Since it is unlikely that the two types are isolated in the islands selected as a basis of subdivision and that the averages given represent not the mean of two pure physical types, but the mean of two or more physical types mixed in different proportions in the two groups of islands, it is probable that if the two types can be more specifically isolated the differences between them will be increased.

* The smaller the number, the lighter is the skin color.

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RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES IN THE MARQUESAS

On first impression it might seem that the inter-island differences could be /141 accepted as indicative of the characters of the two or more types in the islands. /142x But when it is recalled that it is unlikely that these types exist in any great degree of purity, it will be seen that the differences cannot be taken literally. They are, however, useful in indicating the promising mode of attack in reconstructing the two types. The most marked differences are in the facial and nasal indices with less marked differences in stature, minimum frontal, face width, face height, bigonial diameter, nasal height and nasal width, hair form, axes of nostrils, and the incisor rim. In order to reconstruct the different physical types in the islands it becomes necessary to know how these differences are correlated in the individual. In what manner does a tall individual differ from a short individual? What other characters are associated with a long head, a broad nose, or a particular type of hair form?

Characters Associated With Hair Form

Hair form is one of the most used criteria of race. If there is more than one type in the Marquesas it is important to know the characteristic hair forms of the different types. In order to determine what characters are associated with the different types of hair the material was subdivided into three groups. In Group I, have been placed all individuals with straight hair, in Group II all individuals with low waved hair, and in Group III all individuals with deeply waved, curly, or frizzly hair. If these types of hair form are merely normal variants around a median normal type and this group is a homogeneous racial group, selection on the basis of hair form should not affect the other characters. The averages of the characteristics of the straight-haired group should be the same or similar to those of the wavy-haired groups. If, on the other hand, the group is non-homogeneous and the different types of hair are indicative of different physical types, it is to be expected that the associated characteristics would be revealed in the averages. While hair form is specifically considered here, the same general principle with some slight modifications for correlated characters holds true for selection for other characters. (See p. 174.)

In Table XII and Table XIII the results of such hair form subdivision are given. On the whole the results are not very satisfactory. In some respects the results for the two sexes are so contradictory that it is impossible to know which series tells the truth. The only consistent differences that appear are as follows: in the straight-haired group the individuals are slightly shorter, their heads are larger, their bigonial diameters are less and their zygomatico-mandibular indices

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are less; in the low-waved group the noses are higher and narrower and the nasal indices smaller and the incisor rim has a lower frequency; in the deeply waved group the bigonial diameters are larger, the face heights are smaller, the noses are lower and wider, the zygomatico-mandibular indices are higher, and there are fewer antero-posteriorly placed nostrils. The most far-reaching differences seem to be associated with the deeply-waved and curly hair. But the results are still indefinite on many important characters. It is clear that further subdivision will be necessary.

TABLE XII. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE THREE HAIR-FORM GROUPS

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved
1. Stature	169.6	170.6	170.2	160.3	161.2	160.6
2. Shoulder height	140.9	142.4	141.2	132.4	134.4	133.8
3. Arm length	79.8	79.5	79.3	71.0	72.6	73.4
4. Sitting height	85.9	88.1	88.2	85.3	84.0	84.4
5. Arm reach	177.3	176.8	175.8	161.7	163.6	162.3
6. Head length	194.4	193.4	192.0	184.5	183.8	181.7
7. Head width	154.2	152.7	153.2	150.9	150.5	148.9
8. Minimum frontal	103.4	102.0	104.0	101.8	102.8	101.6
9. Face width	144.4	142.9	142.5	133.7	137.0	135.3
10. Bigonial	108.7	109.3	110.4	100.7	103.3	103.9
11. Face height	122.2	127.8	124.1	115.4	115.3	113.1
12. Nose height	52.9	53.8	52.4	48.2	49.7	47.9
13. Nose width	43.4	42.9	43.3	40.7	40.6	41.3
14. Ear height	68.0	67.4	65.6	63.6	61.6	63.0
15. Ear width	32.5	32.9	32.7	31.0	31.2	31.1
16. Relative shoulder height index	83.0	83.5	82.9	82.3	83.3	83.2
17. Relative arm length	47.3	46.7	46.6	44.4	45.2	45.5
18. Relative sitting height	50.4	51.6	51.7	53.2	52.2	52.7
19. Relative arm reach	104.6	103.6	103.3	100.7	100.9	100.7
20. Cephalic index	79.2	79.0	80.0	81.9	82.2	81.9
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.2	67.1	67.9	67.6	68.2	68.2
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.7	93.6	93.1	88.7	90.8	90.9
23. Zygomatic-frontal index	71.6	71.5	73.1	76.4	75.1	75.1
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	75.9	76.5	77.5	75.0	75.5	76.8
25. Facial index	84.8	89.9	86.9	85.9	84.6	83.8
26. Nasal index	82.4	80.4	83.2	84.8	81.8	84.5
27. Ear index	48.0	48.9	49.5	48.7	50.3	49.6

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TABLE XIII. COMPARISON OF THE ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE THREE HAIR FORM GROUPS (DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGE) 142x

	MALE			FEMALE		
	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved
Direction of nostrils						
Antero-posterior	4.0	11.5	0	0	0	0
Oblique	40.0	61.5	50.0	36.8	60.0	20.7
Transverse	56.0	27.0	50.0	63.2	40.0	79.3
Keilodonty; enamel rim on lateral incisor						
Absent	55.6	74.0	53.8	81.3	86.6	78.3
Slight	33.3	13.0	26.9	12.5	6.7	21.7
Marked	11.1	13.0	19.3	6.2	6.7	0
Mesial incisor						
Absent	55.6	71.5	50.0	75.0	80.0	69.6
Slight	33.3	9.5	30.8	12.5	6.7	26.1
Marked	11.1	19.0	19.2	12.5	13.3	4.3

TABLE XIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 TALLEST MEN 141 142x

Catalog number	Stature	Minimum frontal	Face width	Bigonial	Face height	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek[a]
156	174	98	143	110	122	78.4	96.0	84.1	80.7	7	10
98	174	105	145	110	130	80.2	91.8	89.7	84.9	11	11
85	174	112	147	105	115	80.2	93.0	78.2	88.7	12	10
46	174	105	148	106	129	83.0	98.0	87.2	88.2	10	12
174	174	106	144	114	126	79.3	94.1	87.5	74.5	5	5
110	174	93	150	114	118	85.5	84.3	78.7	74.6	13	10
11	175	100	143	110	127	79.5	92.3	88.8	83.0	11	11
45	175	106	149	105	126	82.5	93.1	84.6	87.8	10	12
122	175	107	140	95	132	76.1	91.5	94.3	95.7	10	10
94	175	104	146	115	129	76.5	95.4	88.4	77.2	4	6
40	176	100	146	111	.....	75.9	94.8	.....	77.6	10	9
195	176	99	145	110	126	77.6	95.4	86.9	82.7	9	6
78	176	102	140	108	133	80.7	88.0	95.0	.....	10	10
36	176	99	140	.....	124	81.0	91.5	88.6	78.2	7	11
152	177	102	147	117	127	83.9	94.2	86.4	70.9	3	5
200	178	95	147	110	131	78.0	94.2	89.1	80.7	6	4
77	178	104	133	108	.....	81.0	.....	.....	78.4	12	6
9	178	105	146	113	110	82.2	90.1	75.3	88.5	11	11
68	178	111	146	111	118	79.0	94.8	80.8	93.9	10	6
17	178	100	148	114	132	77.5	95.5	89.2	75.9	12	11
201	179	105	145	115	133	76.5	94.8	91.7	69.9	8	7
166	180	103	143	110	131	80.8	94.1	91.6	77.4	10	11
27	184	113	152	115	120	86.3	92.7	79.0	86.0	12	10
Averages		103.2	144.9	110.3	125.7	80.1	93.6	86.4	81.3	9.2	8.8
Average of total series		103.2	143.2	109.5	124.1	79.4	93.5	87.0	81.9	7.8	8.0

[a] The pigment number given in this and the following column is the relative pigment of the total series. The number ranges from 1 to 14. Number 1 is the lightest and number 14 is the darkest.

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TABLE XV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 TALLEST WOMEN

Catalog number	Stature	Minimum frontal	Face width	Bigonial	Face height	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
61	164	102	141	107	116	83.1	92.8	82.3	93.5	7	10
64	165	103	138	100	121	82.5	88.5	87.7	78.4	5	5
67	165	105	137	103	123	83.1	90.1	89.8	71.2	7	6
102	165	100	138	104	112	73.8	95.8	81.2	90.2	6	6
51	165	91	138	101	110	81.3	93.2	79.7	88.4	6	10
181	165	95	135	103	104	86.0	91.8	77.0	89.1	4	6
117	166	102	142	114	123	80.2	97.3	87.2	88.0	9	10
87	166	124	149	110	124	83.5	94.9	83.2	77.4	4	7
33	166	103	134	101	117	83.9	88.7	87.3	93.8	11	10
38	166	101	142	106	110	81.2	91.0	77.5	93.3	6	9
161	166	103	138	105	121	83.5	87.9	87.7	70.4	5	4
145	166	102	136	100	125	79.1	91.9	91.9	70.6	5	5
59	167	105	141	92	133	81.0	81.6	94.3	90.9	4	10
48	167	100	134	102	117	81.4	89.9	87.3	80.0	10	11
160	168	113	138	110	117	77.0	93.9	84.8	78.4	4	10
91	169	113	135	105	113	81.8	88.2	83.7	88.2	4	6
63	169	101	139	108	122	80.5	93.3	87.8	97.6	5	10
171	169	100	135	93	111	78.5	92.5	82.2	69.2	4	6
49	170	105	134	100	117	75.0	91.2	87.3	95.4	10	7
151	174	104	137	106	117	79.2	90.1	85.4	78.4	4	5
Average		103.6	138.0	103.5	117.6	80.8	91.7	85.3	84.1	6.0	7.6
Average of total series		102.1	135.5	103.0	114.5	82.0	90.3	84.7	83.6	6.4	7.3

TABLE XVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 SHORTEST MEN

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
111	161	79.6	98.1	76.5	87.5	5	10
119	161	77.0	95.8	87.0	87.5	12	12
129	162	77.3	94.4	89.6	75.9	4	6
62	162	86.1	93.6	80.7	94.0	7	12
146	162	74.1	93.0	93.2	75.9	6	6
14	163	82.4	95.3	83.9	72.7	10	9
120	163	76.6	97.4	80.0	75.9	12	12
173	163	87.8	86.7	86.0	77.4	10	6
116	163	84.5	91.5	85.0	89.6	6	4
41	163	78.4	95.3	77.5	78.8	10	10

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TABLE XVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 SHORTEST MEN—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
193	164	85.4	90.1	92.0	87.8	6	6
125	164	81.9	89.0	——	84.0	7	10
66	164	76.7	92.3	82.5	85.4	12	10
183	165	80.1	94.6	90.1	96.1	4	5
199	165	77.4	97.4	79.6	86.0	4	7
169	166	84.3	90.4	92.2	75.5	4	5
158	166	82.0	91.3	95.6	72.1	4	6
123	166	77.3	92.8	87.3	100.0	10	10
86	166	77.5	83.9	89.2	86.0	4	4
57	166	81.6	96.8	74.0	80.8	10	9
177	166	76.3	92.0	89.0	81.1	10	6
Average		80.2	92.9	85.5	83.3	7.5	7.9
Average total series		79.4	93.5	87.0	81.9	7.8	8.0

TABLE XVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 SHORTEST WOMEN

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
92	147	87.9	86.9	88.0	91.3	11	11
182	150	75.3	90.7	92.9	81.2	4	5
108	151	84.2	91.3	76.5	79.2	4	6
185	152	82.0	93.3	82.1	93.0	4	6
138	152	83.6	89.9	92.5	73.7	5	5
99	154	80.6	88.0	78.8	85.7	7	6
155	154	85.6	89.3	82.7	83.3	5	6
112	155	82.7	85.0	84.6	90.9	4	7
4	155	86.9	84.3	81.4	85.7	11	9
187	155	78.5	88.4	91.5	65.5	5	5
50	156	80.3	95.9	71.6	100.0	10	9
32	156	83.3	91.7	77.4	79.2	10	10
7	156	80.0	88.6	86.4	78.4	10	12
180	156	80.0	85.5	90.0	82.6	5	5
140	156	80.0	94.6	82.9	80.4	5	5
80	157	86.1	87.7	86.8	76.9	6	10
37	157	88.2	90.0	77.8	93.0	11	11
13	157	85.0	86.9	85.7	74.5	10	9
82	157	83.3	90.7	82.4	80.0	6	4
126	157	80.7	89.8	87.9	76.0	10	4
Average		82.7	89.4	83.9	82.5	7.1	6.8
Average total series		82.0	90.3	84.7	83.6	6.4	7.3

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE XVIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF STATURE GROUPS

	MEN			WOMEN		
	23 Tallest	Total	21 Shortest	20 Tallest	Total	20 Shortest
Cephalic index	80.1	79.4	80.2	80.8	82.0	82.7
Cephalo-facial index	93.6	93.5	92.9	91.7	90.3	89.4
Facial index	86.4	87.0	85.5	85.3	84.7	83.9
Nasal index	81.3	81.9	83.3	84.1	83.6	82.5
Arm pigment	9.2	7.8	7.5	6.0	6.4	7.1
Cheek pigment	8.8	8.0	7.9	7.6	7.3	6.8

Characters Associated with Stature

The Polynesians are always cited as among the tallest races of man. Their physique is extolled in all books of travel and early exploration. For this reason it is of special interest to know what other characters occur in association with tall stature. Likewise it will be of interest to know what characters are associated with short stature. I have selected a sufficiently large number of the tallest and shortest individuals to give some approach to a reliable or significant average and listed their characteristics in Tables XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII. But the averages are based upon such small numbers that the characters of the individuals must be studied as well as the averages. One or two extremes might nullify the conclusions based on averages. As is to be expected, the tall men and women have greater absolute diameters such as face width and bigonial diameter. This is a natural normal correlation in all races of man and is not in itself indicative of racial heterogeneity. There is, however, no very great correlation between stature and the indices and proportions or between stature and the attribute characters in a homogeneous race group.

The characters associated with tall stature are very variable, especially in the women. In the male series the tallest men are markedly variable, but show a somewhat greater tendency to approach one type. A large number have heads somewhat longer than the average, a high facial index, and a small nasal index and with these characters is associated a lighter skin. But in the averages the other individuals in the series hide this fact. The average shows the men to have somewhat shorter heads than the total series, but longer than those of the shortest men. The cephalo-facial index is higher, the facial index is smaller, but somewhat greater than that of the shortest men, the nasal index is smaller and the skin slightly darker. The women have longer heads, higher faces, but wider noses than the total series. On the whole there does not seem to be a very close correlation between tall stature and the other characteristics studied.

In the series of shortest individuals the results are somewhat more clear 141 and are in closer agreement in the two sexes. In a large number of individuals 142x of both sexes short stature seems to be associated with short heads, smaller cephalo-facial indices, and lower faces. The nose character and pigmentation are different in the two sexes. Again, while the results indicate the non-homogeneity of the series, they do not show clearly just what in detail are the characteristics of the different types.

TABLE XIX. CHARACTERISTICS OF 18 MEN WITH THE LONGEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form [a]	Amount of hair [b]	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
190	72.4	—	91.2	75.4	1	3	6	4
109	72.4	169	83.9	83.6	4	6	10	12
141	72.9	172	92.5	78.2	1	4	11	6
134	73.4	171	96.6	81.5	2	1	6	6
146	74.1	162	93.2	75.9	2	3	6	6
65	74.3	172	84.8	84.6	1	3	10	7
170	74.4	168	87.1	80.4	2	5	4	4
5	74.5	171	84.9	78.8	4	1	11	10
100	75.1	170	91.8	76.9	1	2	11	10
147	75.6	170	84.8	86.0	4	10	4	6
154	75.9	—	88.9	78.4	4	2	4	4
40	75.9	176	—	77.6	1	15	10	9
122	76.1	175	94.3	95.7	2	2	10	10
118	76.2	169	88.6	89.4	4	5	4	10
177	76.3	166	89.0	81.1	3	6	10	6
12	76.4	173	82.0	82.7	1	1	6	7
201	76.5	179	91.7	62.9	2	2	8	7
94	76.5	175	88.4	77.2	2	3	4	6
Average		171.1	89.0	80.3	2.3	4.1	7.5	7.2
Average total series		170.3	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

[a] Hair form is numbered consecutively from straight to woolly. A value of 1 is given to straight hair, 2 to low-waved hair, etc. The smaller the number, the straighter the hair or vice versa.

[b] The hair is numbered in accordance with its abundance: none = 0, slight = 1, medium = 2, abundant = 3. It was observed in six places. The number in this column is the total of the observations. It may be as high as 18 in an individual.

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TABLE XX. CHARACTERISTICS OF 17 WOMEN WITH LONGEST HEADS

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Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
102	73.8	165	81.2	90.2	4	6	6
49	75.0	170	87.3	95.4	1	10	7
182	75.3	150	92.9	81.2	3	4	5
127	76.0	159	90.8	90.2	2	4	7
172	76.8	160	94.2	77.4	2	5	5
26	76.9	163	75.4	90.0	1	10	9
160	77.0	168	84.8	78.4	4	4	10
81	77.1	163	87.7	84.0	1	4	6
75	77.3	163	80.9	97.6	2	4	5
139	78.1	—	86.6	75.0	4	6	6
171	78.5	169	82.2	69.2	2	6	6
15	79.0	160	88.3	79.6	2	4	11
145	79.1	166	91.9	70.6	1	5	5
149	79.1	164	86.4	87.0	1	6	6
178	79.2	160	93.2	75.5	3	6	6
151	79.2	174	85.4	78.4	2	4	5
110	79.4	159	84.7	76.0	4	6	6
Average		163.3	86.7	82.1	2.3	5.5	6.5
Average of total series		160.7	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 22 MEN WITH THE SHORTEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
159	81.6	172	84.1	68.4	3	2	4	6
57	81.6	166	74.0	80.8	2	11	10	9
28	81.8	173	75.3	97.8	3	2	11	11
125	81.9	164	85.4	84.0	1	6	7	10
168	81.9	170	92.1	71.9	2	4	5	6
158	82.0	166	95.6	72.1	3	3	4	6
29	82.1	168	85.2	82.0	1	2	10	10
9	82.2	178	75.3	88.5	1	0	11	11
14	82.4	163	83.9	72.7	1	11	10	9
45	82.5	175	84.6	87.8	1	1	10	12
46	83.0	174	87.2	88.2	5	4	10	12
152	83.9	177	86.4	70.9	2	6	3	5
107	84.0	172	85.2	62.4	4	3	11	10
169	84.3	166	92.2	75.5	4	4	4	5
116	84.5	163	85.0	89.6	1	3	6	4
193	85.4	164	92.0	87.8	2	0	6	6
110	85.5	174	78.7	74.6	2	0	13	12
2	85.6	173	81.4	97.8	4	3	11	9
62	86.1	162	80.7	94.0	1	1	7	12
27	86.3	184	79.0	86.0	4	2	12	10
179	87.1	167	85.4	79.6	4	2	4	4
173	87.8	163	86.0	77.4	2	4	10	6
Average		169.7	84.3	82.2	2.4	3.4	8.1	8.4
Average of total series		170.3	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 19 WOMEN WITH THE SHORTEST HEADS

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142*

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
136	84.8	160	87.7	79.2	2	4	6
13	85.0	157	85.7	74.5	3	10	10
155	85.6	154	82.7	85.3	2	5	6
1	85.6	160	79.8	87.5	1	11	9
30	86.0	160	80.2	85.7	4	4	6
3	86.0	161	82.9	85.7	1	4	9
181	86.0	165	77.0	89.1	2	4	6
22	86.1	159	81.8	95.4	1	6	10
80	86.1	157	86.8	76.9	3	6	10
44	86.9	158	77.5	95.1	3	10	7
4	86.9	156	81.4	85.7	1	11	9
68	87.2	161	75.4	107.7	5	10	9
6	87.4	158	77.4	85.1	2	9	10
150	87.4	158	88.5	74.5	2	1	2
92	87.9	147	88.0	91.3	1	11	11
21	88.2	161	68.7	86.4	6	10	10
37	88.2	167	77.8	93.0	3	11	11
19	88.7	164	79.2	75.0	2	10	9
97	91.3	160	80.6	80.8	2	10	9
Average		158.6	81.0	85.9	2.4	7.7	7.8
Average of total series		160.7	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF HEAD FORM GROUPS

	18 MEN			WOMEN		
	Longest heads	Total series	Shortest heads	Longest heads	Total series	Shortest heads
Stature	171.1	170.3	169.7	163.3	160.7	158.6
Facial index	89.0	87.0	84.3	86.7	84.7	81.0
Nasal index	80.3	81.9	82.2	82.1	83.6	85.9
Hair form	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.4
Amount of hair	4.1	5.3	3.4	----	----	----
Arm pigment	7.5	7.8	8.1	5.5	6.4	7.7
Cheek pigment	7.2	8.0	8.4	6.5	7.3	7.8

Characters Associated with Head Form

The cephalic index of Marquesans ranges from 72 to 91. This range of 20 points is rather high, but most of the individuals fall between 76 and 82 in the male series and between 77 and 84 in the female series. Extremely long heads and extremely short heads are of rare occurrence.

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141 In Tables XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, and XXIII the men and women with the
x 142 longest and shortest heads, respectively, are listed. This division in the main is very satisfactory. With the long heads there are associated in a very large number of individuals tall stature, high faces, narrow noses, straight hair, an abundance of beard and body hair, and a lighter skin color. This holds true for both sexes. Number 102 (Table XXVII) comes nearer to the Melanesian type, but it is the most outstanding exception to the above generalization.

In the short-headed series the results are not quite so satisfactory so far as the individuals making up the series are concerned. Many short heads are associated with short stature, low faces, broader noses, more wavy hair, less beard and body hair, and a darker skin color. There are a few exceptions to the rule that are worthy of further study. In the female series Numbers 136, 13, 80, 150, and 19, and in the male series Numbers 159, 158, 152, 169, 110, 179, 173 have very short heads but high or medium faces with very narrow noses. In many ways, with the exception of head form, they approach the characteristics of those individuals having the longest heads. They have a light skin. They are either individuals of the same type with deformed heads or represent a different type with some characteristics in common. A large proportion of these persons have hair much more wavy than the average. But in addition to these exceptional individuals we have the long list of characteristics associated with the longest and the shortest heads mentioned above. From these it is clear that the face form and nose form are the most promising remaining bases of subdivision.

Characteristics Associated with Face Form

The facial index has an enormous range of 30 points. In Tables XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII are listed the individuals with the highest and lowest faces respectively. The results of such subdivisions or groupings are very satisfactory. The two sex series agree in associating longer heads, narrower noses, more beard and body hair and a lighter skin color with the higher facial indices. This is true of the individuals as well as of the average. It is not quite as clear what type of stature or hair form is associated with the higher faces since the results differ in the two sexes.

The characters associated with a low face are short stature, shorter heads, wider noses, less beard and body hair and darker skin. But here again the hair form associated with a low face is not clearly distinctive. If we accept the women as a criterion wavy hair is associated with a low face, while a high face is associated with straighter hair.

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TABLE XXIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 MEN WITH THE HIGHEST FACES

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Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form [a]	Amount of hair [b]	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
88	90.7	169	81.2	79.3	4	12	4	6
176	91.0	168	81.4	73.7	4	5	4	5
190	91.2	----	72.4	75.4	1	3	6	4
189	91.3	169	81.3	84.3	4	5	4	4
143	91.4	----	77.7	73.7	3	11	5	5
166	91.6	180	80.8	77.4	4	8	10	11
201	91.7	179	76.5	62.9	2	2	8	7
100	91.8	170	75.1	76.9	1	2	11	10
193	92.0	164	85.4	87.8	2	0	6	6
168	92.1	170	81.9	71.9	2	4	4	6
16	92.1	170	78.4	78.8	2	3	—	—
169	92.2	166	84.3	75.5	4	4	4	5
141	92.5	172	72.9	78.2	1	4	1	6
146	93.2	162	74.1	75.9	2	3	6	6
121	93.5	169	78.3	74.6	2	6	4	11
122	94.3	175	76.1	95.7	2	2	10	10
104	94.4	173	81.4	80.0	4	18	4	6
184	94.5	173	81.4	78.7	4	14	4	5
78	95.0	176	80.7	----	1	6	10	10
158	95.6	166	82.0	72.1	3	3	4	6
198	95.7	168	79.5	66.1	1	10	5	6
186	96.5	173	79.0	74.1	2	1	4	6
134	96.6	171	73.4	81.5	2	1	6	6
Average		170.6	78.9	77.0	2.5	5.5	5.6	6.2
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

[a] Hair form is given a numerical value. 1 = straight, 2 = low waves, 3 = deep waves, 4 = curly, 5 = frizzly, 6 = woolly. These are averaged at the bottom, the larger the number the more wavy the hair.

[b] The amount of beard and body hair is given a numerical value. 0 = absent, 1 = sparse, 2 = medium, 3 = heavy. Since it was observed on six different places a very hairy individual would have a total of 18. The values are averaged the same as the value for pigmentation. The results of this process are not satisfactory, as a few extreme individuals have a great weight in determining the average.

TABLE XXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF 25 WOMEN WITH HIGHEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
161	87.7	166	83.5	70.4	2	5	4
136	87.7	160	84.8	79.2	2	4	6
81	87.7	163	77.1	84.0	1	4	6
64	87.7	165	82.5	78.4	1	5	5
63	87.8	169	80.5	97.6	4	4	10
126	87.9	157	80.7	76.0	4	10	4
92	88.0	147	87.9	91.3	1	11	11
192	88.1	164	80.2	75.5	4	5	6
15	88.3	160	79.0	79.8	2	4	11
150	88.5	158	87.4	74.5	2	1	2
67	89.8	165	83.1	71.2	1	7	6

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TABLE XXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF 25 WOMEN WITH HIGHEST FACES—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
180	90.0	156	80.0	82.6	1	5	5
127	90.8	159	76.0	90.2	2	4	7
95	91.3	160	81.6	84.8	1	4	9
187	91.5	155	78.5	65.5	2	5	5
196	91.7	163	81.7	71.4	3	6	4
145	91.9	166	79.1	70.6	1	5	5
148	92.3	162	83.4	60.4	5	10	6
138	92.5	152	83.6	73.7	1	5	5
182	92.9	150	75.3	81.2	3	4	5
178	93.2	160	79.2	75.5	3	6	6
172	94.2	160	76.8	77.4	2	5	5
59	94.3	167	81.0	90.9	2	4	10
188	97.7	158	81.4	79.2	5	4	4
142	97.7	158	80.0	78.0	2	4	5
Average		160.0	80.9	78.3	2.3	5.2	6.1
Average of toatl series		160.7	82.0	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 19 MEN WITH LOWEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
55	72.0	167	79.7	107.1	5	2	12	10
57	74.0	166	81.6	80.8	2	11	10	9
28	75.3	173	81.8	97.8	3	2	11	9
9	75.3	178	82.2	88.5	1	0	11	11
111	76.6	161	79.6	87.6	1	6	5	10
41	77.5	172	80.8	77.8	1	1	10	10
41	77.5	163	78.4	78.8	1	6	10	10
89	78.2	174	80.2	89.7	4	6	12	10
110	78.7	174	85.5	74.6	2	0	13	10
27	79.0	184	86.3	86.0	4	2	12	10
199	79.6	165	77.4	86.0	1	12	4	7
120	80.0	163	76.6	75.9	1	5	12	12
62	80.7	162	86.1	94.0	1	1	7	12
68	80.8	178	79.0	93.2	2	2	10	6
31	81.1	171	80.0	87.0	1	15	10	10
2	81.4	173	85.6	97.8	4	3	11	9
12	82.0	173	76.4	82.7	1	1	6	7
66	82.5	184	76.7	85.4	5	9	12	10
23	83.2	167	78.2	78.4	5	12	11	7
Average		169.9	80.7	86.8	2.4	5.0	9.9	9.4
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	81.9	2.4	6.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 24 WOMEN WITH THE LOWEST FACES

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142x

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
50	68.7	156	80.3	100.0	4	10	9
26	71.6	163	76.9	90.0	1	10	9
68	75.4	161	87.2	107.7	5	10	9
21	75.4	161	88.2	86.4	6	10	10
108	76.5	151	84.2	79.2	2	4	6
181	77.0	165	86.0	89.1	2	4	6
39	77.2	164	83.6	102.4	3	4	10
6	77.4	158	87.4	85.1	2	9	10
32	77.4	156	83.3	79.2	4	10	10
44	77.5	158	86.9	95.1	3	10	7
38	77.5	166	81.2	93.3	2	6	9
37	77.8	157	88.2	93.0	3	11	11
92	76.8	154	80.6	85.7	5	7	6
133	78.9	161	81.1	73.6	2	5	6
71	79.1	162	82.4	96.6	3	4	4
19	79.2	164	88.7	75.0	2	10	9
51	79.7	165	81.3	88.4	2	6	10
1	79.8	160	85.6	87.5	1	11	9
30	80.2	160	86.0	85.7	4	4	6
97	80.6	160	91.3	80.8	2	10	9
75	80.9	163	77.3	97.8	2	4	5
35	81.1	161	81.2	97.7	1	6	10
102	81.2	165	73.8	90.2	4	6	6
4	81.4	156	88.9	85.7	1	11	9
Average		160.3	83.7	89.5	2.8	7.6	8.1
Average of total series		160.7	82.0	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXVIII. AVERAGE OF CHARACTERISTICS OF FACE FORM GROUPS

	23	MEN	19	25	WOMEN	24
	Highest faces	Total series	Lowest faces	Highest faces	Total series	Lowest faces
Stature	170.6	170.3	169.9	160.0	160.7	160.3
Cephalic index	78.9	79.4	80.7	80.9	82.0	83.7
Nasal index	77.0	81.9	86.8	78.3	83.6	89.3
Hair form	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8
Hair amount	5.5	5.3	5.0	—	—	—
Arm pigment	5.6	7.8	9.9	5.2	6.4	7.6
Cheek pigment	6.2	8.0	9.4	6.1	7.3	8.1

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Characters Associated with Nose Form

141 X142 Nose form is the most variable of all the characters. It ranges from an index of 60 to one of 108. In other words there is here in one series the greater part of the entire range of the nasal index. An inspection of Tables XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII will show that the narrowest noses are associated with taller stature, slightly longer heads, higher faces, more beard and body hair and a lighter skin color.

The widest noses are associated with shorter stature, shorter heads, lower faces, less body hair, and a darker skin color. Hair form is again uncertain.

TABLE XXIX. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 MEN WITH THE NARROWEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
201	62.9	179	76.5	91.7	2	2	8	7
198	66.1	168	79.5	95.7	1	10	5	6
159	68.4	172	81.6	84.1	3	2	4	6
152	70.9	177	83.9	86.4	2	6	3	5
168	71.9	170	81.9	92.1	2	4	5	6
158	72.1	166	82.0	95.6	3	3	4	6
14	72.7	163	82.4	83.9	1	11	10	9
176	73.7	168	81.4	91.0	4	5	4	5
143	73.7	—	77.7	91.4	3	11	5	5
186	74.1	173	79.0	96.5	2	1	4	6
174	74.5	174	79.3	87.5	2	4	5	5
121	74.6	169	78.3	93.5	2	6	4	11
110	74.6	174	85.5	78.7	2	0	13	10
190	75.4	—	72.4	91.2	1	3	6	4
169	75.5	166	84.3	92.2	4	4	4	5
146	75.9	162	74.1	93.2	2	3	6	6
120	75.9	163	76.6	80.0	1	5	12	12
129	75.9	162	77.3	89.6	2	15	4	6
17	75.9	178	77.5	89.2	2	2	12	11
100	76.9	170	75.1	91.8	1	2	11	10
94	77.2	175	76.5	88.4	2	3	4	6
166	77.4	180	80.8	91.6	4	8	10	11
173	77.4	163	87.8	86.0	2	4	10	6
Average		170.0	79.6	89.6	2.2	4.9	6.6	7.1
Average total series		170.3	79.4	87.0	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXX. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 WOMEN WITH THE NARROWEST NOSES

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Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
148	60.4	162	83.4	92.3	5	10	6
187	65.5	155	78.5	91.5	2	5	5
171	69.2	169	78.5	82.2	2	6	6
161	70.4	168	83.5	87.7	2	5	4
145	70.6	166	79.1	91.9	1	5	5
67	71.2	165	83.1	89.8	1	7	6
196	71.4	163	81.7	91.7	3	6	4
133	73.6	161	81.1	78.9	2	5	6
138	73.7	152	83.6	92.5	1	5	5
150	74.5	158	87.4	88.5	2	1	2
13	74.5	157	85.0	85.7	3	10	9
19	75.0	164	88.7	79.2	2	10	4
139	75.0	.....	78.1	86.6	4	6	6
178	75.5	160	79.2	93.2	3	6	6
192	75.5	164	80.2	88.1	4	5	6
110	76.0	159	79.4	84.7	4	6	6
126	76.0	157	80.7	87.9	4	10	4
80	76.9	157	86.1	86.8	3	6	10
172	77.4	160	76.8	94.2	2	5	5
87	77.4	166	83.5	83.2	2	4	7
Average		161.1	81.9	87.8	2.6	6.1	5.6
Average total series		160.7	82.0	84.7	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 25 MEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
165	85.7	167	80.8	89.3	4	2	7	6
199	86.0	165	77.4	79.6	1	12	4	7
86	86.0	166	77.5	89.2	4	2	4	4
147	86.0	170	75.6	84.8	4	10	4	6
27	86.0	184	86.3	79.0	4	2	12	10
31	87.0	171	80.0	81.1	1	14	10	10
54	87.0	172	79.7	87.2	1	8	10	9
119	87.5	161	77.0	87.0	2	7	12	12
111	87.5	161	79.3	76.5	1	6	5	10
193	87.8	164	85.4	92.0	2	0	6	6
45	87.8	175	82.5	84.6	1	1	10	12
46	88.2	174	83.0	87.2	5	4	10	12
9	88.5	178	82.2	75.3	1	0	11	11
89	88.7	174	80.2	78.2	4	6	12	10
118	89.4	169	76.2	88.6	4	5	4	10
116	89.8	163	84.5	85.0	1	3	6	4
68	93.9	173	79.0	80.3	2	2	10	6

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TABLE XXXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 25 MEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
62	94.0	162	86.1	80.7	1	1	7	12
122	95.7	175	76.1	94.3	2	2	10	10
164	95.9	167	77.0	90.5	4	3	4	6
183	96.1	165	80.1	90.1	2	2	4	5
28	97.8	173	81.8	75.3	3	2	11	9
2	97.8	173	85.8	81.4	4	3	11	9
123	100.0	166	77.3	87.3	2	2	10	10
55	107.1	167	79.7	72.0	5	2	12	10
Average		169.6	80.4	83.9	2.6	4.0	8.2	8.6
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	87.0	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXXII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 WOMEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
26	90.0	163	76.9	75.4	1	10	9
127	90.2	159	76.0	90.8	2	4	7
102	90.2	165	73.8	81.2	4	6	6
59	90.9	167	81.0	94.3	2	4	10
112	90.9	155	82.7	84.6	1	4	7
92	91.3	147	87.9	88.0	1	11	11
185	93.0	152	82.0	82.1	2	4	6
37	93.0	157	88.2	77.8	3	11	11
38	93.3	166	81.2	77.5	2	6	9
61	93.5	165	83.1	82.3	2	7	10
33	93.8	166	83.9	87.3	4	11	10
49	95.4	170	75.0	87.3	1	10	7
22	95.4	159	86.1	81.8	1	6	10
44	95.1	158	86.9	77.5	3	10	7
71	95.6	162	82.4	79.1	5	4	9
63	97.6	169	80.5	87.8	4	4	10
75	97.6	163	77.3	80.9	2	4	5
35	97.7	161	81.2	81.1	1	6	10
50	100.0	156	80.3	71.6	4	10	9
39	102.4	164	83.5	77.2	3	4	10
68	107.7	161	87.2	75.4	5	10	9
Average		161.1	81.8	82.0	2.5	7.0	8.6
Average of total series		160.7	82.0	84.7	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOSE FORM GROUPS

	23 MEN		25	WOMEN		
	Narrowest noses	Total group	Widest noses	Narrowest noses	Total group	Widest noses
Stature	170.0	170.3	169.6	161.1	160.7	161.1
Cephalic index	79.6	79.4	80.4	81.9	82.0	81.8
Facial index	89.6	87.0	83.9	87.8	84.7	82.9
Hair form	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5
Hair amount	4.9	5.3	4.0	—	—	—
Arm pigment	6.6	7.8	8.2	6.1	6.4	7.0
Cheek pigment	7.1	8.0	8.6	5.6	7.3	8.6

TABLE XXXIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN WITH MARKED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH 141 142x

Catalog pigment	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
198	168	79.5	95.7	66.1	1	10	5	6
176	168	81.4	91.0	73.7	4	5	4	5
195	176	77.6	86.9	82.7	1	2	9	6
154	—	75.9	88.9	78.4	4	2	4	4
174	174	79.3	87.5	74.5	2	4	5	5
183	165	80.1	90.1	96.1	2	2	4	5
184	173	81.4	94.5	78.7	4	14	4	5
121	169	78.3	93.5	74.6	2	6	4	11
28	173	81.8	75.3	97.8	3	2	11	9
2	173	85.6	81.4	97.8	4	3	11	9
Average	170.6	80.1	88.5	82.0	2.7	5.0	6.1	6.4
Average of total series	170.3	79.4	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN WITH SLIGHTLY DEVELOPED RIM ON INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
158	166	82.0	95.6	72.1	3	3	4	6
141	172	72.9	92.5	78.2	1	4	11	6
143	—	77.7	91.4	73.7	3	11	5	5
189	169	81.3	91.3	84.3	4	5	4	4
191	169	79.9	85.0	82.8	2	6	4	6
179	167	87.1	85.4	79.6	4	2	4	4
159	172	81.6	84.1	68.4	3	2	4	6
125	164	81.9	85.4	84.0	1	6	6	10
165	167	80.8	89.3	85.7	4	2	7	6
164	167	77.0	90.5	95.9	4	3	4	6
123	166	77.3	87.3	100.00	2	2	10	10
120	163	76.6	80.0	75.9	1	5	12	12
9	178	82.2	75.3	88.5	1	0	11	11
98	174	80.2	89.7	84.9	1	2	11	11
40	176	75.9	—	77.6	1	15	10	9
Average	169.3	79.6	87.3	82.1	2.3	4.5	7.1	7.5
Average of total series	170.3	79.4	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

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TABLE XXXVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WITH MARKED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
155	154	85.6	82.7	83.3	2	5	6
4	156	86.9	81.4	85.7	1	11	9
182	150	75.3	92.9	81.3	3	4	5
138	152	83.6	92.5	73.7	1	5	5
172	160	76.8	94.2	77.4	2	5	5
Average	154.4	81.6	88.7	80.3	1.8	6.0	6.0
Average of total series	160.7	82.0	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WITH SLIGHTLY DEVELOPED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
13	157	85.0	85.7	74.5	3	10	9
38	166	81.2	77.5	93.3	2	6	9
133	161	81.1	78.9	73.6	2	5	6
126	157	80.7	67.9	76.0	4	10	4
188	158	81.4	97.7	79.2	5	4	4
180	156	80.0	90.0	82.6	1	5	5
192	164	80.2	88.1	75.5	4	5	6
48	167	81.4	87.3	80.0	1	10	11
37	157	88.2	77.8	93.0	3	11	11
32	156	83.3	77.4	79.2	4	10	10
Average	160.0	82.2	84.8	80.7	2.9	7.6	7.5
Average total series	160.7	82.0	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXVIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOOTH FORM GROUPS

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Marked Rim	Slight Rim	Total Series	Marked Rim	Slight Rim	Total Series
Stature	170.6	169.3	170.3	154.4	160.0	160.7
Cephalic index	80.1	79.6	79.4	81.6	82.2	82.0
Facial index	88.5	87.3	87.0	88.7	84.8	84.7
Nasal index	82.0	82.1	81.9	80.3	80.7	83.6
Hair form	2.7	2.3	2.4	1.8	2.9	2.5
Hair amount	5.0	4.5	5.3	—	—	—
Arm pigment	6.1	7.1	7.8	6.0	7.6	6.4
Cheek pigment	6.4	7.5	8.0	6.0	7.5	7.3

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Characters Associated With the Enamel on the Upper Incisor Teeth

On account of its high frequency in the Mongoloid types, the enamel rim on the upper incisor teeth is of considerable interest in a study of the Polynesian peoples. In Tables XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII, I have listed the individuals with marked and slight incisor rims. The results are not conclusive. It is clear that this character is associated with a high face and a lighter skin color. The association with other characters is not certain. Many of the individuals with a marked incisor rim are tall, long-headed, high-faced, and narrow-nosed. Those individuals having a slightly developed incisor rim form a most mixed and heterogeneous group.

Characters of Two Marquesan Types

The above analyses of physical characteristics have sufficiently demonstrated not only the heterogeneity of the series under consideration, but also the correlations or associations of many characters. While it is still uncertain just what are the affiliations of certain characters such as stature, hair form, and the frequency of the incisor rim, there are in the main two tendencies shown in these associations or correlations which clearly indicate at least two different types. These may be outlined as follows:

TYPE I	TYPE II
Characterized by	Characterized by
1. Taller stature	1. Shorter stature
2. Longer heads	2. Shorter heads
3. Higher faces	3. Lower faces
4. Narrower noses	4. Wider noses
5. Straighter hair	5. More wavy hair
6. More beard	6. Less beard
7. More body hair	7. Less body hair
8. Lighter skin color	8. Darker skin color
9. More frequent incisor rim	9. Less frequent incisor rim

At present it is possible to describe these two types only in terms of each other. In saying that Type I has longer heads I do not mean that they are necessarily markedly dolichocephalic, but that on the average their heads are slightly longer than those of Type II. The other statements likewise are merely comparative. For the present no attention will be paid the other elements of the population.

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ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS

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Since it is clear that there are at least two widely different types in the Marquesas, it is desirable to know what proportion of the population is formed by each type and whether or not these two types will include all of the population. This information can be derived only from an analysis of individuals, for it must be assumed that the average characters of the types are to be found in individuals. By this I mean that persons belonging to Type I should be tall, longer headed, higher faced, narrower nosed, lighter skinned, straighter haired, and more heavily bearded than those belonging to Type II. In order that I may not seem to defy the law of chance I wish to make it clear that I would not expect every individual to show all of these characters in the extreme. Yet in a homogeneous race group the correlation or association is closer than is generally realized. A member of a homogeneous race group should approach the mean of the type in a majority of his characteristics.

Since the most promising differences occurred in head form, face form, and nose form, the cephalic, facial and nasal indices were used as the basis of my subdivision. Later the results were supplemented by an analysis on the basis of pigmentation, hair form, and stature.

Persons with a long head, high face, and narrow nose were tentatively placed in Type I. Those with a short head, low face and broad nose were put in Type II. Intermediate types and types that did not fall into the two groups were classed as mixed. Later study on the basis of other characters led me to remove some of the individuals from Type I and Type II and place them in separate groups. They were predominatingly of Type I or Type II, but each showed one or more characteristics of the other group. These were called mixed-near Type I and mixed-near Type II.

One hundred fifty-eight records were available for the analysis. Of the persons measured 28 per cent had long heads, high faces, and narrow noses, 14 per cent being more qualified in two of these characteristics, but slightly divergent in one character or having one character lacking. In their other characters they were apparently related to the individuals in Type I. Thus about 42 per cent of the sample was assigned to Type I.

Of the sample 26 per cent had short heads, low faces, and broad noses and 10 per cent diverged slightly in one character, but were still unmistakably affiliated with Type II. These two types then account for about 78 per cent of this sample. Of the remainder 22 per cent were classed as mixed or unclassifiable. Of these 9 per cent were intermediate in all three characters and were probably mixed types, and three more were very probably also mixtures of Type II. Of the remaining 13 per cent about three individuals approached the Melanesian type. The others do not fit. They are extremely short-headed, but have high or moderately high

faces and narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. They are the individuals I have previously spoken of as having very possibly artificially deformed heads. But it must be repeated here that this is by no means certain as yet. They are so few in number it is difficult to state their other characteristics with any degree of certainty. It is equally possible that they represent another racial element in the population. If this is true, its segregation will affect somewhat the percentages given above, particularly those of Type I which it most closely approaches in several characteristics. 141 142X

Inter-Island Distribution of the Two Types

While no pretense is made that any individual I place in Type I or Type II is a pure unmixed member of that type, it is fairly certain that a majority of those individuals classed as Type I or Type II were predominatingly of those types, which serves our purpose just as well. Three independent sortings resulted in only a few disagreements of one class. A few individuals were classed sometimes as near Type I and sometimes as mixed. But not over 5 per cent were the subjects of such changes.

It later occurred to me that it would be of interest to work out the distribution of the two types in the different islands. The results are listed in Table XXXIX, which shows clearly the distribution. Type I is to be found in all of the islands but is less mixed in the southeastern islands of the group. Type II is strongest in Ua Huku, but occurs also in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and to a lesser extent in Hiva Oa. While the series is small and the results cannot be taken literally, the differences are so marked that there can be little doubt that they indicate roughly the true state of affairs. So far as this sample may be relied upon, it would indicate that if these two physical types had different languages and cultures, as they conceivably should have had, the language and culture belonging to Type II should be most clearly recognizable in Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou. While it would have unquestionably affected Hiva Oa, it is here and in Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva that the culture and language of Type I should be found. In Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and to a lesser extent in Hiva Oa there should be found a stratification of the cultures.

I will leave this correlation of the physical and cultural differences to those better acquainted with the details of culture. My purpose in making the above statement is to bring out the fact that the averages obtained in the inter-island grouping cannot be taken as the averages of the two types. The northwestern group contained many individuals belonging to Type I, although Type II was the prevailing type. In the southeastern group there were a few individuals of Type II. For this reason I have separated the material into five groups used above and averaged their characteristics. These are given in Tables XL and XLI.

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Detailed Averages of the Different Types

144 In this subdivision and grouping all of the material has been used. The
*142 averages for Type I are given in the first column. In the second column Type I has been combined with those individuals who were near Type I, but departed from the type in some one or two characters. In column three the averages of these individuals (near Type I) are given separately. In the fourth column have been placed all the mixed, [illegible]sifiable individuals and those near Type I and near Type II. In the succe[illegible] columns are those near Type II, Type II and near Type II, and finally Type I[illegible] It will be seen that some individuals are used in more than one column (2, 4, and 7).

An inspection of both Table XL and XLI demonstrates that this subdivision of the material into two types and mixtures thereof has been fairly successful. The averages progress smoothly from Type I to Type II or from Type II to Type I. The mixed individuals give intermediate averages for most characters. From left to right the index of pigmentation decreases, the development of the beard, body hair, and the frequency of the incisor rim also decrease. Hair form is irregular. Stature also does not behave in a convincing manner. Among the women the mixed individuals are the tallest, but with the men the reverse is true. The only other irregularities in the anthropometric results are slight ones in minimum frontal and bigonial diameters and the indices based on them. But these irregularities indicate clearly that there is still a disturbing factor in the series that has not been isolated.

For convenience the averages and differences of Types I and II are placed side by side in Table XLII. Here as elsewhere in this paper a numerical value has been given to certain attribute characters and the results treated statistically. As previously explained, the color values have been numbered from 1 to 14 and the results averaged. The smaller the number is the lighter is the color. Hair form has also been given a value of 1 and wavy hair a value of 2, and so on. A similar treatment was accorded the development of beard and body hair and the incisor rim. In reading Table XLII, it is sufficient to know that in pigmentation a small number indicates a light pigmentation; in hair form a small number indicates straight hair; in beard and body hair development a small number indicates a poor development; and in the incisor rim a small number indicates a low frequency.

The figures given for men and for women in Table XLII agree in emphasizing the enormous differences between Type I and Type II. Of the 24 characters considered, the differences in 20 are sufficiently large to remove doubt of their significance. In only four characters—hair form, minimum frontal, bigonial, and cephalo-facial index—are the differences small and contradictory in the two sexes. Type II is unquestionably darker than Type I, has a poorer development

of the beard and body hair, and also a less frequent occurrence of the incisor rim. Type II is shorter, has shorter, wider heads, wider and lower faces, and wider and lower noses. As a result of these differences, the cephalic index is greater in Type II, the facial index is about 12 points less on the average, and the nasal index 12 or more points higher. Other consistent differences are smaller fronto-parietal indices and a larger ear index in Type II. 141 142x

There can be no doubt that at least two separate and radically different groups of associated characters are represented. A study of the photographs of the two groups will add still further to the lists of associated characters. On the basis of measurements and descriptive characters, I have sorted out the photographs as best I could into groups approaching Type I and Type II. I do not urge that any of these be accepted as pure members of either type, although it seems altogether probable that many of them are. For our purpose it will be sufficient to say that in a totality of their characters the men in Plate XXXVI and the women in Plate XXXVIII approach Type I, as I have described it. The men who most clearly approach Type II are shown in Plate XXXVII and the women in Plate XXXIX. Many better eamples of the two types were photographed, but under such adverse conditions that the photographs do not lend themselves well to reproduction. Most of the men represented in Plate XXXVI are fairly typical of Type I. Numbers 7, 8, 10, 13 are very possibly of a different type. They have extremely short heads. In Plate XXXVII numbers 1, 2, and 3 are rather extreme examples of Type II. The other members are probably mixed with various other elements besides Type I. Numbers 3, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 14 are poor examples of the type. The women are much more difficult to select. Numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12 and 13, on Plate XXXIX are good examples of Type II. Most of the women in Plate XXXVIII approach fairly closely Type 1, but numbers 5, 6, 9, and 15 are the best representatives. In Plate XL I have placed those who fall in the mixed and unclassified groups. Numbers 2, 5, 11, and 13 represent the extremely short-headed element as do also numbers 8 and 12 of Plate XXXVIII. For comparison a few photographs of persons of mixed Caucasian and Asiatic origin are given in Plate XLI.

A careful study of the photographs suggest many other characters in which the two types differ. Type II has thicker lips and the eyes are peculiar, being less wide open, and several have a suggestion of epicanthic fold. The lower lid of some of the eyes in Type II has a swollen beveled appearance. The outer canthus is somewhat higher than the inner canthus which results in an obliquely placed eye slit. Type II is also heavier and stockier. The neck is short and heavy. Type I, when all Type II characters are removed, are more Caucasoid in appearance. The nasal bridge is higher and the lips are thinner. The hair, too, seems to be straighter in Type I although it should be emphasized here that in neither of these two types 141 142x 144

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do we find the stiff straight black hair characteristic of the Chinese, Japanese, and many Malay and American peoples.

TABLE XXXIX. INTER-ISLAND DISTRIBUTION OF TWO PHYSICAL TYPES IN THE MARQUESAS

Island	Type I		Mixed near Type I		Intermediate and unclassifiable		Mixed near Type II		Type II		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
MEN											
Nuku Hiva	0	0	2	18	2	18	2	18	5	46	11
Ua Huku	1	12	0	0	1	12	1	12	5	64	8
Ua Pou	4	20	7	35	1	5	3	15	5	25	20
Hiva Oa	22	63	4	11	7	20	0	0	2	5	35
Tahu Ata	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fatu Hiva	1	10	2	20	7	70	0	0	0	0	10
Total	28	33	15	18	18	21	6	7	17	20	84
WOMEN											
Nuku Hiva	1	14	0	0	2	28	2	28	2	28	7
Ua Huku	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	20	7	70	10
Ua Pou	1	4	2	7	8	29	4	14	12	44	27
Hiva Oa	10	38	4	15	7	27	2	8	3	12	26
Tahu Ata	2	100	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Fatu Hiva	1	50	1	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total	16	21	7	9	17	23	10	13	24	32	74
TOTAL SERIES											
Nuku Hiva	1	5	2	11	4	22	4	22	7	39	18
Ua Hiva	2	11	0		1	5	3	17	12	67	18
Ua Pou	5	10	9		9	19	7	15	17	36	47
Hiva Oa	32	52	8	13	14	23	2	3	5	8	61
Tahu Ata	2	100									2
Fatu Hiva	2	17	3	25	7	58					12
Total	44	28	22	14	35	22	16	10	41	26	158

TABLE XL. AVERAGE CHARACTERS OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES
MEN

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Character	Type I	Type I and near Type I	Near Type I	Mixed and near Type I and near Type II	Mixed	Near Type II	Type II and near Type II	Type II
Relative arm pigment	6.4	6.9	8.0	7.9	7.3	9.5	9.8	9.9
Relative cheek pigment	6.3	7.2	8.4	8.2	7.6	9.8	9.5	9.4
Relative hair form	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.6
Development of beard [a]	3.3	3.4	3.5	2.8	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0
Development of body hair	2.8	2.9	3.0	2.6	2.2	3.0	2.1	1.8
Rim on lateral incisor [b]	1.0	.9	.4	.5	.6	.0	.4	.4
Rim on mesial incisor	1.1	.9	.4	.5	.6	.0	.4	.5
Stature	171.0	171.0	171.1	169.6	168.0	170.8	170.7	170.6
Head length	195.0	194.8	194.6	192.5	191.3	191.1	191.3	191.5
Head width	151.0	151.4	152.5	153.6	154.5	153.6	155.1	155.6
Minimum frontal	102.1	102.5	103.4	103.7	103.1	106.5	103.7	102.7
Face width	141.7	142.1	142.9	143.2	143.0	144.6	145.5	145.8
Bigonial diameter	109.4	110.1	111.5	109.9	108.7	109.8	109.1	108.8
Face height	129.4	128.6	126.6	123.9	123.9	118.3	116.8	116.3
Nasal height	56.2	55.2	53.3	52.5	52.3	51.3	50.2	49.8
Nasal width	42.7	42.9	43.3	43.2	43.4	42.6	43.6	43.9
Cephalic index	77.6	77.9	78.4	79.9	80.9	80.4	81.1	81.3
Fronto-parietal index	67.6	67.8	68.3	67.7	66.7	69.3	66.8	66.0
Cephalo-facial index	94.0	93.8	93.7	93.2	92.5	94.2	93.8	93.7
Zygomatico-frontal index	72.1	72.2	72.5	72.5	72.1	73.6	71.3	70.5
Zygomatico-mandibular index	77.1	77.4	77.9	76.7	75.8	76.1	74.7	74.2
Facial index	91.3	90.6	89.0	86.3	86.6	81.8	80.3	79.8
Nasal index	76.6	78.3	81.9	82.7	83.4	82.8	87.1	88.7
Ear index	49.2	48.6	47.8	48.0	47.9	48.9	50.2	50.6
Number of men	28	43	15	39	18	6	23	17

[a] Beard and body hair are considered separately from here on, so that 9 is the maximum index.

[b] The incisor rim was indicated as follows: 0 = absent, 1 = slight, 2 = medium, 3 = marked. These values were totaled and divided by the number of cases. The average values are small here in all of the types.

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TABLE XLI. AVERAGE CHARACTERS OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES OF WOMEN

Character	Type I	Type I and near Type I	Near Type I	Mixed and near Type I and near Type II	Mixed	Near Type II	Type II and near Type II	Type II
Relative arm pigment	5.5	5.3	5.0	6.0	6.1	6.6	7.2	7.4
Relative cheek pigment	5.8	6.0	6.1	7.0	7.4	6.8	8.1	8.5
Relative hair form	3.6	2.6	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.8	2.5	2.5
Rim on lateral incisor	.5	.7	1.0	.2	.1	.0	.1	.1
Rim on mesial incisor	.9	.7	.1	.3	.2	.4	.3	.2
Stature	160.2	160.8	162.1	162.0	162.9	160.3	157.2	155.1
Heal length	186.4	186.4	185.1	183.8	184.7	181.4	180.4	180.0
Head width	145.1	147.8	148.5	150.5	150.4	152.0	151.6	151.4
Minimum frontal	101.2	101.1	101.1	104.6	103.9	108.5[a]	108.0[a]	99.0
Face width	132.8	132.8	132.7	136.0	136.6	137.2	137.0	136.9
Bigonial diameter	101.7	100.9	99.0	103.3	103.7	105.5	104.1	103.5
Face height	120.4	119.6	117.8	116.2	117.8	112.2	110.1	109.2
Nose height	52.2	52.0	51.7	49.9	50.2	48.3	45.7	44.6
Nose width	39.3	39.6	40.4	40.8	40.9	40.8	40.7	40.7
Cephalic index	79.2	79.5	80.3	81.9	81.5	83.9	84.1	84.2
Front-parietal index	68.6	68.4	68.1	69.5	69.1	71.4	67.1	65.4
Cephalo-facial index	89.9	89.7	89.4	90.7	91.5	90.3	90.4	90.5
Zygomatico-frontal index	76.2	76.2	76.3	76.9	75.9	79.1	74.3	72.2
Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.6	76.0	74.6	75.8	75.8	76.8	75.9	75.5
Facial index	90.7	90.1	88.8	85.5	86.3	81.8	79.8	78.9
Nasal index	75.2	76.2	78.6	82.1	81.8	84.7	89.5	91.6
Ear index	47.7	48.4	50.5	50.1	50.1	49.7	50.0	50.1
Number of women	16	23	7	34	17	10	34	24

[a] Due to two extreme cases 121 and 125.

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TABLE XLII. COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGES AND DIFFERENCES OF TYPES I AND II

	Type I Men	Total Series, Men	Type II Men	Type I Women	Total Series, Women	Type II Women	Difference Between Types I and II Men	Difference Between Types I and II Women
Relative arm pigment	6.4	8.2	9.9	5.5	6.4	7.4	+ 3.5	+ 1.9
Relative cheek pigment	6.3	8.6	9.4	5.8	7.3	8.5	+ 3.1	+ 2.7
Relative hair form	2.4	2.6	2.6	3.6	2.5	2.5	+ .2	— 1.1
Development of beard	3.3	3.6	2.0	.....	.....	.....	— 1.3	.....
Development of body hair	2.8	2.5	1.8	.....	.....	.....	— 1.0	.....
Rim on lateral incisor	1.0	.7	.4	.5	.3	.1	— .6	— .4
Rim on mesial incisor	1.1	.7	.5	.9	.4	.2	— .6	— .7
Stature	171.0	170.3	170.6	160.2	160.7	155.1	— .4	— 5.1
Head length	195.0	193.2	191.5	186.4	183.2	180.0	— 3.5	— 6.4
Head width	151.0	153.2	155.6	145.1	150.1	151.4	+ 4.6	+ 6.3
Minimum frontal	102.1	103.2	102.7	101.2	102.1	99.0	+ .6	— 2.2
Face width	141.7	143.2	145.8	132.8	135.5	136.9	+ 4.1	+ 4.1
Bigonial diameter	109.4	109.5	108.8	101.7	103.0	103.5	— .6	+ 1.8
Face height	129.4	124.6	116.3	120.4	114.5	109.2	—13.1	—11.2
Nasal height	56.2	53.1	49.8	52.2	48.6	44.6	— 6.4	— 7.6
Nasal width	42.7	43.2	43.9	39.3	40.4	40.7	+ 1.2	+ 1.4
Cephalic index	77.6	79.4	81.3	79.2	82.0	84.2	+ 3.7	+ 5.0
Fronto-parietal index	67.6	67.4	66.0	68.6	68.0	65.4	— 1.6	— 3.2
Cephalo-facial index	94.0	93.5	93.7	89.9	90.3	90.5	— .3	+ .6
Zygomatico-frontal index	72.1	72.0	70.5	76.2	75.2	72.2	— 1.6	— 4.0
Zygomatico-mandibular index	77.1	76.8	74.2	76.6	75.9	75.5	— 2.9	— 1.1
Facial index	91.3	87.0	79.2	90.7	84.7	78.9	—12.1	—11.8
Nasal index	76.6	81.9	88.7	75.2	83.6	91.6	+12.1	+16.4
Ear index	49.2	48.9	50.6	47.7	49.6	50.1	+ 1.4	+ 2.4
Number	28	84	17	16	74	24	.....	.....

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A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE SAMOANS

141 & 142 144 In view of the clear evidences of at least two types in the Marquesas it becomes highly important to reconsider the Samoans and Tongans in order to determine if possible the presence or absence of Type II. It is not only probable but altogether likely that some of the diversity I attributed to Melanesian intermixture may be due to the presence of Type II since the differences are in the same characters.[10] While Type II cannot be considered Melanesian it has certain Melanesian, Papuan, and negroid characters which might very easily be mistaken for Melanesian influence. I refer, of course, to the darker skin, more wavy hair, low and broad faces, low and broad noses, and thick lips. As a matter of fact this leaves but one or two criteria with which to distinguish between Melanesian intermixture and the influence of Type II. This must be decided largely upon the basis of head form and relative curliness of the hair. With the possibility of head deformation in Tonga and Samoa, the problem is still further complicated.

It will be necessary to test further the homogeneity of the Samoan and Tongan series by subdividing them into different stature, head form, face form, and nose form groups, as I have done for the Marquesan material.

TABLE XLIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATURE GROUPS OF SAMOAN MEN

Characters	18 Tallest	Total series	20 Shortest
Cephalic index	81.2	81.3	82.0
Fronto-parietal index	68.0	66.8	67.1
Cephalo-facial index	93.9	94.2	93.4
Facial index	91.2	89.9	89.9
Nasal index	72.5	73.6	73.7
Rim on lateral incisor	.33	.76	1.10
Rim on mesial incisor	.22	.44	.63
Arm pigment	6.1	7.1	8.6
Cheek pigment	9.3	10.3	10.2
Hair form	1.9	1.7	1.6
Beard development	5.8	5.2	5.4
Body hair development	6.2	5.2	5.0
Elevation of nasal bridge [a]	2.2	1.9	1.8
Axes of nostrils [b]	2.3	2.3	2.3

[a] The higher the number the higher the nasal bridge.
[b] The larger the number the more transverse the nostrils.

[10] Op. cit.

[pp. 197-232 have been omitted from this source] -Analyst

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SUMMARY

1144 The modern "Polynesians" of the Marquesas, Samoa and Tonga are a mixed people. This fact accounts for the great diversity of opinion regarding their racial origins and affinities. In addition to the Polynesian population there is a second type resembling the Indonesian peoples of Malaysia, and a third extremely short-headed element. This paper deals mainly with the Polynesian and Indonesian types. The unrecognized presence of the Indonesian type has given rise to the theories of Indonesian affinities of the Polynesian people.

When the Indonesian element is removed, the Polynesian is more strikingly Caucasoid. Some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians may be due to the presence of a third type not yet isolated. At present it seems best to regard the Polynesian type as an offshoot of the primitive Mongoloid stem, very close to where some Caucasians branched off.

The Indonesian type is usually regarded as Mongoloid also but is strongly divergent in the direction of the Negro. The resulting hybrid of the Polynesian and Indonesian types is much more Mongoloid in appearance than is either of the parental types.

The Polynesian and Indonesian types cannot be considered as close relatives in a physical sense. Indeed, their only claim for relationship is that both may be somewhat hesitatingly classed as divergent Mongols. But even if such a classification is eventually proved to be justified, the relationship is a very distant one.

In the Marquesas are marked inter-island differences in the distribution of these two types. The Indonesian type is for the most part confined to the islands of Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou. The Polynesian is also present in these islands, but is much less mixed with the Indonesian element in the southern islands of the group: Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Hiva Oa. In Tonga also the Indonesian element is much more concentrated in the northern island groups, Haapai and Vavau, but especially in Haano. No certain inter-island differences were found in Samoa.

These two types do not exhaust the possibility of finding other physical types in Polynesia. There is unmistakable evidence of Melanesian influence, particularly in Tonga. The Idonesian type has many Negroid characteristics, which have lead to an exaggerated opinion as to the amount of Melanesian blood in Polynesia.

In addition there is an extremely short-headed element in Polynesia, referred to by Dixon as Malayan; by Elliot-Smith as Proto-Armenoid; and by others as Indonesian, or Alpine. Apparently it is this element of the population that Deniker refers to as Polynesian. At present its claim to distinction as a separate type seems to consist chiefly of extremely short heads, associated with narrow faces,

144 narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. As yet I have not been able to establish a sufficiently large group of associated characters to warrant its discussion. It seems probable, however, that this type may account for some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians. This, as well as many other phases of the Polynesian problem, needs further study in the areas in which the people are more characteristic of this type.

In a marginal area like Polynesia it is possible to find individual representatives of nearly all the races living in and around the Pacific. A study of the photographs in this and other papers on Polynesia will show that this possibility is realized to some extent in the Marquesas, Samoa, and Tonga. but to discuss them at present would be to magnify their importance. I have confined my efforts to those types whose presence could be unmistakably demonstrated in sufficient number to warrant the assumption that they had played an important part in the history or prehistory of Polynesia. I am not at all sure that I have isolated all of these elements even, in the three island groups considered here. Furthermore, it is probable that future studies may result in some modification in the characteristics I have assigned to the two main types discussed in this paper. The relative proportions of the different types given in this paper are of course tentative for it is only when it has been possible to reconstruct the various elements of the population in detail that it will be practicable to give definite estimates of their relative frequencies.

128 141 x142 144 In order that this paper may be of greater permanent value to those who do future work in Polynesia, or who may be inclined to carry my analysis further, I have presented the data and analyses in considerable detail. The extent of this detail may discourage those whose interest is only casual from hunting for the points which may be of special interest to them. For this reason I will briefly recapitulate the points of more general interest and indicate the section of the paper in which more detail on these points can be found.

The Marquesan material when seriated shows no tendency to form normal frequency distributions. The bimodal tendency encountered in Tonga is here encountered in an extended and exaggerated degree. Nearly every character is bimodal or multimodal. The range is enormous especially in the nasal, facial and cephalic indices. (See p. 145.) This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation which are greatly in excess of those for the Samoan and Tongan data. (See p. 165.)

141 x142 144 The Marquesans differ somewhat in their average characters from the Samoans and the Tongans. Their hair is more wavy, their skin is darker, they are more glabrous, they have more transversely placed nostrils, the enamel rim on the incisor teeth is less frequent, they are shorter in stature, have longer heads, their

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faces are narrower, but markedly lower, their bigonial diameters are greater and their noses are narrower and lower. (See p. 160.) 141 142x 144

In the three southeastern islands of the group (Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa) the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, but the height is much higher, the nose is higher and narrower than in the northwestern islands of the group. The skin color is lighter also. The differences are too great and far-reaching to be considered as local differentiation and indicate a non-homogeneous group. (See pp. 165-8.)

A detailed analysis showed two main tendencies in the association of characters which I have designated as follows:

TYPE I	TYPE II
Characterized by:	Characterized by:
1. Taller stature	1. Shorter stature
2. Longer heads	2. Shorter heads
3. Higher faces	3. Lower faces
4. Narrower noses	4. Wider noses
5. Straighter hair (?)	5. More wavy hair (?)
6. More beard	6. Scant beard
7. More body hair	7. Scant body hair
8. Lighter skin color	8. Darker skins
9. More frequent incisor rim	9. Infrequent incisor rim. (See p. 187).

On the assumption that the cephalic, facial, and nasal indices were the most distinctive anthropometric traits of these two types, the individuals were analyzed and classified as Type I, Type II or mixed and unclassified. That this analysis and classification was partly successful is indicated by the resulting averages of these groups. Marked and certain differences were found in twenty of the twenty-four characters studied. They emphasize the difference in the facial and nasal indices which amount to 12 points or more on the average. The differences in head form are less marked. Type I is mesocephalic and Type II is slightly brachycephalic. Type II also has thicker lips and less wide open eyes than Type I.

Type I occurs in all of the islands, but is least mixed in Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Hiva Oa. Type II is the dominant type in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huku, and Ua Pou. There is a residue of extremely short heads that are not accounted for by either or both of these types. (See p. 188.)

A re-analysis of the Samoan material shows that Type I is an important type, but that Type II is also present here to some extent. The gap between the two types is not so wide as in the Marquesas. This is taken to mean that Type II has never been so important numerically in Samoa or has been pretty thoroughly mixed with Type I or perhaps both of these things. No apparent inter-island diffrences occur in the frequency of these two types. But since the sample was mainly from Upolu this cannot be taken as final. In Samoa also there is a still larger residue of extremely short heads. (See p. 202.)

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144 A more detailed analysis of the Tongan data indicates that Type II is also
X142 present in Tonga. The presence of this type which has many Negroid characters
144 is responsible for much of the heterogeneity attributed to Melanesian influence in a previous paper. Type II is more distinct here than in Samoa, but less so than in the Marquesas. Here again Type II has not become uniformly distributed throughout the archipelago, but is concentrated more strongly in the northeastern groups of Vavau and Haapai and especially in Haano. These two types account for about 60 per cent of the population of Tonga. The remaining 40 per cent contained a large number of individuals with short heads, narrow faces and narrow noses. (See p. 209.)

Type I is the true Polynesian. Its relationship to the Aino is suggested. When Type II is removed the Polynesians are much more Caucasoid than they have hitherto been described in this series, but this approach to the Caucasian may be due to the fact that there is a third type in Polynesia carrying these traits. They seem to stand intermediate between the Caucasians and the Mongols in a totality of their characters. It is possible to regard the Polynesian as Mongoloid only on the assumption that the primitive Mongoloid type gave rise to the Caucasian types. In this sense the Polynesian may be regarded as a near-Caucasian type or as the result of one of nature's attempts to evolve a Caucasian type. They at least must have branched off very near to where the Caucasians branched off. (See pp. 215-7.)

Type II is called tentatively an Indonesian type. It is commonly looked upon as Mongoloid, but its negroid characters are emphasized. It is also pointed out that these two types are not very closely related and have very little in common except the fact that both may be somewhat hesitatingly classified as divergent Mongoloid types, the one in the Caucasian direction, and the other in the direction of the negro. Earlier theories of relationships of these two types are due in part to the unrecognized presence of an Indonesian type in Polynesia and a Polynesian type in Indonesia combined with an unfortuate confusion in anthropological terminology.

These two types do not entirely exhaust the possibility of other types in Polynesia. Among other things there is an extreme degree of brachycephaly, or short headedness, to be explained. It seems very probable that this condition is due to the presence of a third type, but discussion of this point is reserved for the Hawaiian paper of this series, since Hawaii is a stronghold of this element. Although the characteristics of this type in detail are not yet certain, there seems to be associated with them short heads, high, narrow faces, narrow noses, light skins and a well-developed beard and body hair. The isolation of this type will probably modify some of the characteristics given to the two types which form the subject of this paper.

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INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

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Individual records of the Marquesans, Samoans and Tongans on which the comparative studies of this paper are based are given in the accompanying tables. The Samoan and Tongan observations and measurements were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern; the Marquesan observations and measurements, by Dr. and Mrs. E. S. Handy; and the tables were compiled by Bessie P. Sullivan. The symbols used in the tables are as follows:

KEY TO TABLES OF INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

Explanation of Tables

A catalog number
B sex
C age
D island of birth
E hair form
F incisor rim, laterals
G incisor rim, mesials
1 stature
2 head length
3 head width
4 minimum frontal diameter
5 face width, maximum
6 bigonial diameter
7 anatomical face height
8 nasal height
9 nasal width

I cephaic index
II transverse fronto-parietal index
III transverse cephalo-facial index
IV zygomatico-frontal index
V zygomatico-mandibular index
VI anatomical facial index
VII nasal index

Body of tables

Under B: m = male; f = female
Under D: Island of Birth

Samoa
1—Upolu
2—Savaii
3—Fiji

Tonga
1—Niuatoputapu
2—Niuafoou
3—Vavau
4—Haapai
5—Tongatabu
6—Eua

Marquesas
1—Nuku Hiva
2—Ua Huku
3—Ua Pou
4—Hiva Oa
5—Tahu Ata
6—Fatu Hiva

Under E: hair form
1—straight
2—low waves
3—deep waves
4—curly
5—frizzly
6—woolly

Under F and G: enamel rim on incisor teeth
0—absent
1—slight
2—medium
3—marked

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
14	m	46	1	1	—	—	163	182	150	108	143	105	120	55	40	82.4	72.0	95.3	75.5	73.4	83.9	72.7
29	m	48	1	1	0	0	168	190	156	104	142	110	121	50	41	82.1	66.7	91.0	73.2	77.5	85.2	82.0
2	m	21	1	4	3	3	.....	187	160	101	140	.....	114	45	44	85.6	63.1	87.5	72.1	.....	81.4	97.8
28	m	20	1	3	3	3	173	187	153	107	146	103	110	46	45	81.8	69.9	95.4	73.3	70.6	75.3	97.8
62	m	43	1	1	0	0	162	180	155	100	145	103	117	50	47	86.1	64.5	93.6	69.0	71.0	80.7	94.0
116	m	45	1	1	0	0	163	181	153	100	140	107	119	48	43	84.5	65.4	91.5	71.4	76.4	85.0	89.6
111	m	60	1	1	—	—	161	196	156	93	153	116	117	56	49	79.6	59.6	98.1	60.8	75.8	76.5	87.5
109	m	48	1	4	—	—	169	210	152	103	155	118	130	55	46	72.4	67.8	102.0	67.1	76.1	83.9	83.6
36	m	50	1	—	—	—	176	187	153	99	140	.....	124	55	43	81.0	64.7	91.5	70.7	.....	88.6	78.2
107	m	24	1	4	—	—	172	188	158	103	142	108	121	51	42	84.0	65.2	89.9	72.5	76.1	85.2	82.4
31	m	59	1	1	—	—	171	200	160	108	148	112	120	54	47	80.0	67.1	92.5	73.0	75.7	81.1	87.0
12	m	30	2	1	0	0	173	199	152	112	146	.....	120	52	43	76.4	73.7	96.0	76.7	.....	82.2	82.7
5	m	21	2	4	0	0	171	192	143	100	139	.....	118	52	41	74.5	69.9	97.2	71.9	.....	84.9	78.8
110	m	22	2	2	0	0	174	186	159	93	150	114	118	53	41	85.5	58.5	94.3	62.0	76.0	78.7	74.6
27	m	35	2	4	—	—	184	190	164	113	152	115	120	50	43	86.3	68.9	92.7	74.3	75.7	79.0	86.0
9	m	19	2	1	1	1	178	197	162	105	146	113	110	52	46	82.2	64.8	90.1	71.9	77.4	75.3	88.5
17	m	54	2	2	0	0	178	200	155	100	148	114	132	58	44	77.5	64.5	95.5	67.6	77.0	89.2	75.9
23	m	22	2	5	0	0	167	197	154	100	137	98	114	51	40	78.2	64.9	89.0	73.0	71.5	83.2	78.4
16	m	39	3	2	0	0	170	190	149	100	140	112	129	52	41	78.4	73.2	94.0	71.4	80.0	92.1	78.8
54	m	50	3	1	0	0	172	207	165	110	149	110	130	54	47	79.7	66.7	90.3	73.8	73.8	87.2	87.0
86	m	25	3	4	0	0	166	200	155	118	130	114	116	50	43	77.5	76.1	83.9	90.8	87.7	89.2	86.0
94	m	65	3	2	—	—	175	200	153	104	146	115	129	57	44	76.5	88.0	95.4	71.2	78.8	88.4	77.2
100	m	64	3	1	0	0	170	193	145	112	135	102	124	52	40	75.1	77.2	93.1	83.0	75.6	91.8	76.9
104	m	42	3	4	0	0	173	188	153	103	143	113	135	60	48	81.4	67.3	93.5	72.3	79.0	94.4	80.0
55	m	20	3	5	0	0	167	192	153	102	143	111	103	42	45	79.7	66.7	93.5	71.3	77.6	72.0	107.1
68	m	25	3	2	0	0	178	195	154	111	146	111	118	49	46	79.0	72.1	94.8	76.0	76.0	80.8	93.9
89	m	20	3	4	0	0	174	197	158	112	147	105	115	53	47	80.2	70.9	93.0	76.2	71.4	78.2	88.7
45	m	29	3	1	0	0	175	194	160	106	149	105	126	49	43	82.5	66.2	93.1	71.1	70.5	84.6	87.8
57	m	30	3	2	0	0	166	190	155	100	143	106	111	47	38	81.6	66.4	96.8	68.7	76.0	74.0	80.8
66	m	31	3	5	0	0	164	202	155	100	143	106	118	48	41	76.7	64.5	92.3	69.9	74.1	82.5	85.4
40	m	41	3	1	1	1	176	203	154	100	146	111	.....	58	45	75.9	64.9	94.8	68.5	76.0	.....	77.6
98	m	33	3	1	1	1	174	197	148	105	145	110	130	53	45	80.2	66.5	91.8	72.4	75.9	80.7	84.9
88	m	32	3	4	—	—	169	192	156	110	140	116	127	58	46	81.2	70.5	89.7	78.1	82.9	90.7	79.3
78	m	60	3	1	—	—	176	197	159	102	140	108	133	57	.....	80.7	64.2	88.0	72.9	77.1	95.0	.....
58	m	60	3	2	—	—	.....	204	157	104	157	110	.....	59	46	77.0	66.2	100.0	66.2	70.1	.....	78.0
65	m	24	3	1	—	—	172	202	150	97	145	110	123	52	44	74.3	64.7	96.7	66.9	73.9	84.8	84.6
46	m	40	3	5	0	0	174	182	151	105	148	106	129	51	43	83.0	69.5	98.0	71.0	71.6	87.2	88.2
42	m	22	3	1	0	0	172	188	152	103	142	113	110	49	38	80.8	67.8	93.4	72.5	79.6	77.5	77.6
41	m	40	3	1	—	—	163	190	149	108	142	110	110	51	41	78.4	72.5	95.3	76.1	77.5	77.5	78.8
159	m	21	4	3	1	1	172	190	155	97	145	110	122	57	39	81.6	62.6	93.6	66.9	75.9	84.1	68.4
179	m	36	4	4	1	1	167	178	155	106	144	119	123	54	43	87.1	68.4	92.9	73.6	82.6	85.4	79.6
191	m	40	4	2	1	1	169	194	155	97	147	112	125	58	48	79.9	61.6	94.8	66.0	76.2	85.0	82.8
183	m	24	4	2	3	3	165	186	149	97	141	114	127	51	49	80.1	65.1	94.6	68.8	80.8	90.1	96.1
193	m	35	4	2	0	0	164	178	152	97	137	100	126	49	43	85.4	63.8	90.1	70.8	73.0	92.0	87.8
152	m	29	4	2	0	0	177	186	156	102	147	117	127	55	39	83.9	65.4	94.2	69.4	79.6	86.4	70.9
173	m	38	4	2	0	0	163	188	165	105	143	112	123	53	41	87.8	63.6	86.7	73.4	78.3	86.0	77.4

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Sullivan—Marquesas Somatology

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1/4 2x
144

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
143	m	31	4	3	1	1	----	188	146	94	139	108	127	57	42	77.7	64.4	95.2	67.6	77.7	91.4	73.7
141	m	45	4	1	1	1	172	203	148	103	145	108	133	55	43	72.9	69.6	98.0	71.0	74.5	92.5	78.2
158	m	25	4	3	1	1	166	183	150	105	137	102	131	61	44	82.0	70.0	91.3	76.6	74.4	95.6	72.1
200	m	31	2	4	3	3	178	200	156	95	147	110	131	57	46	78.0	60.9	94.2	64.6	74.8	89.1	80.7
184	m	27	4	4	3	3	173	193	157	98	146	121	138	61	48	81.4	62.4	93.0	67.1	82.9	94.5	78.7
174	m	21	4	2	3	3	174	193	153	106	144	114	126	51	38	79.3	69.3	94.1	73.6	79.2	87.5	74.5
154	m	31	4	4	3	3	----	203	154	103	144	109	128	51	40	73.9	66.9	93.5	71.5	75.7	88.9	78.4
193	m	41	4	1	3	3	176	196	152	99	145	110	126	52	43	77.6	63.1	95.4	68.3	75.9	86.9	82.7
176	m	60	4	4	3	3	168	188	153	102	144	113	131	57	42	81.4	66.7	94.1	70.8	78.5	91.0	73.7
198	m	34	4	1	3	3	168	195	155	98	140	108	134	59	39	79.5	63.2	90.3	70.0	77.1	95.7	66.1
201	m	30	4	2	0	0	179	200	153	105	145	115	133	62	39	76.5	68.6	94.8	72.4	79.3	91.7	62.9
129	m	35	4	2	0	0	162	185	143	96	135	104	121	58	44	77.3	67.1	94.4	71.1	77.0	89.6	75.9
190	m	60	4	—	0	0	----	199	144	100	147	107	134	57	43	72.4	69.4	102.1	68.0	72.8	91.2	75.4
188	m	25	4	2	—	—	173	205	162	105	144	110	139	58	43	79.0	64.8	88.9	72.9	76.4	96.5	74.1
168	m	28	4	2	0	0	170	188	154	98	140	105	129	57	41	81.9	63.6	90.9	70.0	75.0	92.1	71.9
166	m	28	4	4	0	0	180	188	152	103	143	110	131	53	41	80.8	67.8	94.1	72.0	76.9	91.6	77.4
134	m	64	4	2	0	0	171	207	152	102	145	115	140	54	44	73.4	67.1	95.4	70.3	79.3	96.6	81.5
194	m	31	4	1	—	—	170	195	151	105	147	115	131	55	45	77.4	69.5	97.4	71.4	78.2	89.1	81.8
137	m	46	4	4	0	0	169	198	148	102	140	112	126	54	42	78.7	68.9	94.6	72.9	80.0	90.0	77.8
177	m	40	4	3	0	0	166	194	148	100	137	102	122	53	43	76.3	67.6	92.0	73.0	74.4	89.0	81.1
170	m	34	4	2	0	0	168	195	145	104	140	106	122	56	45	74.4	71.7	96.6	74.3	75.7	87.1	80.4
199	m	40	4	1	0	0	165	195	151	100	147	100	117	50	43	77.4	66.2	97.4	68.0	68.0	79.6	86.0
189	m	20	4	4	1	1	169	182	148	97	138	111	126	51	43	81.3	65.5	93.2	70.3	80.4	91.3	84.3
147	m	25	4	4	—	—	170	201	152	103	145	115	123	50	43	73.6	67.8	95.4	71.0	79.3	84.8	86.0
169	m	23	4	4	0	0	166	185	156	101	141	112	130	53	40	84.3	64.7	90.4	71.6	79.4	92.2	73.5
77	m	28	4	2	0	0	178	189	153	104	133	108	----	51	40	81.0	68.0	86.9	78.2	81.2	----	78.4
11	m	24	6	1	1	1	175	195	155	100	143	110	127	54	45	79.5	64.5	92.3	69.9	76.9	88.8	83.0
120	m	40	6	1	1	1	163	201	154	110	150	105	120	54	41	76.6	71.4	97.4	73.3	70.0	80.0	75.9
123	m	33	6	2	1	1	168	198	153	106	142	107	124	48	48	77.3	69.3	92.8	74.6	75.4	87.3	100.0
165	m	36	6	4	1	1	167	198	160	110	149	117	133	49	42	80.8	68.8	93.1	73.8	78.5	89.3	85.7
164	m	20	6	4	1	1	167	191	147	104	137	107	124	49	47	77.0	70.8	93.2	75.9	78.1	90.5	95.9
125	m	37	6	1	1	1	164	188	154	98	127	----	117	50	42	81.9	63.6	89.0	71.5	----	85.4	84.0
122	m	22	6	2	0	0	175	201	153	107	140	95	132	47	45	76.1	69.9	91.5	76.4	67.9	94.3	95.7
156	m	60	6	1	0	0	174	190	149	98	143	110	122	57	46	78.4	65.8	96.0	68.5	76.9	84.1	80.7
146	m	39	6	2	1	—	162	193	143	97	133	106	124	54	41	74.1	67.8	93.0	72.0	79.7	93.2	75.9
121	m	23	6	2	3	3	169	189	148	101	138	94	129	55	41	78.3	68.2	93.2	73.2	68.1	93.5	74.6
118	m	27	6	4	0	0	169	195	147	112	141	113	125	47	42	76.2	76.2	95.9	79.4	80.1	88.6	89.4
119	m	33	6	2	0	0	161	187	144	114	138	107	120	48	42	77.0	79.2	95.8	82.6	77.5	87.0	87.5
13	f	19	1	3	0	0	157	180	153	95	133	102	114	47	35	85.0	62.1	86.9	71.4	76.7	85.7	74.5
117	f	60	1	4	—	—	166	182	146	102	142	114	123	50	44	80.2	69.9	97.3	71.8	80.3	87.2	88.0
110	f	25	1	4	0	—	159	189	150	103	137	103	116	50	38	79.4	68.7	91.3	75.2	75.2	84.7	76.0
3	f	27	1	1	0	0	161	185	159	100	140	----	116	49	42	86.0	62.9	88.0	71.4	----	82.9	85.7
112	f	21	1	1	—	—	155	185	153	93	130	93	110	44	40	82.7	60.8	85.0	71.5	71.5	84.6	90.9
155	f	27	1	2	0	3	154	174	149	100	133	91	110	48	40	85.6	67.1	89.3	75.2	68.4	82.7	83.3
108	f	30	1	2	—	—	151	177	149	100	136	103	104	48	38	84.2	67.1	91.3	73.5	75.7	76.5	79.2
15	f	39	2	2	—	—	160	190	150	100	137	102	121	54	43	79.0	66.7	91.3	72.0	74.4	88.3	79.6

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
21	f	24	2	6	0	0	161	170	150	100	134	102	92	44	38	88.2	66.7	89.3	74.6	78.1	69.7	86.4
6	f	18	2	2	0	0	158	175	153	100	137	—	106	47	40	87.4	65.4	89.5	73.0	—	77.4	85.1
4	f	17	2	1	0	3	156	176	153	103	129	—	105	42	36	86.9	67.3	84.3	79.8	—	81.4	85.7
30	f	27	2	4	0	0	160	178	153	99	136	103	109	49	42	86.0	64.7	88.9	72.8	75.7	80.2	85.7
26	f	48	2	1	0	0	163	195	150	97	142	112	117	50	45	76.9	64.7	94.7	68.3	78.9	73.4	90.0
32	f	26	2	4	1	1	156	174	145	95	133	100	103	48	38	83.3	65.5	91.7	71.4	75.2	77.4	79.2
1	f	23	2	1	0	0	160	180	154	104	—	103	129	48	42	85.6	67.5	—	—	—	—	87.5
19	f	32	2	2	—	—	164	177	157	106	144	115	114	52	39	88.7	67.5	91.7	73.6	79.3	79.2	75.0
33	f	25	2	4	0	0	166	180	151	103	134	101	117	48	45	83.9	68.2	88.7	76.9	73.4	87.3	93.8
80	f	20	3	3	0	0	157	180	155	124	136	112	118	52	40	68.1	80.0	87.7	91.2	82.4	86.8	76.9
102	f	60	3	4	0	0	165	195	144	100	138	104	112	51	46	73.8	69.4	95.8	72.5	75.4	81.2	90.2
87	f	ad	3	2	0	0	166	188	157	124	149	110	124	53	41	83.5	79.0	94.9	83.2	73.8	83.2	77.4
48	f	23	3	1	1	1	167	183	149	100	134	102	117	50	40	81.4	67.1	88.9	74.6	76.1	87.3	80.0
49	f	24	3	1	0	—	170	196	147	105	134	100	117	44	42	75.0	71.4	91.2	77.6	74.6	87.3	95.4
39	f	60	3	2	0	0	167	190	154	105	141	92	133	55	50	81.0	68.2	91.6	74.5	65.2	94.3	90.9
63	f	ad	3	4	0	0	169	185	149	101	139	108	122	41	40	80.5	67.8	93.3	72.7	77.7	87.8	97.6
64	f	23	3	1	0	0	165	189	156	103	138	100	121	51	40	82.5	66.0	88.5	74.6	72.5	87.7	78.4
81	f	50	3	1	—	—	163	188	145	114	130	98	114	50	42	77.1	78.6	89.7	87.7	75.4	87.7	84.0
37	f	38	3	3	—	1	157	170	150	95	135	103	105	43	40	88.2	63.3	90.0	70.4	76.3	77.8	93.0
92	f	30	3	1	0	0	147	174	153	95	133	100	117	46	42	87.9	62.1	86.9	71.4	75.2	88.0	91.3
68	f	32	3	5	—	0	161	172	150	95	142	102	107	39	42	87.2	63.3	94.7	66.9	71.8	75.4	107.7
44	f	18	3	3	0	0	158	176	153	102	132	103	107	41	39	86.9	66.7	90.2	73.9	74.6	77.5	95.1
51	f	26	3	2	0	0	165	182	148	91	138	101	110	43	38	81.3	61.5	93.2	65.9	73.2	79.7	88.4
71	f	35	3	3	—	—	162	182	150	100	139	106	110	46	44	82.4	66.7	92.7	71.9	76.3	79.1	95.6
99	f	26	3	5	0	0	154	186	150	101	132	99	104	42	36	80.6	67.3	88.0	76.5	75.0	78.8	85.7
38	f	9	3	2	1	—	166	192	156	101	142	106	110	45	42	81.2	64.7	91.0	71.1	74.6	77.5	93.3
39	f	25	3	3	0	0	164	182	152	96	136	108	105	41	42	83.5	63.2	89.5	70.6	79.4	77.2	102.4
50	f	27	3	4	0	0	156	183	147	100	141	105	101	41	41	80.3	68.0	95.9	70.9	74.5	71.6	100.0
61	f	35	3	2	—	—	165	183	152	192	141	107	116	46	43	83.1	67.1	92.8	72.3	75.9	82.3	93.5
95	f	40	3	1	0	0	160	185	151	110	127	97	116	46	39	81.6	72.8	84.1	86.6	76.4	91.3	84.8
67	f	ad	3	1	0	0	165	183	152	105	137	103	123	59	42	83.1	69.1	90.1	76.6	75.2	89.8	71.2
97	f	30	3	2	0	0	160	172	157	125	144	113	116	52	42	91.3	79.6	91.7	86.8	78.5	80.6	80.8
75	f	25	3	2	0	0	163	207	160	105	136	108	110	42	41	77.3	65.6	85.0	77.2	79.4	80.9	97.6
91	f	60	3	4	—	—	169	187	153	113	135	105	113	51	45	81.8	73.9	88.2	83.7	77.8	83.7	88.2
47	f	40	3	5	0	0	160	179	147	102	138	107	114	45	37	82.1	69.4	93.9	73.9	77.5	82.6	82.2
136	f	45	4	2	0	0	160	178	151	99	138	110	121	48	38	84.8	65.6	91.4	71.7	79.7	87.7	79.2
133	f	40	4	2	—	1	161	180	151	99	138	110	101	53	39	81.1	65.1	88.4	73.6	76.0	78.9	73.6
7	f	65	4	1	0	0	156	185	148	96	132	—	114	51	40	80.0	64.9	88.6	72.7	—	86.4	78.4
149	f	39	4	1	0	0	164	182	144	112	132	95	114	46	40	79.1	77.8	91.7	84.8	72.0	86.4	87.0
161	f	26	4	2	—	—	166	188	157	103	138	105	121	54	38	83.5	65.6	87.9	74.6	76.1	87.7	70.4
140	f	35	4	2	0	0	156	185	148	102	140	105	116	56	45	80.0	88.9	94.6	72.9	75.0	82.9	80.4
139	f	27	4	4	0	0	—	187	146	98	134	107	116	52	39	78.1	67.1	91.8	73.1	79.8	86.6	75.0
180	f	70	4	4	0	0	168	191	147	113	138	110	117	51	40	77.0	76.9	93.9	81.9	79.7	84.8	78.4
142	f	30	4	2	0	0	158	190	152	100	130	105	127	50	39	80.0	65.8	85.5	76.9	80.8	97.7	78.0
188	f	21	4	5	1	1	158	177	144	96	128	94	125	53	42	81.4	66.7	88.9	75.0	73.4	97.7	75.5
178	f	35	4	5	0	0	160	183	145	93	133	103	124	53	40	79.2	64.1	91.1	69.9	77.4	93.2	75.5

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
182	f	21	4	3	0	3	150	186	140	100	127	96	118	48	39	73.3	71.4	90.7	78.7	75.6	92.9	81.2
143	f	28	4	1	0	0	166	187	148	102	130	100	125	51	38	79.1	68.9	91.9	75.0	73.5	91.9	70.6
187	f	70	4	2	—	—	155	186	146	100	129	100	118	38	38	78.3	68.5	88.4	77.5	77.5	91.5	65.5
192	f	35	4	4	1	1	164	187	150	100	134	111	118	53	40	80.2	66.7	89.3	74.6	82.8	88.1	75.5
172	f	48	4	2	3	3	160	194	149	101	137	105	129	53	41	76.8	67.8	92.0	73.7	76.6	94.2	77.4
22	f	32	4	1	0	0	159	180	155	102	132	106	108	44	42	86.1	65.8	85.2	77.3	80.3	81.8	95.4
181	f	18	4	2	0	0	165	171	147	95	135	103	104	46	41	86.0	6.46	91.8	79.4	76.3	77.0	88.1
35	f	40	4	1	—	—	161	186	151	104	143	109	116	43	42	81.2	68.9	94.7	72.7	76.2	81.1	97.7
185	f	40	4	2	0	0	152	183	150	106	140	103	115	43	40	82.0	70.7	93.3	75.7	73.6	82.1	93.0
171	f	20	4	2	—	—	169	186	146	100	135	93	111	52	36	78.5	68.5	92.5	74.1	68.9	82.2	89.2
151	f	20	4	2	—	—	174	192	152	104	137	106	117	51	40	79.2	68.4	90.1	75.9	77.4	85.4	78.4
127	f	30	4	2	—	—	159	183	139	99	130	99	118	51	46	76.0	71.2	93.5	76.2	76.2	90.0	90.2
180	f	18	4	1	1	1	158	190	152	92	130	90	117	46	38	80.0	60.5	85.5	70.8	69.2	90.0	82.6
167	f	34	4	2	0	0	159	181	147	110	136	99	112	47	41	81.2	74.8	92.5	80.9	72.8	82.4	87.2
82	f	30	4	4	0	0	157	180	150	121	136	113	112	50	40	83.3	80.7	90.7	89.0	83.1	82.4	90.0
150	f	26	5	2	—	—	153	175	153	100	130	103	115	51	38	87.4	68.4	85.0	76.9	79.2	88.5	74.5
148	f	30	5	5	—	—	162	181	151	100	130	102	120	53	32	83.4	66.2	86.1	76.9	78.5	92.3	60.4
196	f	25	5	3	—	—	163	186	152	101	133	100	122	56	40	81.7	66.4	87.5	75.9	73.2	91.7	71.4
126	f	20	6	4	1	1	157	181	146	98	132	92	116	50	38	80.7	67.1	89.8	74.2	69.7	87.9	76.0
138	f	60	6	1	3	0	152	177	148	98	133	105	123	57	42	83.6	66.2	89.9	73.7	79.0	92.5	73.7

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—SAMOAN SERIES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
29	m	50	1	1	0	1	162	188	158	108	148	96	133	60	50	84.0	68.4	93.7	72.9	64.9	89.9	83.3
15	m	30	1	1	1	0	167	189	160	104	151	123	129	62	45	84.7	65.0	94.4	68.9	81.5	85.4	72.8
22	m	24	1	2	1	0	168	194	161	106	150	101	136	62	46	82.9	65.8	93.2	70.7	67.3	90.7	74.2
39	m	41	1	1	0	1	173	197	151	95	143	106	136	64	44	76.6	62.9	94.7	66.4	74.1	95.1	68.8
31	m	40	1	1	1	0	177	182	158	95	139	96	145	68	43	86.8	60.1	87.9	68.4	69.1	104.3	63.2
51	m	34	1	1	1	0	173	193	161	114	156	112	123	61	47	83.4	70.8	96.9	73.1	71.8	78.8	77.0
17	m	20	1	2	1	0	—	195	155	110	151	115	135	62	49	79.5	70.9	97.4	72.8	76.2	89.4	79.0
45	m	29	1	1	1	0	175	189	156	101	152	98	137	58	41	82.5	72.1	98.0	73.5	64.5	94.0	70.7
3	m	60	1	1	1	0	169	186	154	111	151	94	142	57	46	82.8	72.1	98.0	73.5	62.2	94.0	80.7
54	m	39	1	1	—	0	175	188	160	102	158	102	132	63	43	85.1	63.8	98.8	64.6	64.6	83.5	68.2
34	m	33	1	1	0	0	182	203	159	111	157	107	138	68	48	78.3	69.8	98.7	70.7	68.2	87.9	70.6
67	m	23	1	2	0	0	179	191	149	101	144	101	123	51	41	78.0	67.8	96.6	70.1	70.1	85.4	80.4
7	m	65	1	1	0	0	169	193	158	100	146	109	133	58	43	81.9	63.3	92.4	68.5	74.7	91.1	74.1
69	m	28	1	1	0	0	169	177	157	90	144	97	129	61	41	88.7	57.3	91.7	62.5	67.4	89.6	67.2
5	m	45	1	1	0	0	171	190	159	102	146	110	131	61	45	83.7	64.6	91.8	69.9	75.3	89.7	73.8
61	m	25	1	1	0	0	172	181	158	91	145	110	125	61	45	87.3	57.6	91.8	62.8	75.9	86.2	73.8
65	m	29	1	2	0	0	178	186	161	104	148	117	130	60	45	86.6	64.4	91.9	70.3	79.0	87.8	75.0
44	m	29	1	1	0	0	165	190	155	102	140	110	115	55	39	81.6	64.8	90.3	72.9	78.6	82.1	70.9

141
142x
144

[pp. 242-247 have been omitted from this source. -Analyst]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 CX6 Marquesas CX6

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

115
144
128

The catalog numbers of the individuals illustrated are here given. By referring to the Appendix complete details as to stature, cephalic, facial, and nasal indices, and other measurements may be obtained.

PLATE I—POLYNESIAN MEN

1—No. 16
2—No. 100
3—No. 137
4—No. 128 Chief
5—No. 143
6—No. 158
7—No. 104
8—No. 88
9—No. 146
10—No. 184
11—No. 58
12—No. 194
13—No. 88
14—No. 146
15—No. 40

PLATE II—MEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 28 marked incisor rim
2—No. 5
3—No. 2
4—No. 11
5—No. 27 part-Hawaiian
6—No. 9
7—No. 42
8—No. 55
9—No. 11
10—No. 28
11—No. 42
12—No. 55
13—No. 9
14—No. 27
15—No. 2

PLATE III—POLYNESIAN WOMEN

1—No. 126
2—No. 110—part-Hawaiian
3—No. 7
4—No. 145
5—No. 81
6—No. 182 marked incisor rim
7—No. 180
8—No. 148
9—No. 172 marked incisor rim
10—No. 15
11—No. 151
12—No. 196
13—No. 192
14—No. 60
15—No. 139

PLATE IV—WOMEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 50
2—No. 44
3—No. 3 part-Hawaiian
4—No. 38
5—No. 51
6—No. 1
7—No. 22
8—No. 6
9—No. 47
10—No. 21 frizzly hair, but cephalic index 88.2
11—No. 44
12—No. 50
13—No. 35
14—No. 6
15—No. 51

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

PLATE V—MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES

115
144
128

1—No. 102
2—No. 161
3—No. 26
4—No. 48
5—No. 13
6—No. 59 } long heads, high faces, and broad noses
7—No. 49 }
8—No. 153
9—No. 23
10—No. 54
11—No. 152
12—No. 31
13—No. 116
14—No. 29
15—No. 14

PLATE VI—TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS

1—one-half Chinese
2—one-half Chinese
3—part-Chinese
4—part-Chinese
5—one-half Chinese
6—one-half Chinese
7- one-half Chinese
8-one-half Chinese
9-one half Chinese
10—one-half Chinese
11—one-quarter white, one-quarter Tahitian
12—one-quarter white one-quarter Tahitian
13—one-half English
14 -
15- one-quarter Spanish, one-quarter French

ERRATA

In "Marquesan Somatology," by Louis R. Sullivan, B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem., Vol. IX, number 2, 1923, Plates XXXVI-XLI should read "Volume IX" instead of "Volume VIII."

[Errata have been noted on plates —Analyst]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 . OX6 Marquesas OX6

X-142
302
241
IX

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THESE MEN ARE CHARACTERIZED BY DENSE MOUSTACHES AND A MODERATE BEARD. THE BEARDS ARE MODERATELY LONG, THE FACES HIGH AND THE NOSES RELATIVELY NARROW. THE SKINS ARE A LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN. THERE IS LITTLE PROGNATHISM AND THE CHINS ARE FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. NOS. 2, 6, 9, 14 AND 15 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF TYPE I. NOS. 7, 8, 10 AND 13 ARE EXAMPLES OF A THIRD TYPE CHARACTERIZED BY SHORT BEARD.

Photographs by Hornby and Linton.

[P. 112]
[end plate 1]

X
HK2
BCD
2W

TYPE II—THE INDONESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, AND 3 WITH THEIR PROFILES IN NOS. 10 AND 15 ARE PROBABLY THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS TYPE. THEIR LIPS, NOSES, AND FACE PROPORTIONS ARE NOTABLE. THEIR SKINS ARE A DARKER BROWN THAN THAT OF THE POLYNESIANS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 119]

[end plate 2]

B: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OES Marquesas OX6

X-N2
302
241

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THE HAIR OF THESE WOMEN FOR THE MOST PART IS STRAIGHT OR ONLY SLIGHTLY WAVY. THE THICKNESS OF THEIR LIPS IS MORE NOTICEABLE THAN IN THE MEN OF THIS TYPE. SOME OF THE WOMEN ARE OF MIXED BLOOD. NOS. 5, 6, 9 AND 15 ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLYNESIAN TYPE. NOS. 8 AND 12 HAVE VERY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Hardy and Linton.

[p. 114]

[end plate 3]

X HR 342 Z41

TYPE II—INDONESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, 4 AND 7, WITH THEIR PROFILES IN 11, 12, AND 13 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE. NONE OF THIS HAIR CAN BE CALLED CURLY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NO. 10, WHO HAS FRIZZLY HAIR, THIS TYPE IS CHARACTERIZED BY HAIR WITH A MODERATE WAVE. NO. 10 IS NEGROID IN APPEARANCE, BUT HAS A CEPHALIC INDEX OF 82.

Photographs by Hoody and Linton.

[p. 115]

[end plate 4]

Ic Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OXG Marquesas OXG

12: Sullivan D-4 [no date] 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 142
382
291 IX

MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES. SEVERAL OF THE WOMEN HAVE LONG HEADS, HIGH FACES, AND BROAD NOSES. NO. 9 HAS THE NEAREST APPROACH TO CURLY HAIR IN THE SERIES. NOS. 2, 5, 11 AND 13 MAY BE REPRESENTATIVES OF A THIRD TYPE WITH SHORT HEADS, NARROW FACES AND NARROW NOSES.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 116]

Lend plate 5]

TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS. NOS. 1 TO 10 ARE ONE-HALF CHINESE. NOS. 11 AND 12 ARE ONE-QUARTER WHITE AND ONE-QUARTER TAHITIAN. NOS. 13 AND 14 ARE ONE-HALF ENGLISH AND NUMBER 15 IS ONE-HALF SPANISH AND ONE-QUARTER FRENCH. WHERE CAUCASIAN BLOOD IS PRESENT IT IS USUALLY APPARENT.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 171]

[colored plate]

12 Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OXX Marquesas OXX

12: Sullivan OX6 Marquesas OX6
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[For information on descriptive somatology, see category 116, pp. 155-162, 166-196, 234-247, end plates 1-6.]

13:Suggs E-5 (1956-1958) 1963 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Marquesan Sexual Behavior

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by Robert C. Suggs

Unpublished Manuscripts 1963
New Haven

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title Page/

13: Suggs--1 E-5 (1956-1958) 1963 OX6 Marquesas OX6

/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern [131] group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected 122 while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the 114 Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number 121 of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, [113] Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. [113] New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609]
the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522]
come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. [521]
Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the appearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friendship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in altering these attitudes on the part of the informants. 124 [521] 123 124

/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excavations which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as 123 521 [126]

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Marquises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [014]

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to 161 determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. 119 These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the pro- 162 portions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed 843 by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role 842 of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating 841 (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed 842 that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided [997]

/7 cont./

in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. 841 842 [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached. In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens. 843 [462]

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious. [492]

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions. [757] [776]

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly 847 [858]

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe 847
pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the [824]
abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted.

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is 843
certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea).

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often re- [262]
quested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua).

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse [522]
during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby."

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease 844
the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative [656]
edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the [743]
Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives.

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka 'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha hai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/17 cont./ 856
role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications ad- 757
ministered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832]
of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186
believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757
are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856
superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826
contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757
sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856
limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/18 cont./

northeastern side of the valley. Despite its scarcity it is most popular of all the preparations. 757 856

/19/

ko ku'u (Staphylea sp. ?). The leaves of the plant are prepared and administered in the same manner as described above. Can be administered at three weeks of age.

ko'i'e The nut of a coconut (C. nucifera) fallen at a very young stage called koie is used for this medication. The nut is crushed on a stone and squeezed for juice, which is administered three times daily in one or two drops from the time the infant crawls until it reaches an age of a year.

moho ki'o (Achyrathes aspera?). A branch is grated against an abrasive stone and the scrapings squeezed in a cloth after mixing with a small amount of water. The juice can be administered one week after birth.

vai ma This medication consists of water poured from fermented breadfruit paste when it has been removed from storage, pounded with a stone pestle to remove lumps and moistened. The excess water, mixed with urine, can be used as a vaginal astringent.

ki'i kehika (Szygium jambos ?). The bark of the kehika tree (the well-known pomme rouge of Eastern Polynesia), is grated, mixed with water and squeezed through a cloth in the same fashion as the preceding medications.

ki'i 'ama The bark of the candlenut tree (Aleurites trilobita) can be used in the same fashion as the above medication.

/20/

pota ko The juice of the fruits of the mi'o tree (Thespesnia populnea) are crushed for their juice which is administered in the same fashion as noted above.

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/21 cont./ 86A
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when
a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it
from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently
prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although
the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the
acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 86A
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant
in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children.
Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very
early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early
beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation
technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the
penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the
sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example
of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on
female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of
women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female
investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story
by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally
masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female
masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation,
however, as males make frequent reference to female
practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 857
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger
members of these groups are physiologically incapable of
ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on
their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the
actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 857 864 [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 866 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo 881 circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns [183] carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. [797] One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused 304 to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately 626 yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose 304 approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised [463] at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation [602] perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or [412] knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as [177] it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the [824] aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is 304 applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. 752 This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue [278] (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/28 cont./ 834

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [891]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Picpus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her, the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of [856] the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the 883
interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342]
to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the [331]
dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626]
and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/36 cont./ 589
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the 515
Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173] in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [197] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any 836 648
previously established unions and marriages.

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual [832] potential of the girl.

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits 836 derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the dis- 648 ruptive influence that such a person might wield on native so- 182 cial relations.

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group 836 of the same culture and completely alien groups, which 648 possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic [833] foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 000

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/47 cont./

sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result.

833 836 [178]

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tutte hakaiki --

/50 cont./

"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'ishota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/53cont./

826 831 [192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

831 834 [609]

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

[571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

838 883

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

838

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a [462] considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles.

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male [832] before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm.

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a 839 sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males.

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional re- 835
ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825] in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164] he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when [786] the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of
females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. There-
fore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity
of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley.
Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex
life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his
chances for marriage, however: for anyone seriously looking
for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the
reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred
by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique
fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions [521]
or explorations of one variety or another, where men were
isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings
of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a re-
appraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratifi-
cation: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication
was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copula-
tion with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in
intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings,
producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva
fan" by informants.

/59 cont./

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans 183 831
participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period 836 883
consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into [838]
to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl de- 182
pends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the 836
world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the 182
Marquesans, also have an established role which they can 838
play in the community. 839

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [197]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [697] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/62 cont./

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships,

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 585 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words. 192 195 585 833

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or [192] hano are used. [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one 833 male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case 837 of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. [158] His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days [733] a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited 888 above. [832]

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 52

/69 cont./

two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news. 837 521

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband. 684 [152] 834 837 [578]

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare. 837

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/70 cont./

lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time. 837 [833]

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates. 833 887

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to indulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic. 521 522 831

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed mat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 169
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea 164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked. 192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a 757
paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut
(:ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times
daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands 757
were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. 797
They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially 177
available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!)

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal 757
diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here.

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may 164
be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 175

/79 cont./ 164 175

crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history: 161 174

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population. 175 [161 165] [131]

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century. 161 175

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support 114 165
whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable 114
disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which 162
Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females.

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth 844
(Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the 182
survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth [343]
house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use.

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil [776]
spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth [753]
or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and [778]
whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion [776]
and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua [847]
Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield.

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for 853
nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical 182
remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan
nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent Euro-
pean introduction, as one would have to conclude from [114]
Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first 182
male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption sur- 844
rounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the 597
past. 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical docu- 175
ments or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal 159
astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There 856
are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the
native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the
Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of
general astringents, including some of those mentioned above
in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several
of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of
others is not identified, but no mention is made in the
missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the de-
gree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all
of the astringents are native plants (many of which are be- [137]
coming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the prac-
tice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion
that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably
connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities [832]
as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a
woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of 114
prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to 826
Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast de- 832
velopment which he believed he saw manifested by the
Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing
general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

/91 cont./

sturdy physique, which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824 [789] in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [14] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not [182] be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere-
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, [114]
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [157]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom. 603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body. 291

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 291 797 178 291 797 178 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 698
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the changes are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 883 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 174 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special 182

/102 cont./

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 578 831 unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178 been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [648] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831 the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797 missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 467
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[888] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However , at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114

basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [598]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731] very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726] Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439] for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164] diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist. 175 182 648 797

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this 182 648 797 831

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/115 cont./ 154 182 648 797 831

context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/- The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154 seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182 on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797 nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831 ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182 relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831 French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery. 182 83

Conclusions

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The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

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The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton 114
report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be ac- 114
cepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical 171
for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many 114
of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in 182
Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and 121
culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

/119 cont./

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by 182 121
mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on.

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior 182
have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and 831
that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt.

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those 178
presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear 831
to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Music In The Marquesas Islands

By E. S. Craighill Handy and Jane Lathrop Winne

INTRODUCTION

114 The native music of the peoples of the different island groups in Polynesia offers a field for research of great interest and value both intrinsically and historically, which has up to this time been practically wholly neglected, a field perhaps richer than any other branch of ethnographic research that American or European students will be able to find in this region of the Pacific where so much of the native culture has been lost under the foreign overlay. This whole rich field lies open to anyone who cares to cultivate it, for it is still possible to hear the singing of genuinely native songs and chants in every part of the region. But no one should enter upon this work without a full realization of its requirements. The research, if it is thoroughly performed, demands not only training and experience but also the ability to learn and use various of the native dialects, infinite patience, and the capacity for enduring considerable physical and mental hardships.

Information concerning the native system of music in the Marquesas was acquired during my stay in those islands as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum in 1920-1921. At that time a number of native songs and chants were recorded and a study made of the significance of the songs and the manner of presentation.[1] On returning to Honolulu the musical aspects of Marquesas chants and of Polynesian poetry in general were discussed with Miss Jane Winne, instructor of music in Punahou School, who has given much attention to Hawaiian singing. During 1923 Miss Winne served as volunteer assistant with the Museum field party engaged in an ethnologic survey of the Society Islands.

121 In the preparation of this paper I have had the skilled assistance of Miss Winne, particularly in providing a method of transcription and in the preparation of the melodic figures.

This brief and fragmentary study of chants is to be taken as merely sug-

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

121 gestive, first of the nature of the music of the natives of the Marquesas, and secondly of a graphical method of transcribing native melodies. If it presents facts or examples of melodies that may be useful to other students entering more deeply into this subject in the future, and if the study as a whole embodies suggestion or information that may stimulate the interest of a few whose attention is given to the present day efforts of students toward securing adequate records for the study of the history of cultures and of music, this paper will have amply fulfilled its purpose.

E. S. C. H.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONCLUSION

In spite of the large amount of literature dealing with Polynesia, few parts of this vast region have been carefully studied and there is no part for which the information can be considered at all complete. New Zealand is probably the best known locality. Satisfactory, but by no means complete, information is available for Hawaii and Samoa and the present activities of Bishop Museum will contribute additional information regarding Tonga, the Austral Islands and the Marquesas. /2/

Accounts of the culture of single localities are chiefly valuable as a basis for the careful comparative study, which alone can throw light on the relations of the various Polynesian groups and ultimately on the larger questions of Polynesian origin and diffusion. The final solution of Polynesian problems can come only from a correlation of the evidence along all lines. Comparative studies based on a single class of evidence—traditions, religion, material culture or physical type—serve to arrange the data in order and make them available for such correlation. Theories based upon such partial studies can only be tentative but are justifiable on the basis of Bacon's dictum that truth can be brought out of error much more readily than out of chaos.

Recent studies of physical type have proved conclusively that the Polynesians are not a pure race but are made up of at least three racial elements (70). These elements are a dolichocephalic negroid race, a dolichocephalic or mesocephalic race which shows Caucasic affinities, and a brachycephalic race with slight Mongoloid affinities which Sullivan calls Indonesian (79, *b*, p. 18). The frequency and distribution of the two non-negroid races seems to indicate that they entered the region in nearly pure form. All three races are present in most of the Polynesian islands but they vary in the proportion which they bear to the total population of each group. The negroid element is strongest in Easter Island but is important in northern New Zealand and is found throughout southeastern Polynesia. The Caucasic element is strongest in northern New Zealand and the Marquesas. The Indonesian element is strongest in Tonga but is important in Samoa, southern New Zealand, Hawaii and the northern Marquesas. /44

Polynesian material culture shows an even more complex condition. The climate and products of all the Polynesian islands except New Zealand are so nearly the same that local difference in culture can not be ascribed to environmental causes, but it is hard to determine which of them are due to differences in the culture of the original settlers of each group. Many of the Polynesian groups are separated from their nearest neighbors by hundreds of miles of open sea and must have originally been settled by very small parties of immigrants. The *tuhuna* system, which placed the more important industries in the hands of /171 /101

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121 natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178] and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176] from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 304x certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556 a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465 work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*. Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently, guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian Decorative Designs

By Ruth H. Greiner

INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of the present study of Polynesian decorative design is to determine the characteristics of Polynesian art, with a view of obtaining evidences of migratory movements of Pacific races.

Detailed studies have been made of the decorative designs found in the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand—island groups selected as representative of Polynesia, and for which the collections in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are the most complete.

128 Each distinct design is described and illustrated, but designs common to two or more localities are discussed only once. For each island group and for Polynesia as a whole, the designs recorded have been roughly classified as angular geometric, curvilinear, and naturalistic representations.

Most of the illustrations are based upon rubbings and sketches of designs in the collections of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Other drawings are based upon photographs and upon illustrations in published works.

It has seemed best not to isolate the design from the object which it decorates for certain designs are found to be adapted or at least limited to wood carving, others to tattooing, and still others to tapa decoration. Furthermore, the exchange of decorated objects between the peoples of two or more island groups has assisted greatly in the dissemination of designs which characterize those objects. Therefore, evidence of contact of one group with another is afforded by the comparison of decorations which are found, for example, on house posts, bowls, war clubs and tapa. For this purpose, tabulated summaries of designs and objects have been prepared for the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand, and general comparisons made of designs from different parts of Polynesia and also for Melanesia. It will be seen that the arrangement of designs upon the surface of the objects, as well as the form of the design, is characteristic of different groups.

121 The incompleteness of this survey is freely recognized. The paper is presented as a contribution to the interesting problem of the origin, characteristics, and racial significance of Polynesian art.

/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern [131] group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected 122 while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the 114 Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number |2| of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, [113] Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. [113] New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 199
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609] the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522] come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/117 cont./

The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton 114
report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be ac- 114
cepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical 171
for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many 114
of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in 182
Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and 121
culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

/119 cont./

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on. 182 121

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt. 182 831

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here. 178 831

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Native Culture in the Marquesas

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The following description of the native culture in the Marquesas Islands is based on original research during a nine months' residence, supplemented by knowledge derived from printed literary sources and unpublished manuscripts. As ethnologist of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Marquesas, sent by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu, I arrived in the Marquesas September 21, 1920, remaining until June 21, 1921. The other members of the party were Ralph Linton, archæologist,, and Willowdean Chatterson Handy, volunteer associate. 114

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to pursue this piece of research is here expressed to Mr. Bayard Dominick of New York, who financed the Expedition; to the Trustees of the Museum, under whose auspices the work was done; and to the Director, whose staunch support was unfailing. Cordial thanks are expressed to the other members of our party for their willing and productive coöperation in the work in the field. Especial thanks are due to Jane Lathrop Winne and the editorial staff of the Museum for their aid in the preparation of the manuscript in its last stages. The maps were made by Stanley C. Ball from charts issued by the U. S. Hydrographic Office; the drawings are by Willowdean Chatterson Handy.

To many others whose friendship and courtesy did much to make the work in the field successful, thanks are due. The party owes a particular debt of gratitude to the Administrator of the Marquesas, M. G. de Poyen-Belleisle, who, as the representative of France, extended to the American party every possible courtesy, including the free use of government buildings for residence and work, and whose personal friendship and courtesy did much to make our stay agreeable. Particular thanks are due to three members of the Catholic Mission (La Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Picpus) of the Marquesas, to Monseigneur David Lacadré, le Père Simeon Delmas, and le Père Ignace whose interest and generosity opened to me information to be obtained from no other source, contained in manuscripts written by the Catholic fathers and now in possession of the Mission. To M. Paul Vernier, head of the Protestant Mission, and to Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, we owe a debt of gratitude for their hospitality and for the aid that they gave to the work through introductions and personal interest. Special thanks are due also to M. Guillitou of Atu Ono, Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, Mrs. G. M. Fisher of Taio Hae,

000 [122]

[p. 3]

141 23. Zygomatico-frontal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

24. Zygomatico-mandibular index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 10} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

25. Anatomical facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 11} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

26. Nasal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 13} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 12}} \right.$

27. Physiognomic ear index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 15} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 14}} \right.$

122 141 Through a series of accidents Handy was not supplied with a stature rod until near the conclusion of his studies. He used a makeshift apparatus consisting of a pole and a tape. While the measures were taken with the greatest care Handy suggests that the body measurements may not be strictly comparable with other studies but are valuable for intra-group comparison. I had no opportunity to do field work with Handy, but he was trained in anthropometic technique by Professor E. A. Hooton, whose technique is for the most part similar to my own and that of Gifford and McKern. It is possible but not altogether certain that Handy located the nasion at a point lower than Gifford, McKern and I did. This possibility should be borne in mind in comparative studies on facial height and nasal height.

The anthropometric data were supplemented by observations on characters not quantitatively measurable or attribute characters. The conceptions held and the standards used for this part of the field work have been discussed in detail in a previous paper of this series.[6] It is sufficient to say that such characters were described in terms of their total range in mankind. It is obvious of course that their chief value lies in their utility for intra-group studies. Only the most general comparison can be made with the studies of other students. Hair samples and photographs of the individuals studied were submitted with the records. These enabled me to gauge the differences in the conceptions as given by Handy, Gifford, McKern, and myself. The most important difference is in our standards for hair form. Handy had a tendency to class hair form about two degrees higher than I would have done in the scale of waviness or curliness. In particular he used curly in the popular sense, whereas I reserve this term for a very particular and rare form of hair. This does not imply that Handy is wrong and that I am right. It is most probable that I somewhat minimize the degree of curliness and that Handy somewhat magnifies it. In regard to women who have longer hair our views are more nearly in accord.

[6] B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. VIII, 4, 1922.

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/2 cont./

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Investigation Techniques

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tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
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investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533
126

Administration. The type of recreational songs called *rari* in the southern, and *ru'u* in the northern Marquesas islands is the only one that may be said really to survive today. Other chants are held in mind by a few of the older people with tenacious memories. It is probable that one could count on the fingers the number of natives living today who can give either words or melodies of the very sacred chants such as the *pu'e*.

123

The circumstances that led to my being able to record the melodies of the chants included in this study should perhaps be mentioned, for the story throws a good deal of light on the subtle influences that may help or hinder the ethnologist in Polynesia. They also reveal clearly that fathomless depths of "information" may lie at the bottom of the mind even of an apparently perfectly "civilized" and "missionized" native that may be tapped by the sympathetic and friendly student if he happens to touch the right spring that will throw open the doors in the natures of these people who are capable of appearing as open and accommodating as a smiling lagoon, while in fact their innermost thoughts are as tightly shut in and invisible as the pearl oyster that lies in his closed shell on the coral bottom.

Mrs. Handy and I had lived for three months at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa without hearing any native music in spite of the fact that I had repeatedly asked native friends with whom we were continually associated if they did not know how to sing some of the old songs, receiving always a negative reply. When in the fourth month we went to the island of Uahuka in pursuance of our various studies I had with me a cheap violin, procured in Tahiti entirely with a view to giving myself diversion and amusement. At Hane, on Uahuka, where our relationship with the inhabitants of the small local settlement was very friendly, I produced my violin one evening when some of the young natives were at our house and we had a modest concert for their amusement, the violin and Mrs. Handy's voice furnishing the entertainment with some songs that would be called truly ancient in our own country. Our friends, few of whom had ever seen or heard a violin, and none of whom had ever been entertained with music by foreigners, were duly enthusiastic, and concerts were thereafter a regular feature in the evenings during our stay. What was our surprise and delight one evening when the local missionary was absent in another valley, to have a small group of young native men and women, after much whispered consultation, arrange themselves on the ground outside our house and commence the Ru'u Tohu'i. Thereafter there were many evenings when we exchanged music in true Polynesian fashion; but the natives would never sing when they thought the missionary might hear it or get wind of their backsliding. Later, on the island of Uapou, where the people were less independent in spirit, I never succeeded in hearing a single song, in

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

spite of a longer stay than in Uahuka, equally cordial relationships, evening concerts, and frequent urgings. On a few evenings we were treated to music on bamboo flutes which were brought to our house concealed under the clothing of our friends. I am certain that the people of this place knew songs and could have sung them had it not been for the intimidating spectre of missionary suppression. 123

After our return to our headquarters in Atuona, I was outspoken in my enthusiasm about the singing of Uahuka, and instituted the custom of having evening concerts, with the result that one evening a group of men and women of the valley was assembled under the leadership of Haapuane, whose pride was piqued by my admiration of the talents of our Uahuka friends, and gave us a concert that far excelled in interest those heard before. Following this, I found that Haapuane knew not only the text of a number of the chants, the words of which he had formerly given me, but also the melodies, and in addition a great deal about the ancient native system of singing. There followed the study with him of the chants, which, with the exception of the *ru'u* recorded on Uahuka, are presented in this paper.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

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/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the ap- 124
pearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change [521]
of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence.
Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in
this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who
would seek to record such information, which is intensified if
the intended informant believes that he will be identified by
name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friend- 123 ●
ship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in 124
altering these attitudes on the part of the informants.
/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories
from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on per-
sonal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain
information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although
data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible
in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such
matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and
postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and
even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means
of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized
in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less re-
lated to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on
such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more
intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed
first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was 123
made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excava- 521
tions which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of
workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods super-
vising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the
areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation
persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual
topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot [126]
down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123 ●
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [114]

/28 cont./ 804

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/62 cont./

The 586 197 797

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]●
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r, k, v,* or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions [124] of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[p. 141]

MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN

Based on the Field Studies of E. S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgments

114 THE field studies which form the basis of this paper were made by E. S. Craighill Handy in conjunction with his ethnological survey of the Marquesas. In the field Mr. Handy was ably assisted by his wife, Willowdean C. Handy. Ralph Linton assisted in the photography. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the field notes were turned over to me for analysis and interpretation. The mathematical computations were prepared by Mrs. Lois Treadwell Ruml and my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan, who also prepared the appendix and assisted throughout the preparation of the manuscript.

The somatological studies in the Marquesas followed the plan of those already completed for Samoa[1] and Tonga.[2] In addition to the somatological records Mr. Handy supplied me with full and valuable notes on the history of the population, opportunities for intermixture with whites and Asiatics, and customs of deformation of parts of the body. I am likewise indebted to him for valuable suggestions as to possible inter-island differences in culture and physical type which made my analysis much easier. The comparative data from Samoa and Tonga were furnished by the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, acknowledged in previous papers.

The Population

124 The material submitted for study consisted of the records of 201 persons. When the admitted mixed-bloods, senile and adolescent individuals were eliminated there remained two series consisting of 84 adult men and 74 adult women. Three persons with a small amount of Hawaiian blood were included in the analysis. By nativity the individuals examined were distributed as follows: Nuku Hiva 18, Ua Huku 18, Ua Pou 47, Hiva Oa 61, Tahu Ata 2, and Fatu Hiva 12. The material was not selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Marquesan people of today. Incidentally the 201 persons represent about 11 per cent of the total population.

[1] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

[2] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Tongan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4, 1922.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609]
the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522]
come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole popula-
tion.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the ap- 124
pearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change [521]
of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friend- 123
ship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in 124
altering these attitudes on the part of the informants.
/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was 123
made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excava- 521
tions which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot [126]
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/5 cont./

the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
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checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [014]

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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time of the great festivals such as those in honor of the spirits of the departed. The words of the example selected (melodic figure 9), refer to some historic or mythical event. Each *nato* must have its characteristic melody; it is said that those learned in such things were able to recognize even at a considerable distance what *nato* was being sung. When the Naiki tribe of Atuona came together to celebrate a festival in which all the subtribes were to participate, the old men of each of the four subdivisions of the tribe would meet to learn and perform chants of various kinds. On the morning of the opening of the festival, the drumming and the chanting of the *nato* were commenced before dawn. A number of *nato* were first chanted, and after them the *pu'e* and other songs. 533

The singing was accompanied by clapping as indicated in the melodic figure and by the beating of the great drums (*pahu anaana*) and the small drums (*tutu*). It will be noted that the example given has four parts or variations of the melody used with different parts of the poetry.

PU'E

The *pu'e* was perhaps the most frequently used, and hence most important of the religious chants of the Marquesans. The word *pu'e* means "to grow," and the words of the chant, which is very long, recount the growth of the land. The chant was intoned by the tribal priest upon the occasion of important family rites, such as the consecration of a new canoe or house, and by a large group of old men at the feast place at great festivals. When chanted by a chorus of old men, the singing was accompanied by a number of great drums about six feet in height, and small drums, in addition to the clapping indicated in the melodic figure. (See melodic figure 10.) The chant was strictly tapu—no women were allowed to be present when it was sung.

METHOD OF RECORDING CHANTS

The melodies presented in this paper were recorded by ear with the aid of a violin which was tuned to a definite pitch by means of a bell. In recording tempo, a watch served as a standard for measuring the number of beats per minute. These chants were carefully worked out and checked up with informants who approved them upon repetition, and may be accepted as roughly correct illustrations of native singing. The song entitled *ru'u* was recorded on the island of Uahuka, with the aid of Teahu Taniha and his wife, Tahia Pooheana. All the other chants were worked out at Atuona, Hivaoa, with the friendly assistance of the learned Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane, the organizer and leader of such dancing and singing as is still performed upon the occasion of the Bastile Day celebrations of the French 533 126

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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X533
126

Administration. The type of recreational songs called *rari* in the southern, and *ru'u* in the northern Marquesas islands is the only one that may be said really to survive today. Other chants are held in mind by a few of the older people with tenacious memories. It is probable that one could count on the fingers the number of natives living today who can give either words or melodies of the very sacred chants such as the *pu'e*.

123

The circumstances that led to my being able to record the melodies of the chants included in this study should perhaps be mentioned, for the story throws a good deal of light on the subtle influences that may help or hinder the ethnologist in Polynesia. They also reveal clearly that fathomless depths of "information" may lie at the bottom of the mind even of an apparently perfectly "civilized" and "missionized" native that may be tapped by the sympathetic and friendly student if he happens to touch the right spring that will throw open the doors in the natures of these people who are capable of appearing as open and accommodating as a smiling lagoon, while in fact their innermost thoughts are as tightly shut in and invisible as the pearl oyster that lies in his closed shell on the coral bottom.

Mrs. Handy and I had lived for three months at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa without hearing any native music in spite of the fact that I had repeatedly asked native friends with whom we were continually associated if they did not know how to sing some of the old songs, receiving always a negative reply. When in the fourth month we went to the island of Uahuka in pursuance of our various studies I had with me a cheap violin, procured in Tahiti entirely with a view to giving myself diversion and amusement. At Hane, on Uahuka, where our relationship with the inhabitants of the small local settlement was very friendly, I produced my violin one evening when some of the young natives were at our house and we had a modest concert for their amusement, the violin and Mrs. Handy's voice furnishing the entertainment with some songs that would be called truly ancient in our own country. Our friends, few of whom had ever seen or heard a violin, and none of whom had ever been entertained with music by foreigners, were duly enthusiastic, and concerts were thereafter a regular feature in the evenings during our stay. What was our surprise and delight one evening when the local missionary was absent in another valley, to have a small group of young native men and women, after much whispered consultation, arrange themselves on the ground outside our house and commence the Ru'u Tohu'i. Thereafter there were many evenings when we exchanged music in true Polynesian fashion; but the natives would never sing when they thought the missionary might hear it or get wind of their backsliding. Later, on the island of Uapou, where the people were less independent in spirit, I never succeeded in hearing a single song, in

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r, k, v,* or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tion of words and their relationship to those of other Polynesian tongues quite clear to students. In the dictionary the glottal stop is indicated by an accent printed over the vowel following. (See Dordillon, pp. 5-6).

The native pronunciation of proper names has been followed as the basis of orthography throughout, in translations as well as in texts. The more important localities and tribes may be identified by reference to the maps published in Bulletin 9.[1]

In rendering the Marquesan into English I have sought to give literal translation and to preserve the native idiom as well as possible, without making the English grotesque, rather than to give a smooth English version. The tales are essentially Marquesan in character—rugged and rough. If there are any that deserve rendering into polished English, such transformed versions should appear elsewhere than in a volume that seeks to preserve the lore in its unvarnished integrity.

Like most people living in a state of nature, the Marquesans have no more sense of impropriety in describing incidents relating to sex life and the like than they have in talking about eating and drinking or any other physical habits common to all mankind. In some stories, grotesque incidents of this nature appear as embroidery of the main theme. In others they constitute main themes. Throughout the legends the sex motif is more dominant than any other. I trust no reader will be led by this to judge the ancient Marquesans to have been immoral or degraded. They are not to be judged by our standards. The Marquesans of old were doubtless as strict in their obedience to tapus and proprieties affecting sex relationships as they were to other tapus: and the respect for tapus prevailing among Polynesians in the days of their folk automony certainly exceeded that of Europeans and Americans of the present day for either law or morality. In my judgment the sex interest shown in their folk lore demonstrates the Marquesans to have been essentially healthy in mind—there is none of the morbid dwelling on erotic detail characteristic of the folk lore of certain other races more effetely civilized.

Only an understanding of the Marquesan nature in its setting can give a true basis for judgment. They were probably the most robust and exuberant of all the Polynesians, and lived in complete isolation in tropical islands of unsurpassed beauty. There was no venereal disease among them. Their philosophy of sex was that of sons and daughters of nature whose environment permitted a remarkable amount of freedom in the indulgence of an appetite which one cause or another—environment, congestion of population, religious teaching—has forced most peoples in the world to repress to a greater degree. The whole story of the Marquesans' philosophy of sex lies in the word which they most commonly employ when speaking of intercourse, namely *heu*, which means sport, or play.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

000 In judging of the people on the basis of these legends, both with regard to morality and also barbarism, I beg of readers to remember two things: that folk lore depends for its interest upon exaggeration; and that very little absolutely uncensored and unvarnished lore has up to this time been published from any Polynesian islands.

126 Incidents and episodes in the legends that are too frank for literal translation and publication in English have not been translated; but, in the interests of science—for some contain items of ethnological interest—they are presented in Marquesan which any serious student can translate with the aid of a dictionary.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE MARQUESAN LANGUAGE

The language spoken by the Marquesas Islanders is one of the group of related tongues spoken throughout the Polynesian islands, generally called Polynesian. Within the small area of their isolated home, these islanders differentiated their speech into several dialects having distinctive phonetic and tonal traits and variations in vocabulary; but, in comparison with the divergence of Marquesan from other Polynesian languages, these local variations are of minor importance. Marquesan differs from other Polynesian languages so much that the latter are only vaguely comprehensible to an intelligent Marquesan. But, as it is in each of the other main groups of islands in Polynesia, the Marquesan's language, like his culture, was unified throughout the group, so that the speech of a man of any island in the group was plainly understood by one from any other. It is obvious to the student travelling in the islands that local differences are but divergencies from a common original. There is little reason to believe that local variations have resulted from influences or accretions coming from outside the islands. 197

The notes which follow are based on a careful, though not very extensive, study of the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. The grammar and syntax of the language is sufficiently well outlined in the dictionary of Dordillon. For this reason little attention was paid to these subjects other than that required for personal use of the language. No sooner had I reached the islands, however, than I realized that the orthography adopted by Dordillon was totally inadequate for indicating the phonetics of the dialect. In conjunction with the other investigations a short but careful study of the phonetics and vocalization was therefore made in the following way: A list of words covering all the possible combinations of consonants and vowels in the local dialect was made, and various informants in different sections of the group were tested out with these words. The summary of the results of this study as given in the following pages has been published in this collection in the hope that it may contain information directly contributory to the study of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the islanders. 126

Phonetics

The ten consonants (*f, g, h, k, m, n, p, r, t,* and *v*) and the five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*) used by Dordillon are by no means sufficient to cover the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. Dordillon speaks of some variations in the vowel sounds, but there are more and greater variations than he indicates. 194

The following list shows the consonant and vowel variation in the northern and southern sections—called by Dordillon northwestern and southeastern sections of the group (compare Dordillon, pp. 86-89).

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the ap- 124
pearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change [521]
of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence.
Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in
this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who
would seek to record such information, which is intensified if
the intended informant believes that he will be identified by
name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friend- 123
ship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in 124
altering these attitudes on the part of the informants.
/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories
from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on per-
sonal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain
information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although
data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible
in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such
matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and
postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and
even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means
of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized
in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less re-
lated to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on
such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more
intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed
first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was 123
made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excava- 521
tions which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of
workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods super-
vising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the
areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation
persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual
topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot [126]
down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as

/5 cont./

the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
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from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Marquises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [014]

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2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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expresses clearly the four distinct parts. The slurred motif plays a most interesting part, adding grace and melodic variety to this almost monotone chant. Accompanied by both clapping and drumming, the *nato* presents a musical subject worthy of much admiration. The sustained, powerful *pu'e* (melodic figure 10) with its positive strength and fundamental expansiveness, suggests the real purpose of the old religious chants. They were not merely devotional choruses. They were in reality magic spells believed to affect nature directly in their powerful, dynamic concentration.

MELODIC FIGURES

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES

In the melodic figures reproduced on pages 32-50 the following symbols are used:

Pitch is indicated by the letters along the vertical line to the left, these letters representing the diatonic tonal progressions, as follows:

$\bar{f}$, $\bar{g}$, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{b}$, treble register (above middle c);
f, g, a, b, bass register (below middle c);
G, A, B, low bass register (below bass c);
½ a, one-half step above g, ½ b, one-half step above a; ½ g, one-half step above f.

Tonal duration is measured by horizontal lines as indicated at the top of each melodic figure.

Meter and accent are absolutely dependent upon the natural emphasis of the poetry itself. In the figures, a melody line which is continued unbroken to a following tone above or below indicates slurring or continuation of tone in contrast to the rather staccato and usual manner of Marquesan chanting.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

This section deals with the artifacts, other than containers, which formed part of the equipment of a Marquesan household. The implements were for the most part used either in the collection or preparation of food. 128

TOOLS FOR FIRE MAKING

Fire was made in ancient times in the Marquesas by means of the fire plow, a method common to all Polynesia. The fire plow consisted of two parts, the bed and the plow (Pl. LVI, *G*.) 372

The favorite material for the bed was a large dry stem of the fruit cluster of the coconut palm which, being fibrous, aided in the collection and retention of dust upon which the success of the operation depended. The second best material was fau wood. The bed was not as a rule shaped, but in the better specimens its top was flattened slightly to prevent the plow from slipping during the first few strokes. A little earth was sometimes rubbed on the bed at the beginning of the operation to increase the friction. [824]

The plow was simply a short stick, usually of fau wood, sharpened to a straight or slightly convex edge, about one-fourth of an inch wide.

In fire making two men were usually employed, one of whom held the bed firm while the other manipulated the plow (Pl. LVI, *H*).

The bed was placed upon the ground with the end toward the plowman slightly elevated. The plow was grasped in both hands, forming an angle of about 45 degrees with the bed, and was rubbed rapidly back and forth, care being taken to stop each downward stroke at exactly the same point. As the rubbing continued, a groove was formed in the bed and a small pile of wood dust collected in the lower end of this groove. The speed of the rubbing was gradually increased until both groove and plow were smoking; then, at the right instant, the point of the plow was driven slightly beyond the end of the previous strokes and buried in the dust. A spark was thus kindled and gently blown to a coal, then dumped off into tinder made from tree cotton or shredded coconut fiber. A new groove was made each time fire was to be kindled.

In spite of the introduction of matches practically all adult Marquesans can still make fire by this process, and the time required is surprisingly short. One expert individual repeatedly made fire in between 25 and 30 seconds. The process requires a perfect muscular control which is only acquired with long practise, the trick lying in stopping all the strokes at exactly the same point and lengthening the last only enough to bury the plow in the dust without scattering it.

Native informants insisted that fire was kindled in ancient times by striking sparks from two stones, but it seems probable that this process was borrowed from Europeans at such an early time that its origin has been forgotten. Fire making sets consisting of quartz crystals, a piece of steel, and a section of bamboo filled with tree cotton are still used by the poorer natives.

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian Decorative Designs

By Ruth H. Greiner

INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of the present study of Polynesian decorative design is to determine the characteristics of Polynesian art, with a view of obtaining evidences of migratory movements of Pacific races.

Detailed studies have been made of the decorative designs found in the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand—island groups selected as representative of Polynesia, and for which the collections in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are the most complete.

128 Each distinct design is described and illustrated, but designs common to two or more localities are discussed only once. For each island group and for Polynesia as a whole, the designs recorded have been roughly classified as angular geometric, curvilinear, and naturalistic representations.

Most of the illustrations are based upon rubbings and sketches of designs in the collections of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Other drawings are based upon photographs and upon illustrations in published works.

It has seemed best not to isolate the design from the object which it decorates for certain designs are found to be adapted or at least limited to wood carving, others to tattooing, and still others to tapa decoration. Furthermore, the exchange of decorated objects between the peoples of two or more island groups has assisted greatly in the dissemination of designs which characterize those objects. Therefore, evidence of contact of one group with another is afforded by the comparison of decorations which are found, for example, on house posts, bowls, war clubs and tapa. For this purpose, tabulated summaries of designs and objects have been prepared for the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand, and general comparisons made of designs from different parts of Polynesia and also for Melanesia. It will be seen that the arrangement of designs upon the surface of the objects, as well as the form of the design, is characteristic of different groups.

121 The incompleteness of this survey is freely recognized. The paper is presented as a contribution to the interesting problem of the origin, characteristics, and racial significance of Polynesian art.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and 141
writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the 114
cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, 128
and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a 141
series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a 141
high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers 304
would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

144 narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. As yet I have not been able to establish a sufficiently large group of associated characters to warrant its discussion. It seems probable, however, that this type may account for some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians. This, as well as many other phases of the Polynesian problem, needs further study in the areas in which the people are more characteristic of this type.

In a marginal area like Polynesia it is possible to find individual representatives of nearly all the races living in and around the Pacific. A study of the photographs in this and other papers on Polynesia will show that this possibility is realized to some extent in the Marquesas, Samoa, and Tonga. but to discuss them at present would be to magnify their importance. I have confined my efforts to those types whose presence could be unmistakably demonstrated in sufficient number to warrant the assumption that they had played an important part in the history or prehistory of Polynesia. I am not at all sure that I have isolated all of these elements even, in the three island groups considered here. Furthermore, it is probable that future studies may result in some modification in the characteristics I have assigned to the two main types discussed in this paper. The relative proportions of the different types given in this paper are of course tentative for it is only when it has been possible to reconstruct the various elements of the population in detail that it will be practicable to give definite estimates of their relative frequencies.

128 141 x142 144 In order that this paper may be of greater permanent value to those who do future work in Polynesia, or who may be inclined to carry my analysis further, I have presented the data and analyses in considerable detail. The extent of this detail may discourage those whose interest is only casual from hunting for the points which may be of special interest to them. For this reason I will briefly recapitulate the points of more general interest and indicate the section of the paper in which more detail on these points can be found.

The Marquesan material when seriated shows no tendency to form normal frequency distributions. The bimodal tendency encountered in Tonga is here encountered in an extended and exaggerated degree. Nearly every character is bimodal or multimodal. The range is enormous especially in the nasal, facial and cephalic indices. (See p. 145.) This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation which are greatly in excess of those for the Samoan and Tongan data. (See p. 165.)

141 x142 144 The Marquesans differ somewhat in their average characters from the Samoans and the Tongans. Their hair is more wavy, their skin is darker, they are more glabrous, they have more transversely placed nostrils, the enamel rim on the incisor teeth is less frequent, they are shorter in stature, have longer heads, their

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

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142X
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Individual records of the Marquesans, Samoans and Tongans on which the comparative studies of this paper are based are given in the accompanying tables. The Samoan and Tongan observations and measurements were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern; the Marquesan observations and measurements, by Dr. and Mrs. E. S. Handy; and the tables were compiled by Bessie P. Sullivan. The symbols used in the tables are as follows:

KEY TO TABLES OF INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

Explanation of Tables

A catalog number
B sex
C age
D island of birth
E hair form
F incisor rim, laterals
G incisor rim, mesials
1 stature
2 head length
3 head width
4 minimum frontal diameter
5 face width, maximum
6 bigonial diameter
7 anatomical face height
8 nasal height
9 nasal width

I cephalic index
II transverse fronto-parietal index
III transverse cephalo-facial index
IV zygomatico-frontal index
V zygomatico-mandibular index
VI anatomical facial index
VII nasal index

Body of tables

Under B: m = male; f = female
Under D: Island of Birth

Samoa
1—Upolu
2—Savaii
3—Fiji

Tonga
1—Niuatopetapu
2—Niuafoou
3—Vavau
4—Haapai
5—Tongatabu
6—Eua

Marquesas
1—Nuku Hiva
2—Ua Huku
3—Ua Pou
4—Hiva Oa
5—Tahu Ata
6—Fatu Hiva

Under E: hair form
1—straight
2—low waves
3—deep waves
4—curly
5—frizzly
6—woolly

Under F and G: enamel rim on incisor teeth
0—absent
1—slight
2—medium
3—marked

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

115
144
128

The catalog numbers of the individuals illustrated are here given. By referring to the Appendix complete details as to stature, cephalic, facial, and nasal indices, and other measurements may be obtained.

PLATE I—POLYNESIAN MEN

1—No. 16
2—No. 100
3—No. 137
4—No. 128 Chief
5—No. 143
6—No. 158
7—No. 104
8—No. 88
9—No. 146
10—No. 184
11—No. 58
12—No. 194
13—No. 88
14—No. 146
15—No. 40

PLATE II—MEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 28 marked incisor rim
2—No. 5
3—No. 2
4—No. 11
5—No. 27 part-Hawaiian
6—No. 9
7—No. 42
8—No. 55
9—No. 11
10—No. 28
11—No. 42
12—No. 55
13—No. 9
14—No. 27
15—No. 2

PLATE III—POLYNESIAN WOMEN

1—No. 126
2—No. 110—part-Hawaiian
3—No. 7
4—No. 145
5—No. 81
6—No. 182 marked incisor rim
7—No. 180
8—No. 148
9—No. 172 marked incisor rim
10—No. 15
11—No. 151
12—No. 196
13—No. 192
14—No. 60
15—No. 139

PLATE IV—WOMEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 50
2—No. 44
3—No. 3 part-Hawaiian
4—No. 38
5—No. 51
6—No. 1
7—No. 22
8—No. 6
9—No. 47
10—No. 21 frizzly hair, but cephalic index 88.2
11—No. 44
12—No. 50
13—No. 35
14—No. 6
15—No. 51

115
144
128

PLATE V—MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES

1—No. 102
2—No. 161
3—No. 26
4—No. 48
5—No. 13
6—No. 59 } long heads, high faces,
7—No. 49 } and broad noses
8—No. 153
9—No. 23
10—No. 54
11—No. 152
12—No. 31
13—No. 116
14—No. 29
15—No. 14

PLATE VI—TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS

1—one-half Chinese
2—one-half Chinese
3—part-Chinese
4—part-Chinese
5—one-half Chinese
6—one-half Chinese
7- one-half Chinese
8-one-half Chinese
9-one half Chinese
10—one-half Chinese
11—one-quarter white, one-quarter Tahitian
12—one-quarter white one-quarter Tahitian
13—one-half English
14—
15—one-quarter Spanish one-quarter French

ERRATA

In "Marquesan Somatology," by Louis R. Sullivan, B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem., Vol. IX, number 2, 1923, Plates XXXVI-XLI should read "Volume IX" instead of "Volume VIII."

[Errata have been noted on plates —Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

THE ISLANDS

131 The Marquesas lie between parallels 7°50′ and 10°35′ south of the Equator, and meridians 138°25′ and 140°50′ west of Greenwich (See fig. 1). In other words the group is from one to three degrees north of the latitude of Lima, Peru, and from fifteen to eighteen degrees east of the longitude of the island of Hawaii. The principal islands are Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Nuku Hiva. (See figs. 2-7.)

133 The group lies in the course of the westward equatorial current from the coast of South America. Of currents we read in the Pacific Islands Pilot (28, p. 177):

> The current, impelled by the prevailing trade wind, is usually to the westward, between west-northwest and west-southwest, at a rate of about half a knot an hour, sometimes, however, increasing to three knots. If the wind dies away or changes to the westward, the current slacks, and during persistent westerly winds its direction changes. After a week of northwesterly winds, a current setting to the eastward at the rate of three knots were observed in Bordelais Strait, between Hiva oa and Tau ata.

132 It is the trade winds which bring the islands their rain, the moisture borne by them being caught and precipitated by the high mountains. To quote again the same authority (28, pp. 176-7):

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

CHAPTER IV.

The Island of Magdalena.

|3| HAVING made sail, the fleet shaped a S.W. course, displaying the royal standard and the flags, playing clarions, and feasting on such an auspicious day as this was considered to be. The winds were from the S. and S.S.E., which are the winds of Peru, until we reached a latitude of 9° 30′, and from that point the course was W.S.W. as far as 14°. From thence the course was W.N.W. to 21°. The sun was taken at noon, and having made the computation, the result was 10° 50′. At 5 in the afternoon, an island was sighted 10 leagues distant, being N.W. by N.[1] The Adelantado gave it the name of Magdalena, as it was the eve of that day. He thought it was the land that he sought, for which reason he was very joyful in every one's sight, in that he had come in a short time with a fair wind, the victuals good, and the people amicable, healthy, and cheerful. During the voyage there had been fifteen marriages, scarcely a day passing without some one wanting to be married next day. It seemed as if all would run in couples with the good fortune,

[1] Magdalena is in 10° 25′ S. and 138° 28′ W.

[pp. viii – xlvii, 1-14 not processed]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts.

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery.

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

At a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast.

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

648 While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible [147] from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
[291 part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands,
304] and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

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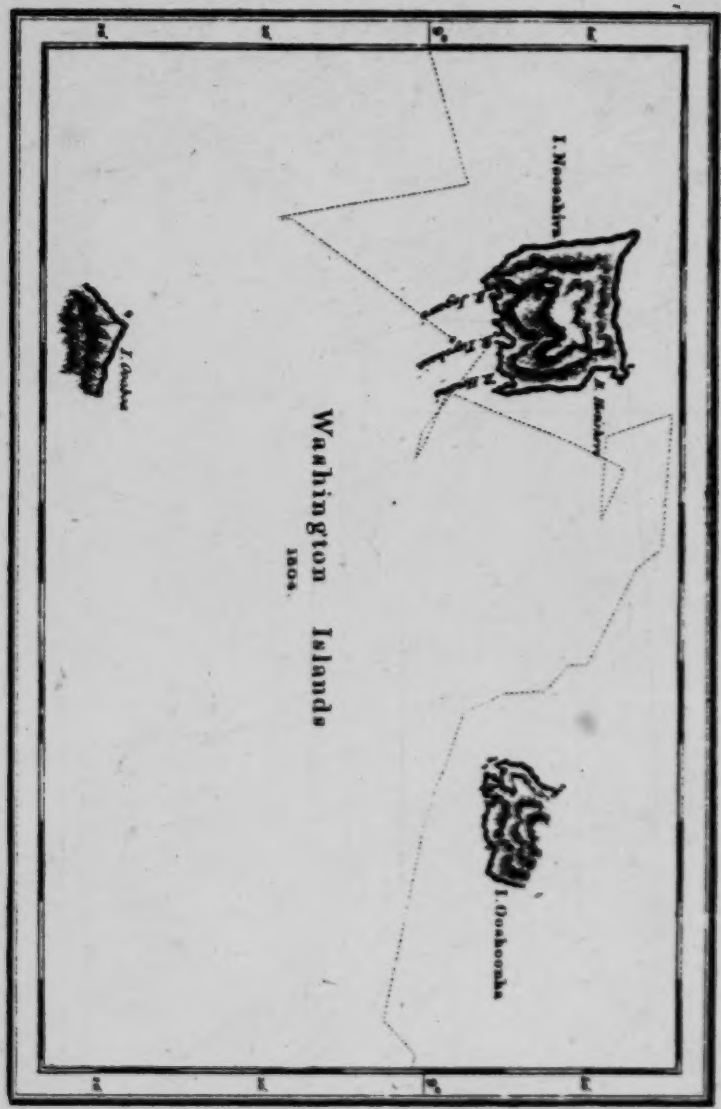
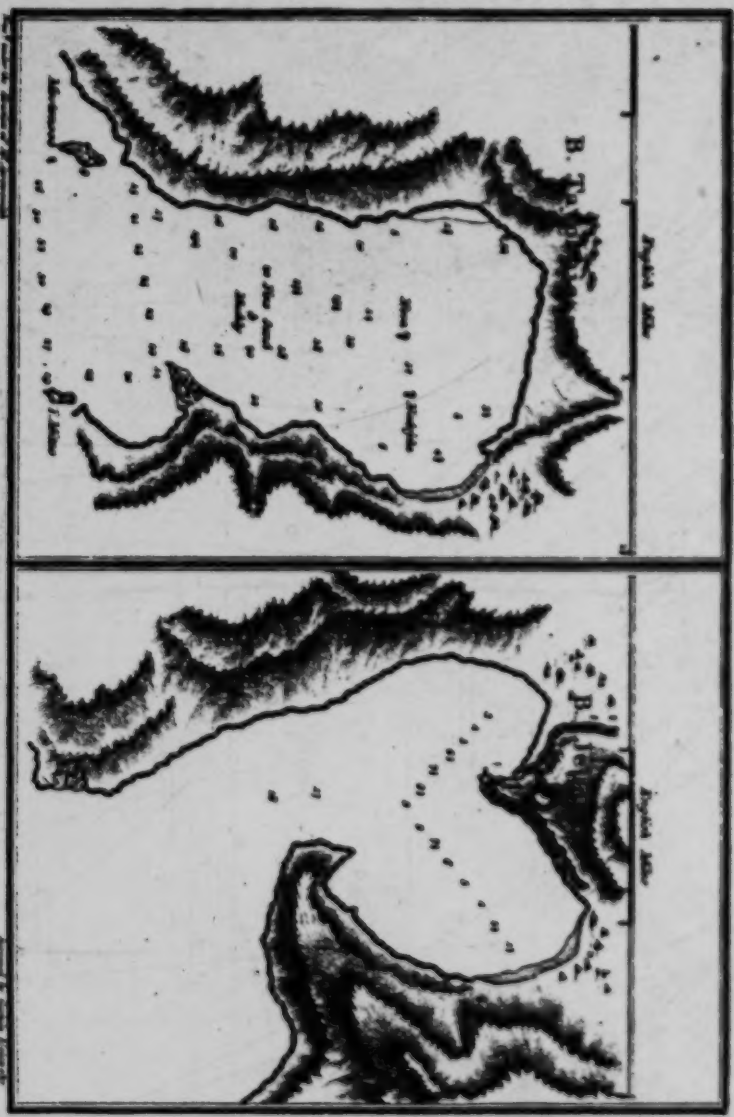


[facing p.61 (A)]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1310



Engraved for Captain Lisiansky.
Published by John Booth, Duke Street, Portland Place, March 1814.

[facing p.61 (B)]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. April. was tranquil, and my people had an opportunity of rest from the fatigues they had undergone off Cape Horn. We were accompanied by the tropic birds and benitas; the last were sometimes caught with a hook and line, and furnished the crew with an agreeable fresh meal.

May. 6th. Concluding, by my observations, that, on the 6th of May, which was Easter Sunday, we were near the Marquesas, I ordered a dinner of fresh provisions for my ship's company, with half a bottle of Teneriffe wine to each man. This so elated them, that, towards evening, they sung and danced as merrily as if they had been among their relatives and friends in Russia. I mention this to show, that, though we had experienced many hardships since our departure from Europe, our spirits were not broken, and we knew, upon occasion, how to enjoy ourselves. Expecting that the Marquesas would be in sight the next morning, I thought proper, at sun-set, to bring-to for the night.

7th. As soon as it was day, the island of Fatoohiva (Magdalena) was seen to the westward, at the distance of thirty miles, resembling in appearance three hills. About thirteen miles to the eastward of this island, is a flat long rock, of which ships should be extremely wary, as it lies almost on a level with the surface of the water. On passing Fatoohiva, the island of Motane (St. Pedro) appeared first, and then, in succession, Towata (St. Christina), Hoivahova (La Dominica), and Fatoohoo (Hood's island). This last is the most remarkable of the cluster: its height is very considerable, and it looks like a stupendous solid rock.

At noon we found ourselves a-breast of the island of Motane,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 in latitude, by observation, 10° south. On some maps this island appears smaller than that of Fatoohoo, whereas it is double the size. 1804. May.

I steered to the eastward of this group of islands, to survey them more minutely, and draw a chart from the survey. They are all lofty and steep, except the Towata, which has a more level appearance than the rest. At seven o'clock we passed the island of Fatoohoo, and steered to the west, till we found ourselves between it and the island of Ouahoonha (Riou's), one of the Washington cluster, when I brought-to for the night.

133 In the morning of the 8th we neared the island of Ouahoonha: and I had intended to survey it all round; but the unsettled state of the weather prevented me, and I was obliged to bear for the island of Noocahiva (sir H. Martin's), another of the Washington cluster; which, when we were a-breast of the rocks, off the north-west point of Ouahoonha, was in sight. The island of Ouahoonha is also high and hilly: on the south-west side of it, we perceived many small bays, fit for landing boats; but there is only one that will admit ships, which is situated close to the south point, in latitude, by our observation, 8° 56′. It appears, however, to be considerably exposed to the southerly winds. This bay is remarkable for two small islands, one of which is high and rocky; the other level, and covered with grass. Though we passed the shore at the distance of about four miles, we were not so fortunate as to see a single human being come off to welcome us; which greatly surprised me, as lieutenant Graves says, in his journal, that the inhabitants came on board his ship very readily, and behaved with much civility. From this circum- 8th.

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 CX6 Marquesas CX6

Carpé. This root is about three feet long. The greater part of it grows out of the ground. It takes twelve months to ripen, and is made into puddings, or prepared like yams. 1804. May. 137 [252]

Hol. A kind of wild potatoe, which has a bitter taste, and affords but little nourishment. It is only used by the islanders in times of famine. [731]

Titou. A root that grows wild in the fields, and resembles our turnip.

Togoages. A root of the size of a cocoa-nut without its husk: when boiled, it turns to a sort of pudding. [252]

There is only one species of salad herb on the island, that is calculated for the table. It is called *emahé*, and considerably resembles our field-mustard.

Knowing from experience how necessary the language of a country is to a person who travels in it, especially where no assistance can be obtained, except what some lucky chance may present, as, for instance, our interpreter Roberts; I endeavoured to collect as many words and sentences of the language of this island as possible, which I shall give in the Appendix, in the hope of their being useful to future navigators. 000

During our stay at Tayohaia, I could make no observations on shore: however, having taken a great many lunar distances the day before our arrival at the island of Noocahiva, we were enabled to lay down with great precision the island of Motané. 131

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

● 131 1804. May. From thence we took bearings of all the other islands as they came in sight, and found their latitude and longitude to be as follows:

	Lat. S.	Long. W.
East end of the island of Fatoohiva -	10° 28′	138° 18′
South end of Motané - - -	10 0	138 30
East end of Tousta - - - -	9 59	138 45
East end of Hoivahova - - -	9 45	138 26½
South end of Ooahoona - - -	8 56	139 12
The entrance of the bay of Tayohaia -	8 56	139 40
North end of Ooaboa - - -	9 19	139 40½
The middle of Fatoohoo - - -	9 27	138 31

The variation of the compass, according to different azimuths, was 6° east.

[pp. 95-322 not processed.]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[p 243]

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

BY

RALPH LINTON

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHIC SKETCH

103 The Marquesas include thirteen islands. The eight habitable islands form geographically two divisions—the Northern Division, which includes Ei Ao, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and Ua Pou; and the Southern Division, which includes Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva. (See fig. 1.) Ei Ao and Moho Tani, although formerly inhabited, are now deserted.

[131]
[132]

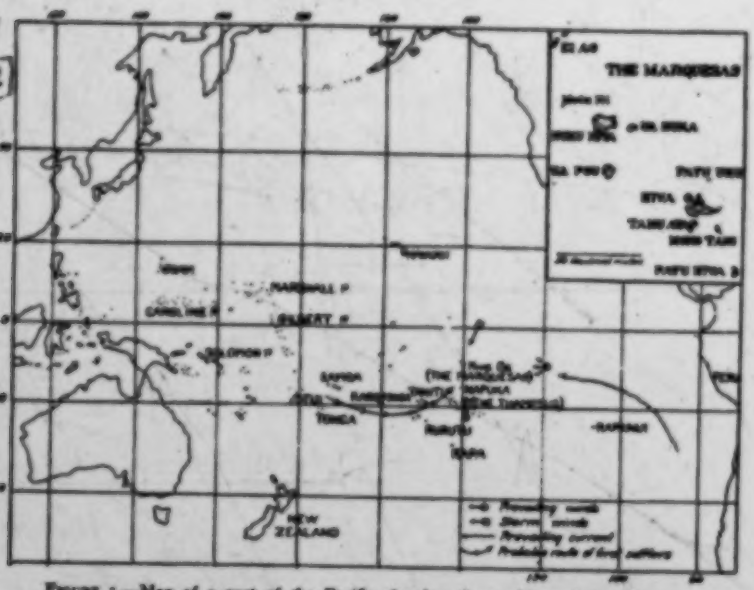


FIGURE 1.—Map of a part of the Pacific showing the position of the Marquesas and the principal islands of the group. The islands Ei Ao, Motu Iti, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, constitute the Northern Division of the Marquesas, and the islands Fatu Uka, Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva, the Southern Division.

[Note! this source has two sets of page numbers]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

•131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern [131] group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected 122
while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the 114
Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number 121
of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, [113] Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. [113] New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

THE ISLANDS

131 The Marquesas lie between parallels 7°50′ and 10°35′ south of the Equator, and meridians 138°25′ and 140°50′ west of Greenwich (See fig. 1). In other words the group is from one to three degrees north of the latitude of Lima, Peru, and from fifteen to eighteen degrees east of the longitude of the island of Hawaii. The principal islands are Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Nuku Hiva. (See figs. 2-7.)

133 The group lies in the course of the westward equatorial current from the coast of South America. Of currents we read in the Pacific Islands Pilot (28, p. 177):

> The current, impelled by the prevailing trade wind, is usually to the westward, between west-northwest and west-southwest, at a rate of about half a knot an hour, sometimes, however, increasing to three knots. If the wind dies away or changes to the westward, the current slacks, and during persistent westerly winds its direction changes. After a week of northwesterly winds, a current setting to the eastward at the rate of three knots were observed in Bordelais Strait, between Hiva oa and Tau ata.

132 It is the trade winds which bring the islands their rain, the moisture borne by them being caught and precipitated by the high mountains. To quote again the same authority (28, pp. 176-7):

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

From April to October the southeast trade wind, called by the natives *tua to ha*, prevails in the vicinity of these islands. The general direction is east-southeast, but it varies between east and south-southeast. . . . The wind sometimes gets to the west of north, when it is apt to turn into a gale. Gales are, however, of rare occurence, generally occurring in December, if at all. 132

As a consequence of the fact that this precipitation is much heavier [137] at the windward than at the leeward ends of the two large islands, Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the flora is much more luxuriant at these ends, and a diminution of the luxuriance and a change in the nature of the flora due

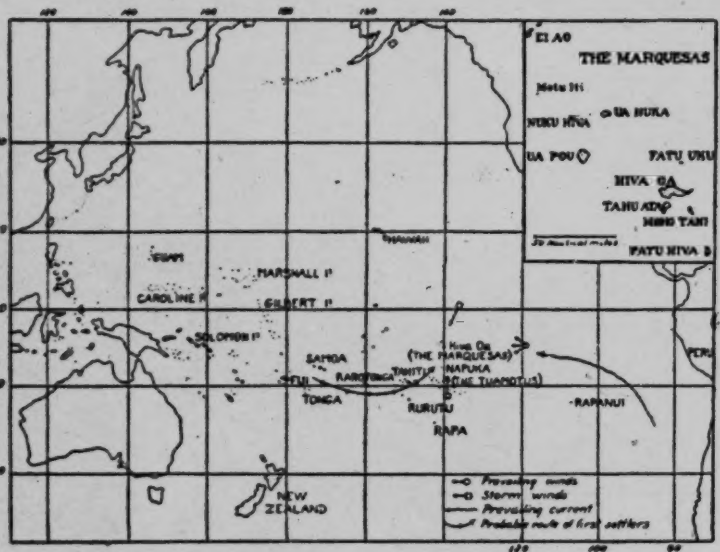


FIGURE 1.—Map showing location of the Marquesas.

to decreasing rainfall is seen from east to west. This tendency is to be observed in each of the inhabited islands, but there are individual differences in certain of these which should be noted. Fatu Hiva is known for its wetness. Its position makes it the first island to tap the southeast trade winds. Eastern Hiva Oa is wet, Western Hiva Oa, dry, and Ua Huka is also dry because its mountains are low. Nuku Hiva is wet on its eastern section while all the western plateau is practically desert. Ua Pou is the dryest of all the islands, its rain being cut off by Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva. Dryness amounts to dessication in times of drought. There is no regular rainy season in the group, the rain coming most commonly from January to July, and intermittently. But the group is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 [134] The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of all the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [25] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of 262 breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 1804. May. to the sides, by inserting a piece of small twine through numerous holes. The head resembles that of a galley, and to the stern a crooked piece of wood is fixed, through which runs the sheet of a triangular sail, made of matting. These narrow boats are well balanced by three long poles laid across, to the ends of which, on one side, is fastened a piece of wood.

312 The island of Noocahiva produces all the necessaries of life. It has excellent fresh water, and in such abundance, that it flows down in cascades from different elevations, greatly tending to beautify in many places the views of the coast The climate
● 132 is so salubrious that, by Roberts's account, many live here to the age of a hundred years. I saw myself the king's mother, who was about eighty, and did not yet think herself very old.

137 Having had but little leisure for minute inquiries respecting the vegetable kingdom in this part of the globe, I shall content myself with describing the few articles only that came within my observation.

TREES.

Toomoomey, or Bread-fruit-tree. The branches of this tree spread out widely, and the leaves resemble those of the fig-tree, but are of a larger size, and of a deeper green. Its fruit is of an oblong figure, measuring lengthwise from five inches and a half to six inches and a half, and breadthwise from four to five inches; it is of a light green colour, but turns black after two or three days keeping. This useful tree, I was told, bears fruit here three times in the year. The first and the best crop, called by the natives mainooé, ripens about our January. The second, which

[p 263]

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

BY

RALPH LINTON

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHIC SKETCH

103 The Marquesas include thirteen islands. The eight habitable islands form geographically two divisions—the Northern Division, which includes Ei Ao, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and Ua Pou; and the Southern Division, which includes Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva. (See fig. 1.) Ei Ao and Moho Tani, although formerly inhabited, are now deserted.

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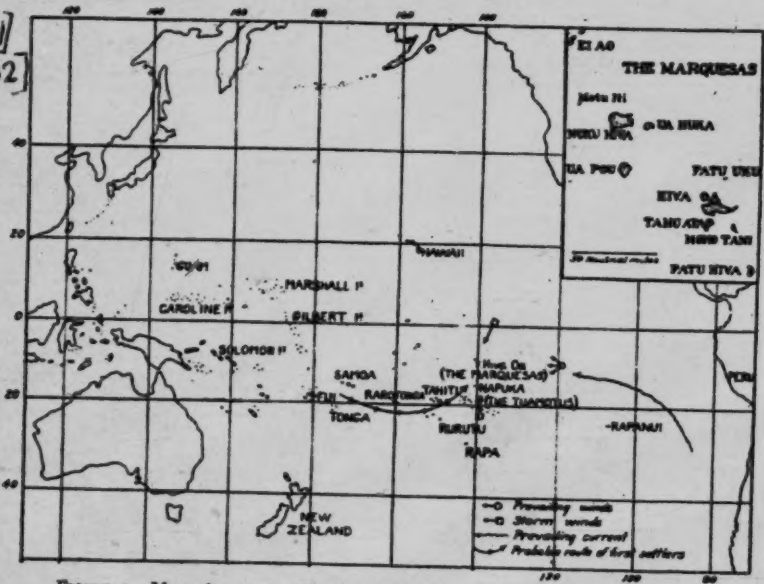

FIGURE 1.—Map of a part of the Pacific showing the position of the Marquesas and the principal islands of the group. The islands Ei Ao, Motu Iti, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, constitute the Northern Division of the Marquesas, and the islands Fatu Uku, Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Moho Tani, and Fatu Hiva, the Southern Division.

[Note: this source has two sets of page numbers]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

133 The habitable islands are of volcanic origin. At present there are no signs of volcanic activity and earthquakes are unknown, but on some islands old sea caves now several meters above high water level suggest that elevation still continues. The topography of all the large islands is similar, each having a high central mountain chain from which sharp ridges, often ending in sheer cliffs, extend to the sea. With a few exceptions, the valleys are short and narrow. There is no coastal shelf and many of the valleys are accessible only from the sea. Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, the largest islands of the group, have so-called plateaus at altitudes of from one to two thousand feet. These plateaus include some areas of comparatively level ground, but are for the most part eroded into innumerable small, steep side valleys, which render traverse difficult, even for a man on foot.

●132 The climate of the Marquesas is without extremes of heat or cold, the mean annual temperature being between 75 and 80 degrees Fahrenheit. Hurricanes, the scourge of the Tuamotus, are rare, but lying north of the belt of seasonal rains, the islands are visited by destructive droughts which have been known to last three years. Even in favorable years the climate throughout most of the group is dry rather than humid. There is a progressive decrease in rainfall from south to north; Fatu Hiva, the southernmost island, is well watered but Ei Ao, the northermost, is arid. The prevailing winds are easterly and the westerly sides of the most of the islands are semi-arid, with few running streams.

137 The marked differences in the vegetation on different islands and on different parts of the same island correspond to variations in rainfall. On Fatu Hiva a dense growth of vegetation mantles the almost vertical sides of the mountains and fills the valleys with thickets. East of the high mountain ridge on Hiva Oa the valleys are choked with thick bush and the higher slopes are covered with forests containing many tree ferns. West of the ridge the tree ferns disappear completely, giving place to stunted guava scrub and upland reed, and large areas are covered with matted fern scarcely a foot high. Wherever a depression serves to collect the moisture there are open groves of pandanus or fau (tree hibiscus) while the higher ridges are crowned with straggling clumps of casuarina. The slopes of the deeper valleys are covered with a growth of large trees beneath which is little or no undergrowth and only along the water courses, where the fau grows in tangled masses, is there any approach to jungle. Were it not for the occasional clumps of palms in the valleys the visitor might imagine himself in the hills behind San Francisco rather than on an island within ten degrees of the equator. Ei Ao, the northernmost island, has the least rain, and its bowl-like top is covered with short grass and scattered groves of trees so open that a man on horseback could pass anywhere with ease.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 775 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which [793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest [211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea. 137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 731 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator, the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irri-
gation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fer-
mented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

|8| In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
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FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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487
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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

FIGURE 4—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

 578 621

through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578

[133 487 619]

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621
578

Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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619]

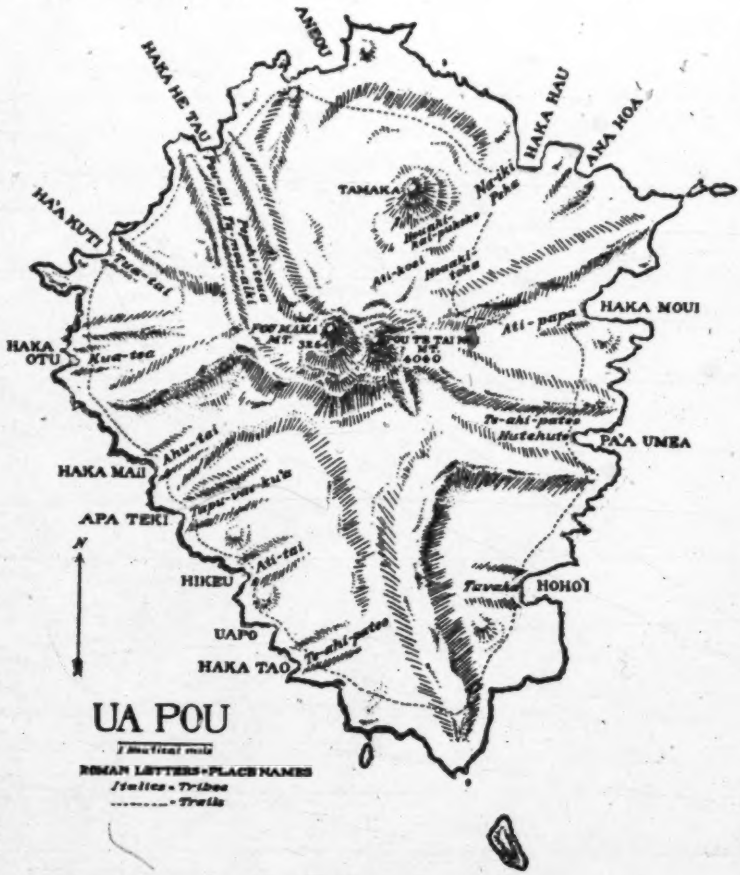

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

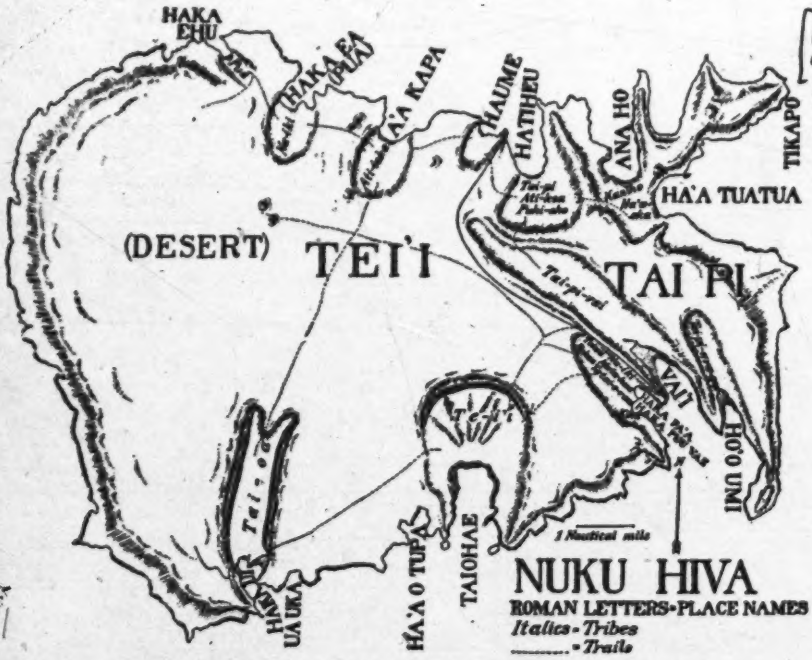

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Descraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 *A.* Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

346 417 *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

291 312 *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

291 304 *B.* Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka-Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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417
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A

B

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D

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F

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

[End Plate 1]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts. 648

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery. 131 133

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

At a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast. 131

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

133 THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a
133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains
648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards
[823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like
826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on
000 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153 - end not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group. 101 114

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded. 133

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

609 [301] [301] [237]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 in latitude, by observation, 10° south. On some maps this island appears smaller than that of Fatoohoo, whereas it is double the size. 1804. May.

I steered to the eastward of this group of islands, to survey them more minutely, and draw a chart from the survey. They are all lofty and steep, except the Towata, which has a more level appearance than the rest. At seven o'clock we passed the island of Fatoohoo, and steered to the west, till we found ourselves between it and the island of Ouahoonha (Riou's), one of the Washington cluster, when I brought-to for the night.

●133 In the morning of the 8th we neared the island of Ouahoonha: and I had intended to survey it all round; but the unsettled state of the weather prevented me, and I was obliged to bear for the island of Noocahiva (sir H. Martin's), another of the Washington cluster; which, when we were a-breast of the rocks, off the north-west point of Ouahoonha, was in sight. The island of Ouahoonha is also high and hilly: on the south-west side of it, we perceived many small bays, fit for landing boats; but there is only one that will admit ships, which is situated close to the south point, in latitude, by our observation, 8° 56′. It appears, however, to be considerably exposed to the southerly winds. This bay is remarkable for two small islands, one of which is high and rocky; the other level, and covered with grass. Though we passed the shore at the distance of about four miles, we were not so fortunate as to see a single human being come off to welcome us; which greatly surprised me, as lieutenant Graves says, in his journal, that the inhabitants came on board his ship very readily, and behaved with much civility. From this circum- 8th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Finding that there was no possibility of providing ourselves here with a greater quantity of live stock than we had already obtained, captain Krusenstern and I, with some officers of both ships, repaired to Jegawé Bay, which was about three miles and a half to the westward of our station. On our landing, we were surrounded by men and women, with fruit and other commodities for sale; and in a very short time sixty bunches of bananas were in our possession. After visiting the king, and breakfasting at his house, we proceeded in search of what was the main object of our excursion. We were, however, disappointed: the natives would sell us nothing but fruit and vegetables, though plenty of hogs and fowls were seen about their houses; and towards evening we returned to our ships. 648

The bay of Jegawé is a very safe place for anchoring; it forms a small bason, defended from all the winds, and ships may lie there quite close to the shore, especially on the south side, which renders it an admirable place for such as may be in want of thorough repair. The entrance is rather narrow; but as its depth does not exceed eighteen fathoms, and the bottom is good, you may warp in with ease, when you cannot sail in. To a small river of fresh water there, I gave the name of the Little Neva, the banks of which abound with inhabitants, who are able to supply vessels with a sufficiency both of fruit and hogs, though to us they would spare none of the last-mentioned article. 133

From the difficulty of further augmenting our live stock, we 16th. began on the 16th to prepare for sea. I rewarded Roberts for his services, with linen, pieces of iron, and other articles that were 000

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

useful to him in his present situation. I also left with him a quantity of garden seeds, which he promised to cultivate. Gunpowder was the only thing I refused him; for it was a law with me, not to suffer a single grain of this dangerous commodity to be given to the islanders. As this was to be the last day of our stay, I ordered, at night, some rockets to be let off, the appearance of which terrified the natives extremely. They verily believed that we had the power of sending up stars, and that these luminaries, after disappearing in the sky, returned to us to be sent up again. 1804. May.

Though in my narrative of events as they occurred, I have exhibited, perhaps, no very imperfect view, either of the islands we are quitting, or their inhabitants; it may not be amiss to add a few particulars, to render the picture more complete.

133 The old Marquesa islands, the names of which I have already given in their place, are five in number. They extend, by the observations I made, from 138° 18′ to 138° 55′ west longitude, and from 9° 25′ to 10° 30′ south latitude.

The new Marquesas are in like manner five in number; and [101] are called by their inhabitants, Ooaboa, which is Trevannion's island; Ooahoonha, which is Riou's; Noocahiva, which is Martin's; and Hiaoo and Fatooda, which are Roberts's. The first three occupy about thirty-five miles in latitude, and forty in longitude; they were discovered in 1791, by Mr. Ingram of the United States, in his voyage to America for furs, and were named by him after the immortal Washington. Having stopped only at the island of Noocahiva, I can say nothing of the rest,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. except that they are high and craggy. It struck me, however, /33 as singular, that none of them should have a conical elevation, but should all rise out of the sea almost perpendicularly. The island of Noocahiva, in my opinion, is the largest of the whole group. Having passed almost round it, I can venture to say, that there is no danger in sailing quite close to its shores. On the east side, which is high, and of no very pleasing aspect, is seen the bay called Hotisheve, which appeared to me to be open to the easterly winds, which in this part of the world blow almost continually. To the south are three bays: the first, called Houmé, is situated towards the south-east point; the second, Jegawé, at the south-west point, with an excellent anchorage, as I have before observed; and the third, Tayohaia, about midway between the other two. This last has also a good anchorage, but, being surrounded by high lands, is subject to strong squalls, against which a vessel should be on its guard when at anchor, and should take care to be always well moored. In coming in, and going out, anchors and boats should be ready to assist, in case of a change of wind, or a calm. When the islets of Mitao and Mootonooé, that lie at the mouth of the bay, so near the shore as to be scarcely distinguished at a distance, and which I placed, by my observations, at 139° 40′ west, and 8° 56′ south, are in sight, steer for the first, and double it when at the distance of forty fathoms, where you will find twenty-seven fathoms of water. In coming out, the ship should be kept close to the eastern shore, on account of the winds, which at sea blow always from the eastward. The best anchorage in this bay, with regard to the currents, is under the south-east point, in twelve fathoms. From lying rather close to the other shore, I was obliged to work at my cables every day, as the ship was

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

/133 continually turning round. However, this is the surest side, if the ship should have parted with her anchors in a squall from the mountains, as happened here once to an American; because she may then run out to sea, under her stay-sails only, with ease. Though the watering place is by no means convenient in the bay of Tayohaia, yet, with the assistance of the natives, a launch may be completed in less than two hours, as the casks need only to be thrown into the water, to be filled, and the islanders are expeditious in cutting fire-wood on the beach: for this trouble, a small piece of iron, per man, is a satisfactory recompense. It is necessary, however, while the work is going on, that one or two of the ship's crew, armed with muskets, should attend, otherwise many things may be lost; for the islanders have no scruple in this respect, and will even knock off the iron hoops from the casks, while in the act of rolling them along the surf. A single discharge from a musket is, however, sufficient to terrify the most daring. 1804. May.

Our short stay at this island, and our ignorance of the language of its native inhabitants, would have rendered our information very incomplete, but for the fortunate circumstance of our meeting with Roberts, who seemed to have been sent providentially to our assistance. This personage was a run-away English sailor, and had long resided on the island. He had married one of the king's relations, and was treated, in consequence, with great respect by his new countrymen, whose language he appears to speak with fluency. From this Englishman I received many of the particulars I am about to relate.

Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group, is govern-

133 The habitable islands are of volcanic origin. At present there are no signs of volcanic activity and earthquakes are unknown, but on some islands old sea caves now several meters above high water level suggest that elevation still continues. The topography of all the large islands is similar, each having a high central mountain chain from which sharp ridges, often ending in sheer cliffs, extend to the sea. With a few exceptions, the valleys are short and narrow. There is no coastal shelf and many of the valleys are accessible only from the sea. Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, the largest islands of the group, have so-called plateaus at altitudes of from one to two thousand feet. These plateaus include some areas of comparatively level ground, but are for the most part eroded into innumerable small, steep side valleys, which render traverse difficult, even for a man on foot.

132 The climate of the Marquesas is without extremes of heat or cold, the mean annual temperature being between 75 and 80 degrees Fahrenheit. Hurricanes, the scourge of the Tuamotus, are rare, but lying north of the belt of seasonal rains, the islands are visited by destructive droughts which have been known to last three years. Even in favorable years the climate throughout most of the group is dry rather than humid. There is a progressive decrease in rainfall from south to north; Fatu Hiva, the southernmost island, is well watered but Ei Ao, the northermost, is arid. The prevailing winds are easterly and the westerly sides of the most of the islands are semi-arid, with few running streams.

137 The marked differences in the vegetation on different islands and on different parts of the same island correspond to variations in rainfall. On Fatu Hiva a dense growth of vegetation mantles the almost vertical sides of the mountains and fills the valleys with thickets. East of the high mountain ridge on Hiva Oa the valleys are choked with thick bush and the higher slopes are covered with forests containing many tree ferns. West of the ridge the tree ferns disappear completely, giving place to stunted guava scrub and upland reed, and large areas are covered with matted fern scarcely a foot high. Wherever a depression serves to collect the moisture there are open groves of pandanus or fau (tree hibiscus) while the higher ridges are crowned with straggling clumps of casuarina. The slopes of the deeper valleys are covered with a growth of large trees beneath which is little or no undergrowth and only along the water courses, where the fau grows in tangled masses, is there any approach to jungle. Were it not for the occasional clumps of palms in the valleys the visitor might imagine himself in the hills behind San Francisco rather than on an island within ten degrees of the equator. Ei Ao, the northernmost island, has the least rain, and its bowl-like top is covered with short grass and scattered groves of trees so open that a man on horseback could pass anywhere with ease.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

From the point of view of the primitive settler, the Marquesas could hardly be considered desirable country. The mountains everywhere extend to the sea, and the little level ground on the plateaus is rendered uninhabitable by the droughts. The numerous valleys are for the most part small and many of them contain no land suitable for cultivation. Terracing, which might have increased the arable area, is almost useless without some system of irrigation, and this is rendered impossible by the uncertain rainfall. There are no native wild animals larger than the rat, and the absence of a barrier reef decreases the supply of fish, and makes fishing arduous and uncertain. Opposed to these disadvantages are a climate ideally suited to the growth of breadfruit and coconut, and at least partial immunity from attack as a result of the geographical isolation of the valleys. 133 [136]

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION

So far as known there are no native accounts of the original settlement of the Marquesas. The legends collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition show a belief in a local creation. Legendary material and the constant repetition of tribal and place names in the various islands of the group would seem to indicate that the historic inhabitants were descended from a few small parties of settlers who occupied the most fertile valleys of the southern islands first, spreading as their numbers increased until the occupation of the group was complete. There is no legendary evidence of organized conquest or of an early non-Polynesian population. The local differences in culture and physical type which existed in the Marquesas at the beginning of the historic period seem to point, however, to the presence of two originally distinct racial elements. One element, which was dominant in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, showed many affinities with the Maori of New Zealand. The other element, which was dominant in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, showed affinities with western Polynesia. It seems improbable that these two elements arrived in the group simultaneously but it is imposible to say which came first. In historic times the western Polynesian element in the Marquesas was strongest in the localities which were least desirable and farthest from the probable place of arrival of immigrants to the group. This may indicate that this element arrived first and had been ousted from the more favorable localities by the Maori-like element. 174

There seems to have been no important invasion of the Marquesas after their settlement by these two racial elements. The Tuamotus was the only island group near enough to serve as a base for organized attack and these islands were small and sparsely populated. It was not impossible for small bands of invaders to reach the Marquesas from time to time; but even if they were successful in this, the nature of the country would have limited their occupation

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 775 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which [793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest [211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea. 137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 731 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator, the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

ooo males. They either have but few females among them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance.

In general the people of this island are a slender race. They did not see a man that would measure six feet; so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances, are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours.

The women's clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth, about six feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, and another over their shoulders, make a complete dress. But the men, for the most part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist. The Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort, was much valued by them.

Harmless and friendly as these people seem to be, they are not without offensive weapons, such as short wooden clubs and spears.

Their houses are low miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or eight feet distance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The whole is thatched over with leaves of sugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch, and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all-fours.

The gigantic statues are not, in Captain Cook's opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at least he saw nothing that could induce him to think so. On the contrary, he rather supposes that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families.

On the 16th of March they stood out to sea, and having now a steady settled trade-wind, and pleasant weather, the forge was ordered to be set up, to repair and make various necessary articles in the iron way.

●133 On the 7th of April they saw an isle, which, as it was a new discovery, they named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it; the second was that of St. Pedro; the third, La Dominica; and the fourth, St. Christina. They ranged the S.E. coast of La Dominica, without seeing the

[pp. 1-163 not processed]

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these 133
places, and followed them down the coast.

At length, having come before the port they were in 648
search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore.

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again 648
in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them 439
bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot.

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipita- 648
tion. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; [134] and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of all the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [251] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of 262] breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STONE ARTIFACTS

412 The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of ef-
324 fective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make
[325] the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to in-
dicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been
[321] of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities
in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the
Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the
simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant
[135] exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but
they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The pre-
sence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an
abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking,
grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits
of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there
was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all
the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each
locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons,
with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are
a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences
are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F*.)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136] the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

From April to October the southeast trade wind, called by the natives *tua to ha*, prevails in the vicinity of these islands. The general direction is east-southeast, but it varies between east and south-southeast. . . . The wind sometimes gets to the west of north, when it is apt to turn into a gale. Gales are, however, of rare occurence, generally occurring in December, if at all. 132

As a consequence of the fact that this precipitation is much heavier at the windward than at the leeward ends of the two large islands, Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the flora is much more luxuriant at these ends, and a diminution of the luxuriance and a change in the nature of the flora due [137]

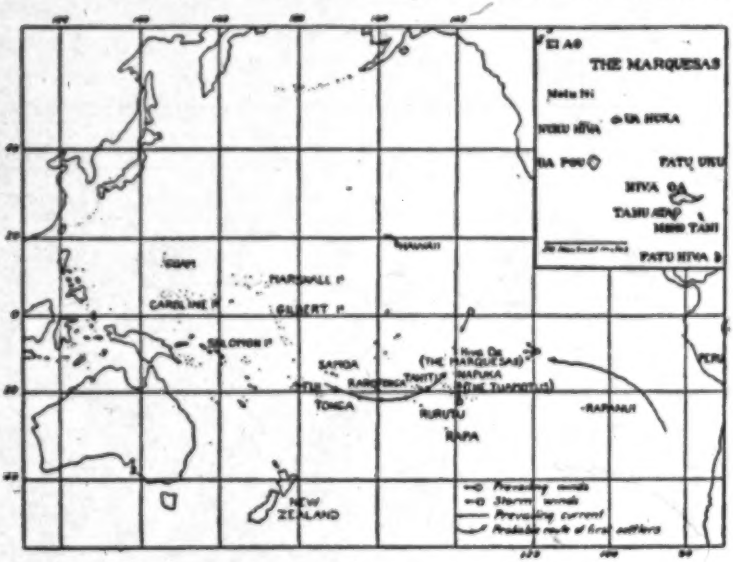

FIGURE 1.—Map showing location of the Marquesas.

to decreasing rainfall is seen from east to west. This tendency is to be observed in each of the inhabited islands, but there are individual differences in certain of these which should be noted. Fatu Hiva is known for its wetness. Its position makes it the first island to tap the southeast trade winds. Eastern Hiva Oa is wet, Western Hiva Oa, dry, and Ua Huka is also dry because its mountains are low. Nuku Hiva is wet on its eastern section while all the western plateau is practically desert. Ua Pou is the dryest of all the islands, its rain being cut off by Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva. Dryness amounts to dessication in times of drought. There is no regular rainy season in the group, the rain coming most commonly from January to July, and intermittently. But the group is

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 1804. May. to the sides, by inserting a piece of small twine through numerous holes. The head resembles that of a galley, and to the stern a crooked piece of wood is fixed, through which runs the sheet of a triangular sail, made of matting. These narrow boats are well balanced by three long poles laid across, to the ends of which, on one side, is fastened a piece of wood.

312 The island of Noocahiva produces all the necessaries of life. It has excellent fresh water, and in such abundance, that it flows down in cascades from different elevations, greatly tending to beautify in many places the views of the coast The climate
132 is so salubrious that, by Roberts's account, many live here to the age of a hundred years. I saw myself the king's mother, who was about eighty, and did not yet think herself very old.

● 137 Having had but little leisure for minute inquiries respecting the vegetable kingdom in this part of the globe, I shall content myself with describing the few articles only that came within my observation.

TREES.

Toomoomey, or Bread-fruit-tree. The branches of this tree spread out widely, and the leaves resemble those of the fig-tree, but are of a larger size, and of a deeper green. Its fruit is of an oblong figure, measuring lengthwise from five inches and a half to six inches and a half, and breadthwise from four to five inches; it is of a light green colour, but turns black after two or three days keeping. This useful tree, I was told, bears fruit here three times in the year. The first and the best crop, called by the natives mainooé, ripens about our January. The second, which

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark,[1] a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May. [137] [287]

Toomoochee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maceca, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds. [178]

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black

1 [i.e., of the Bread-fruit tree -- Ana/xs]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[139] 1804. Coqeo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

[326] May. [315]

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[289] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[393] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

6: Lisianaky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Carpé. This root is about three feet long. The greater part of it grows out of the ground. It takes twelve months to ripen, and is made into puddings, or prepared like yams. 1804. May. 137 [252]

Hué. A kind of wild potatoe, which has a bitter taste, and affords but little nourishment. It is only used by the islanders in times of famine. [731]

Titou. A root that grows wild in the fields, and resembles our turnip.

Togoogoo. A root of the size of a cocoa-nut without its husk: when boiled, it turns to a sort of pudding. [252]

There is only one species of salad herb on the island, that is calculated for the table. It is called *emahé*, and considerably resembles our field-mustard.

Knowing from experience how necessary the language of a country is to a person who travels in it, especially where no assistance can be obtained, except what some lucky chance may present, as, for instance, our interpreter Roberts; I endeavoured to collect as many words and sentences of the language of this island as possible, which I shall give in the Appendix, in the hope of their being useful to future navigators. ooo

During our stay at Tayohaia, I could make no observations on shore: however, having taken a great many lunar distances the day before our arrival at the island of Noocahiva, we were enabled to lay down with great precision the island of Motané. 131

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

133 The habitable islands are of volcanic origin. At present there are no signs of volcanic activity and earthquakes are unknown, but on some islands old sea caves now several meters above high water level suggest that elevation still continues. The topography of all the large islands is similar, each having a high central mountain chain from which sharp ridges, often ending in sheer cliffs, extend to the sea. With a few exceptions, the valleys are short and narrow. There is no coastal shelf and many of the valleys are accessible only from the sea. Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, the largest islands of the group, have so-called plateaus at altitudes of from one to two thousand feet. These plateaus include some areas of comparatively level ground, but are for the most part eroded into innumerable small, steep side valleys, which render traverse difficult, even for a man on foot.

132 The climate of the Marquesas is without extremes of heat or cold, the mean annual temperature being between 75 and 80 degrees Fahrenheit. Hurricanes, the scourge of the Tuamotus, are rare, but lying north of the belt of seasonal rains, the islands are visited by destructive droughts which have been known to last three years. Even in favorable years the climate throughout most of the group is dry rather than humid. There is a progressive decrease in rainfall from south to north; Fatu Hiva, the southernmost island, is well watered but Ei Ao, the northermost, is arid. The prevailing winds are easterly and the westerly sides of the most of the islands are semi-arid, with few running streams.

137 The marked differences in the vegetation on different islands and on different parts of the same island correspond to variations in rainfall. On Fatu Hiva a dense growth of vegetation mantles the almost vertical sides of the mountains and fills the valleys with thickets. East of the high mountain ridge on Hiva Oa the valleys are choked with thick bush and the higher slopes are covered with forests containing many tree ferns. West of the ridge the tree ferns disappear completely, giving place to stunted guava scrub and upland reed, and large areas are covered with matted fern scarcely a foot high. Wherever a depression serves to collect the moisture there are open groves of pandanus or fau (tree hibiscus) while the higher ridges are crowned with straggling clumps of casuarina. The slopes of the deeper valleys are covered with a growth of large trees beneath which is little or no undergrowth and only along the water courses, where the fau grows in tangled masses, is there any approach to jungle. Were it not for the occasional clumps of palms in the valleys the visitor might imagine himself in the hills behind San Francisco rather than on an island within ten degrees of the equator. Ei Ao, the northernmost island, has the least rain, and its bowl-like top is covered with short grass and scattered groves of trees so open that a man on horseback could pass anywhere with ease.

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 775 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which [793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest [211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

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/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 157 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

	Men	Women	
Nuku Hiva	524	456	
Ua Huka	105	84	
Ua Pou	196	180	
Fatu Hiva	321	318	
Tahu Ata	260	260	
Hiva Oa	1,116	1,045	
Total	2,522	2,343	4,865

8. 1905: Pacific Islands Pilot gives 3,500.
9. 1922: Estimated roughly at 1,800.

Method

All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. In outline the measurements were as follows:

Anthropometric Characters

1. Stature: recorded to the nearest centimeter (shoes removed).
2. Shoulder height: same position as in 1.
3. Arm length: acromion to tip of middle finger.
4. Height sitting.
5. Arm reach or span: maximum.
6. Head length: glabella to opisthocranium.
7. Maximum head width.
8. Minimum frontal diameter.
9. Maximum face width: bizygomatic.
10. Bigonial diameter at the angles of the mandible avoiding as much of the muscles as possible.
11. Anatomical face height: nasion to gnathion.
12. Nasal height: nasion to subnasal.
13. Nasal width: alare to alare avoiding pressure.
14. Physiognomic ear length or height.
15. Physiognomic ear breadth.

Indices

16. Relative shoulder height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 2} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
17. Relative arm length $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 3} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
18. Relative sitting height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 4} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
19. Relative arm reach or span $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 5} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
20. Cephalic or length-breadth index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 7} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 6}} \right.$
21. Transverse fronto-parietal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$
22. Transverse cephalo-facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 9} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$

141 23. Zygomatico-frontal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

24. Zygomatico-mandibular index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 10} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

25. Anatomical facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 11} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 9}} \right.$

26. Nasal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 13} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 12}} \right.$

27. Physiognomic ear index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 15} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 14}} \right.$

122 141 Through a series of accidents Handy was not supplied with a stature rod until near the conclusion of his studies. He used a makeshift apparatus consisting of a pole and a tape. While the measures were taken with the greatest care Handy suggests that the body measurements may not be strictly comparable with other studies but are valuable for intra-group comparison. I had no opportunity to do field work with Handy, but he was trained in anthropometic technique by Professor E. A. Hooton, whose technique is for the most part similar to my own and that of Gifford and McKern. It is possible but not altogether certain that Handy located the nasion at a point lower than Gifford, McKern and I did. This possibility should be borne in mind in comparative studies on facial height and nasal height.

The anthropometric data were supplemented by observations on characters not quantitatively measurable or attribute characters. The conceptions held and the standards used for this part of the field work have been discussed in detail in a previous paper of this series.[4] It is sufficient to say that such characters were described in terms of their total range in mankind. It is obvious of course that their chief value lies in their utility for intra-group studies. Only the most general comparison can be made with the studies of other students. Hair samples and photographs of the individuals studied were submitted with the records. These enabled me to gauge the differences in the conceptions as given by Handy, Gifford, McKern, and myself. The most important difference is in our standards for hair form. Handy had a tendency to class hair form about two degrees higher than I would have done in the scale of waviness or curliness. In particular he used curly in the popular sense, whereas I reserve this term for a very particular and rare form of hair. This does not imply that Handy is wrong and that I am right. It is most probable that I somewhat minimize the degree of curliness and that Handy somewhat magnifies it. In regard to women who have longer hair our views are more nearly in accord.

[4] B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. VIII, 4, 1922.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and 141
writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the 114
cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, 128
and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a 141
series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a 141
high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers 304
would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

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TABLE II.—SERIATION OF ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

1. STATURE			2. SHOULDER HEIGHT			3. ARM LENGTH			4. ARM REACH		
Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female	Centimeters	Male	Female
145	—	0	115	—	0	55	—	—	145	—	—
6	—	0	16	—	0	6	—	—	6	—	—
7	—	1	17	—	0	7	—	—	7	—	—
8	—	0	18	—	0	8	—	—	8	—	—
9	—	0	19	—	1	9	—	—	9	—	1
150	—	1	120	—	0	60	—	0	150	—	3
1	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	0	1	—	1
2	—	2	2	—	0	2	—	0	2	—	1
3	—	0	3	—	0	3	—	1	3	—	1
4	—	2	4	—	0	4	—	0	4	—	0
155	—	2	125	—	1	65	—	2	135	—	1
6	—	6	6	—	1	6	—	0	6	—	0
7	—	5	7	—	1	7	—	2	7	—	6
8	—	5	8	—	3	8	—	2	8	—	3
9	—	4	9	—	6	9	—	6	9	—	8
160	0	9	130	0	7	70	0	6	160	0	6
1	2	5	1	0	5	1	0	6	1	0	6
2	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	0	1
3	5	4	3	0	5	3	3	8	3	2	4
4	3	4	4	2	6	4	3	2	4	0	2
165	2	6	135	1	7	75	3	6	165	1	6
6	6	6	6	5	1	6	3	6	6	1	2
7	5	2	7	6	4	7	6	1	7	5	2
8	4	1	8	4	8	8	8	1	8	2	4
9	7	3	9	10	2	9	12	1	9	2	0
170	5	1	140	6	4	80	5	2	170	4	5
1	3	0	1	9	1	1	5	1	1	3	1
2	6	0	2	10	2	2	6	0	2	3	0
3	5	0	3	5	1	3	2	1	3	5	2
4	6	1	4	4	0	4	4	—	4	3	1
175	4	—	145	0	1	85	1	—	175	6	0
6	4	—	6	2	0	6	1	—	6	3	0
7	1	—	7	2	0	7	2	—	7	3	0
8	5	—	8	3	0	8	0	—	8	2	0
9	1	—	9	1	0	9	0	—	9	3	0
180	1	—	150	2	—	90	0	—	180	2	0
1	0	—	1	2	—	1	0	—	1	7	1
2	0	—	2	0	—	2	1	—	2	4	2
3	0	—	3	1	—	3	0	—	3	3	0
4	1	—	4	0	—	4	1	—	4	4	0
Total	79	73	155	1	—	Total	67	57	185	5	—
			6	1	—				6	1	—
			7	0	—				7	0	—
			8	0	—				8	1	—
			9	0	—				9	0	—
			Total	78	71				190	0	—
									1	1	—
									2	0	—
									3	1	—
									4	0	—
									195	0	—
									6	0	—
									7	1	—
									Total	78	70

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5. SITTING HEIGHT			6. HEAD LENGTH			7. HEAD WIDTH			8. MINIMUM FRONTAL		
Centimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female
75	0	1	170	—	2	135	—	0	85	—	—
6	1	0	1	—	1	6	—	0	6	—	—
7	0	1	2	—	2	7	—	0	7	—	—
8	0	1	3	—	0	8	—	0	8	—	—
9	0	3	4	—	3	9	—	1	9	—	—
80	0	3	175	—	2	140	0	1	90	0	0
1	5	6	6	—	2	1	0	0	1	0	1
2	1	3	7	—	4	2	0	0	2	0	1
3	2	7	8	2	2	3	3	0	3	2	2
4	4	9	9	0	1	4	2	3	4	1	0
85	6	3	180	1	7	145	2	3	95	1	7
6	11	13	1	1	3	6	1	6	6	1	3
7	7	7	2	3	5	7	2	6	7	7	1
8	8	5	3	1	7	8	5	5	8	5	3
9	10	5	4	0	0	9	4	5	9	2	3
90	6	1	185	2	6	150	3	11	100	11	17
1	6	1	6	3	6	1	3	6	1	3	5
2	5	1	7	3	4	2	8	7	2	6	7
3	1	0	8	9	3	3	12	9	3	8	5
4	2	0	9	3	2	4	7	2	4	6	3
95	2	—	190	7	4	155	10	2	105	8	4
6	0	—	1	1	1	6	6	2	6	4	2
7	1	—	2	3	2	7	2	3	7	2	0
8	0	—	3	5	0	8	3	0	8	3	0
9	0	—	4	3	1	9	2	1	9	1	0
Total	78	70	195	6	2	160	4	1	110	4	2
			6	2	1	1	0	0	11	1	0
			7	5	0	2	2	0	12	4	1
			8	3	0	3	0	0	13	2	2
			9	2	0	4	1	0	14	1	1
			200	6	0	165	2	—	115	0	0
			1	3	0	6	0	—	16	0	0
			2	2	0	7	0	—	17	0	0
			3	3	0	8	0	—	18	1	0
			4	1	0	9	0	—	19	0	0
			205	1	0	Total	84	74	120	—	0
			6	0	0				1	—	1
			7	2	1				2	—	0
			8	0	0				3	—	0
			9	0	0				4	—	2
			210	1	—				125	—	1
			Total	84	74				Total	84	74

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9. FACE WIDTH

Millimeters	Male	Female
125	—	0
6	—	0
7	—	2
8	—	1
9	—	4
130	1	7
1	0	0
2	0	5
3	2	7
4	0	6
135	2	4
6	0	8
7	6	6
8	3	8
9	2	2
140	11	3
1	3	3
2	5	4
3	8	1
4	5	2
145	9	0
6	7	0
7	7	0
8	3	0
9	3	1
150	3	—
1	0	—
2	1	—
3	1	—
4	0	—
155	1	—
6	0	—
7	1	—
8	0	—
9	0	—
Total	84	74

10. BIGONIAL

Millimeters	Male	Female
90	0	1
1	0	1
2	0	2
3	0	2
4	1	1
95	1	1
6	0	1
7	0	1
8	1	2
9	0	3
100	2	7
1	0	2
2	3	6
3	2	10
4	1	1
105	5	7
6	4	4
7	5	3
8	6	3
9	1	1
110	13	3
11	4	1
12	6	2
13	4	2
14	6	1
115	6	1
16	2	—
17	2	—
18	1	—
19	1	—
120	0	—
1	1	—
2	0	—
3	0	—
4	0	—
Total	78	69

11. FACE HEIGHT

Millimeters	Male	Female
90	—	0
1	—	0
2	—	1
3	—	0
4	—	0
95	—	0
6	—	0
7	—	0
8	—	0
9	—	0
100	0	0
1	0	2
2	0	0
3	1	2
4	0	3
105	0	3
6	0	1
7	0	2
8	0	1
9	0	1
110	4	6
11	2	1
12	0	3
13	0	1
14	2	6
115	1	2
16	1	9
17	3	8
18	4	5
19	1	0
120	6	1
1	3	4
2	4	2
3	4	3
4	5	2
125	2	2
6	6	0
7	5	1
8	1	0
9	5	1
130	4	0
1	5	0
2	2	0
3	3	1
4	2	0
135	2	0
6	0	0
7	0	—
8	1	—
9	1	—
140	1	—
Total	81	74

12. NOSE HEIGHT

Millimeters	Male	Female
35	—	0
6	—	0
7	—	0
8	—	0
9	—	1
40	0	0
1	0	4
2	1	3
3	0	4
4	0	4
45	1	2
6	1	7
7	3	3
8	4	7
9	6	2
50	7	9
1	9	9
2	7	5
3	6	7
4	8	2
55	8	1
6	2	1
7	9	1
8	6	1
9	2	1
60	1	—
1	2	—
2	1	—
3	0	—
4	0	—
Total	84	74

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13. NOSE WIDTH			14. EAR HEIGHT			15. EAR WIDTH			16. RELATIVE SHOULDER HEIGHT		
Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Millimeters	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
30	—	0	50	—	0	20	0	0	75	0	0
1	—	0	1	—	0	1	0	0	6	0	0
2	—	1	2	—	0	2	0	1	7	0	0
3	—	0	3	—	0	3	1	1	8	1	0
4	—	0	4	—	2	4	0	0	9	0	1
35	0	1	55	0	2	25	0	0	80	4	4
6	0	3	6	0	1	6	2	4	1	4	6
7	0	1	7	0	2	7	0	5	2	18	14
8	3	12	8	1	4	8	2	1	3	18	19
9	4	7	9	1	2	9	2	6	4	21	17
40	6	17	60	4	8	30	5	12	85	9	4
1	12	6	1	2	12	1	16	11	6	1	6
2	8	15	2	3	4	2	12	5	7	0	0
3	16	2	3	6	5	3	20	11	8	1	0
4	7	2	4	7	5	4	7	7	9	0	0
45	9	4	65	9	2	35	5	4	90	0	—
6	7	2	6	9	3	6	0	3	1	1	—
7	5	0	7	6	6	7	7	1	Total	78	71
8	4	0	8	10	3	8	1	1			
9	2	0	9	6	6	9	2	1			
50	—	1	70	4	1	40	1	—			
1	—	0	1	4	3	1	0	—			
2	—	0	2	2	1	2	0	—			
3	—	0	3	2	0	3	1	—			
4	—	0	4	2	1	4	0	—			
Total	83	74	75	1	—	Total	84	74			
			6	1	—						
			7	1	—						
			8	1	—						
			9	1	—						
			80	1	—						
			Total	84	73						

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17. RELATIVE SITTING HEIGHT			18. RELATIVE ARM LENGTH			19. RELATIVE ARM REACH			20. CEPHALIC INDEX		
Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
35	0	—	35	—	0	90	0	0	70	0	0
6	0	—	6	—	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
7	0	—	7	—	0	2	0	0	2	2	0
8	0	—	8	—	1	3	0	1	3	2	0
9	1	—	9	—	0	4	1	0	4	4	1
40	0	—	40	0	0	95	0	1	75	1	2
1	0	—	1	0	0	6	1	2	6	9	1
2	0	—	2	2	3	7	0	1	7	9	5
3	0	—	3	1	4	8	0	9	8	10	3
4	1	—	4	3	11	9	1	14	9	4	6
45	0	0	45	8	14	100	5	6	80	10	8
6	1	0	6	14	13	1	6	10	1	11	10
7	0	1	7	19	4	2	12	9	2	10	7
8	4	0	8	11	6	3	11	5	3	1	6
9	5	3	9	6	1	4	8	5	4	4	8
50	8	5	50	0	—	105	13	1	85	1	2
1	14	11	1	1	—	6	7	2	6	4	7
2	27	17	2	0	—	7	7	2	7	1	5
3	12	10	3	0	—	8	3	2	8	1	3
4	4	11	4	0	—	9	0	—	9	—	—
55	1	8	55	2	—	110	2	—	90	—	0
6	1	2	6	—	—	11	0	—	1	—	1
7	—	0	7	—	—	12	0	—	2	—	0
8	—	2	8	—	—	13	0	—	3	—	0
9	—	0	9	—	—	14	1	—	4	—	0
Total	79	70	Total	67	57	Total	78	70	Total	84	74

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21. FRONTO-PARIETAL			22. CEPHALO-FACIAL			23. ZYGOMATICO-FRONTAL			24. ZYGOMATICO-MANDIBULAR		
Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female	Index	Male	Female
55	0	—	80	—	—	60	0	—	65	0	1
6	0	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	6	0	0
7	0	—	2	—	—	2	1	—	7	0	0
8	1	—	3	—	—	3	0	—	8	3	1
9	0	—	4	1	3	4	0	—	9	0	2
60	1	1	85	0	4	65	1	0	70	3	1
1	1	1	6	0	3	6	2	1	1	3	0
2	1	3	7	2	2	7	4	1	2	2	4
3	4	4	8	2	9	8	7	1	3	4	3
4	10	1	9	3	7	9	4	0	4	5	5
65	12	8	90	7	10	70	6	3	75	3	13
6	7	10	1	3	9	1	13	8	6	19	14
7	8	14	2	8	11	2	11	6	7	8	5
8	10	10	3	13	5	3	12	8	8	10	6
9	7	7	4	13	3	4	6	10	9	6	5
70	8	1	95	14	5	75	1	9	80	7	6
1	3	4	6	5	2	6	6	5	1	2	1
2	4	0	7	7	1	7	2	7	2	1	1
3	1	1	8	3	0	8	1	2	3	3	2
4	2	1	9	0	0	9	3	1	4	0	0
75	0	1	100	1	—	80	0	1	85	2	—
6	2	0	1	0	—	1	0	2	6	0	—
7	1	1	2	2	—	2	0	1	7	0	—
6	0	1	3	0	—	3	2	1	8	1	—
9	1	2	4	0	—	4	0	1	9	1	—
80	—	2	Total	84	74	85	0	1	Total	83	70
1	—	1				6	0	0			
2	—	0				7	0	2			
3	—	0				8	0	1			
4	—	0				9	0	1			
Total	84	74				90	0	0			
						1	1	1			
						2	0	0			
						3	0	0			
						4	0	0			
						Total	84	74			

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25. FACIAL INDEX

Index	Male	Female
65	—	0
6	—	0
7	—	0
8	—	0
9	—	1
70	0	0
1	0	0
2	1	0
3	0	0
4	1	0
75	2	2
6	1	1
7	0	3
8	3	3
9	2	4
80	2	3
1	4	5
2	1	7
3	1	5
4	4	1
85	6	4
6	2	3
7	6	6
8	2	10
9	9	0
90	5	2
1	5	2
2	7	5
3	2	2
4	4	2
95	1	0
6	3	0
7	1	0
8	0	2
9	0	0
Total	77	73

26. NASAL INDEX

Index	Male	Female
60	0	1
1	0	0
2	0	0
3	1	0
4	0	0
65	0	0
6	1	1
7	0	0
8	1	0
9	0	1
70	0	1
1	1	3
2	2	0
3	1	0
4	4	4
75	3	2
6	5	4
7	4	3
8	9	5
9	5	4
80	3	4
1	4	2
2	4	1
3	4	2
4	3	1
85	3	2
6	5	5
7	2	2
8	6	4
9	2	1
90	1	3
1	0	3
2	0	0
3	0	3
4	2	2
95	0	3
6	3	1
7	0	0
8	2	3
9	0	0
100	1	1
1	0	0
2	0	1
3	0	0
4	0	0
105	0	0
6	0	0
7	1	0
8	0	1
Total	83	74

27. EAR INDEX

Index	Male	Female
35	0	—
6	0	—
7	0	—
8	1	1
9	0	1
40	4	0
1	1	0
2	4	3
3	1	7
4	2	0
45	4	4
6	8	4
7	5	2
8	11	11
9	8	2
50	6	3
1	5	5
2	7	7
3	4	5
4	2	7
55	4	1
6	1	4
7	3	4
8	1	2
9	1	0
60	0	—
1	0	—
2	0	—
3	0	—
4	1	—
Total	84	73

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE III.—SUMMARY OF ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS OF MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE 79 persons				FEMALE 73 persons			
	Average	S. D.	V	E[a]	Average	S. D.	V	E
141 1. Stature	170.3	5.12	3.00	.58	160.7	5.11	3.20	.60
2. Shoulder height	141.6	4.83	3.40	.55	133.7	4.97	3.70	.59
3. Arm length	79.6	4.12	5.17	.50	72.5	4.05	5.50	.54
4. Arm reach	176.7	7.05	4.00	.80	162.6	7.04	4.32	.84
5. Sitting height	87.4	4.54	5.20	.51	84.5	3.41	4.00	.41
6. Head length	193.2	7.00	3.60	.76	183.2	6.77	3.70	.79
7. Head width	153.2	4.87	3.20	.53	150.1	3.98	2.70	.46
8. Minimum frontal	103.2	5.19	5.00	.57	102.1	7.10	7.00	.82
9. Face width	143.2	4.88	3.40	.53	135.5	4.50	3.30	.52
10. Bigonial	109.5	5.23	4.80	.59	103.0	5.67	5.50	.68
11. Face height	124.1	7.30	5.80	.80	114.5	7.28	6.40	.85
12. Nose height	53.1	3.97	7.50	.43	48.6	4.40	9.00	.51
13. Nose width	43.2	2.70	6.20	.30	40.4	2.80	6.90	.33
14. Ear height	67.1	4.53	6.80	.49	62.7	5.99	9.60	.70
15. Ear width	32.7	3.05	9.30	.33	31.2	3.22	10.30	.37
16. Relative shoulder height	83.2	1.78	2.10	.20	83.0	1.58	1.90	.19
17. Relative sitting height	51.2	2.33	4.60	.26	52.6	2.03	3.90	.24
18. Relative arm length	46.8	2.17	4.63	.26	45.1	1.88	4.20	.25
19. Relative arm reach	103.8	3.00	2.90	.34	100.8	2.90	2.90	.35
20. Cephalic index	79.4	3.52	4.40	.38	82.0	3.66	4.50	.42
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.4	3.75	5.60	.41	68.0	4.50	6.60	.52
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.5	3.13	3.30	.34	90.3	3.08	3.40	.36
23. Zygomatico-frontal index	72.0	4.37	6.06	.48	75.2	5.06	6.70	.59
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.8	4.02	5.20	.44	75.9	3.32	4.40	.40
25. Facial index	87.0	6.17	7.10	.70	84.7	5.69	6.70	.67
26. Nasal index	81.9	7.75	9.50	.85	83.6	9.17	10.90	1.07
27. Ear index	48.9	4.82	9.90	.52	49.6	4.83	9.70	.56

[a] In this table E = probable error of the average. S. D. = standard deviation, and V = coefficient of variation in percentage.

TABLE VI. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

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CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	171.7	173.0	170.3	161.2	162.5	160.7
2. Head length	190.6	191.0	193.2	183.0	184.1	183.2
3. Head width	154.8	154.8	153.2	148.1	150.0	150.1
4. Minimum frontal	103.4	104.8	103.2	101.5	103.0	102.1
5. Face width	145.9	143.5	143.2	136.5	136.1	135.5
6. Bigonial diameter	104.6	104.8	109.5	99.0	99.2	103.0
7. Face height	131.1	128.2	124.1	121.1	124.1	114.5
8. Nose height	59.8	57.5	53.1	54.3	56.7	48.6
9. Nose width	43.8	44.4	43.2	41.2	41.9	40.4
10. Ear height	66.1	66.0	67.1	61.2	64.5	62.7
11. Ear width	35.2	34.5	32.7	33.6	33.4	31.2
12. Cephalic index	81.3	81.1	79.4	80.8	81.6	82.0
13. Fronto-parietal index	66.8	67.6	67.4	68.8	68.7	68.0
14. Cephalo-facial index	94.2	92.8	93.5	92.4	91.2	90.3
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	70.9	73.1	72.0	74.5	75.4	75.2
16. Zygomatico-mandibular	71.7	73.2	76.8	72.5	72.5	75.9
17. Facial index	89.9	89.2	87.0	89.8	90.8	84.7
18. Nasal index	73.6	77.6	81.9	76.3	74.2	83.6
19. Ear index	53.3	52.4	48.9	54.9	51.8	49.6

If the results may be taken at their face value the Marquesans are a much more glabrous people than either the Samoans or Tongans. While again allowances must be made for different observers it seems impossible that such large differences can be wholly explained in this way. Transverse nostrils are also more frequent in the Marquesas. On the other hand, the incisor rim is somewhat less frequent. [142]

In Table VI the anthropometric averages are given. The Marquesans are considerably shorter than the Tongans and a little shorter even than the Samoans. The average of this series is less than that given by Deniker. The Marquesan head is longer and narrower than the heads of the Samoans and Tongans, the face is narrower and lower. The bigonial diameter is much greater. The nose is slightly narrower but markedly lower. Such differences result of course in a slightly lower cephalic index (in the males only), a larger zygomatico-mandibular index, a smaller facial index, and a larger nasal index. Again, it is possible to account for these differences in part by differences in technique, but there will still be a residue that must be explained in another way.

In Table II attention has been called to the great irregularity in distribution. There is not only a great range but a most irregular distribution within that range. This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation recorded in Table VII and in Table VIII. The Marquesan males have a greater standard deviation than either the Samoan or Tongan in ten of nineteen

141 characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in two others they
144 exceed the Tongans. The excess in standard deviation for the females is in eleven of nineteen characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In both sexes the excess for facial index and nasal index is enormous. Practically the same excessive variability is revealed by the coefficients of variability. The Marquesan men have coefficients of variation greater than either the Samoans or Tongans in ten of nineteen characters. In five others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In the female series the excess of variation is even more accentuated. The Marquesan women are more variable than either the Samoans or Tongans in thirteen of nineteen characters and in five others they exceed the Samoans.

TABLE VII. COMPARISON OF THE STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	5.25	5.21	5.12	4.92	5.83	5.11
2. Head length	5.69	6.89	7.00	5.22	6.47	6.77
3. Head width	4.46	4.26	4.87	3.87	5.06	3.98
4. Minimum frontal	5.98	4.87	5.19	3.96	4.65	7.10
5. Face width	5.23	5.94	4.88	3.79	6.03	4.50
6. Bigonial	5.13	5.81	5.23	3.93	4.80	5.67
7. Face height	6.56	6.81	7.30	6.41	5.79	7.28
8. Nose height	3.64	3.91	3.97	4.53	3.75	4.40
9. Nose width	2.59	3.02	2.70	2.56	2.86	2.80
10. Ear height	4.23	4.57	4.53	3.33	3.97	5.99
11. Ear width	2.76	2.62	3.05	2.30	2.35	3.22
12. Cephalic index	3.53	3.14	3.52	2.98	4.09	3.66
13. Fronto-parietal index	3.30	3.51	3.75	3.12	3.22	4.50
14. Cephalo-facial index	2.84	4.68	3.13	2.63	3.23	3.08
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	3.55	4.23	4.37	3.34	3.33	5.06
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	3.84	4.56	4.02	3.50	3.57	3.32
17. Facial index	4.87	4.43	6.17	5.03	4.32	5.69
18. Nasal index	5.86	7.58	7.75	7.99	6.15	9.17
19. Ear index	3.79	3.93	4.82	4.53	3.93	4.83

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TABLE VIII. COMPARISON OF THE COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATION OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS (IN PERCENTAGE) 141 144

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	3.05	3.01	3.00	3.05	3.58	3.20
2. Head length	2.98	3.60	3.60	2.85	3.51	3.70
3. Head width	2.88	2.75	3.20	2.61	3.37	2.70
4. Minimum frontal	5.78	4.64	5.00	3.90	4.51	7.00
5. Face width	3.59	4.13	3.40	2.77	4.43	3.30
6. Bigonial	4.90	5.54	4.80	3.96	4.83	5.50
7. Face height	5.00	5.31	5.80	5.30	4.66	6.40
8. Nose height	6.09	6.80	7.50	8.34	6.61	9.00
9. Nose width	5.91	6.80	6.20	6.21	6.82	6.90
10. Ear height	6.39	6.92	6.80	5.44	6.15	9.60
11. Ear width	7.84	7.59	9.30	6.84	7.03	10.30
12. Cephalic index	4.34	3.87	4.40	3.68	5.01	4.50
13. Fronto-parietal index	4.94	5.19	5.60	4.54	4.68	6.60
14. Cephalo-facial index	3.01	5.04	3.30	2.84	3.54	3.40
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	5.01	5.78	6.06	4.49	4.41	6.70
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	5.42	6.22	5.20	4.83	4.92	4.40
17. Facial index	5.42	4.96	7.10	5.60	4.75	6.70
18. Nasal index	7.96	9.76	9.50	10.47	8.28	10.90
19. Ear index	7.11	7.50	9.90	8.25	7.58	9.70

TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)

CHARACTER	45 MALE 39		30 FEMALE 43	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
1. Stature	169.5	171.1	160.2	161.2
2. Shoulder height	142.2	141.7	134.5	133.1
3. Arm length	79.6	79.5	73.4	71.9
4. Sitting height	87.3	87.4	84.0	84.8
5. Arm reach	176.0	177.5	163.5	161.9
6. Head length	192.7	193.7	183.6	182.7
7. Head width	153.9	154.8	148.4	151.4
8. Minimum frontal	101.9	104.5	101.3	102.6
9. Face width	142.1	144.4	133.8	136.7
10. Bigonial	109.2	109.8	102.2	103.6
11. Face height	128.0	120.6	117.1	112.6
12. Nose height	53.8	52.2	50.6	47.3
13. Nose width	42.8	43.9	39.7	40.9
14. Ear height	67.1	67.0	62.9	62.5
15. Ear width	32.6	32.9	31.3	31.0
16. Relative shoulder height index	83.4	82.8	83.8	82.5
17. Relative arm length index	46.9	46.7	45.6	44.8

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TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)—CONTINUED

CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
18. Relative sitting height index	51.2	51.0	52.4	52.6
19. Relative arm reach index	103.8	103.8	101.5	100.3
20. Cephalic index	78.9	79.9	80.7	82.9
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.2	67.6	68.3	67.8
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.6	93.5	90.2	90.3
23. Zygomatico-frontal index	71.8	72.4	75.8	75.1
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.9	76.6	76.4	75.6
25. Facial index	90.2	83.5	87.6	82.4
26. Nasal index	80.1	84.2	78.7	87.2
27. Ear index	48.8	49.1	51.0	49.7

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TABLE X. COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II) (FREQUENCY IN PERCENTAGE)

CHARACTER	(44) MALE (38)		(31) FEMALE (43)	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
Hair form				
Straight	18.2	44.7	22.6	27.9
Low waves	43.2	18.5	45.2	27.9
Deep waves	9.1	2.6	9.7	13.9
Curly	29.5	23.7	16.1	23.3
Frizzly	0	10.5	6.4	4.7
Woolly	0	0	0	2.3
Axis of nostrils				
Antero-posterior	9.1	0	3.2	0
Oblique	54.5	46.2	54.9	23.8
Transverse	36.4	53.8	41.9	76.2
Keilodonty: Rim on mesial incisor				
Absent	45.0	80.8	68.2	81.3
Slight	32.5	11.5	22.7	12.5
Marked	22.5	7.7	9.1	6.2
Rim on lateral incisor				
Absent	50.0	80.8	71.5	87.9
Slight	31.0	11.5	19.0	12.1
Marked	19.0	7.7	9.5	0

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INTER-ISLAND DIFFERENCES

In the seriation tables and the tables of standard deviations and coefficients 141 of variation (Tables II, VII and VIII) there is evidence of non-homogeneity in 142x this series. Handy suggests from observation and a study of his records shows that there are possibly inter-island differences in physical type correlated with differences in culture. From his own observation Handy concludes that the people of the island of Ua Pou have larger and rounder heads and faces and straighter hair; while the people of Fatu Hiva and Hiva Oa have smaller, longer heads and curlier hair. In this opinion he was confirmed by a settler who had been resident in the islands for about twelve years. Since the series is so small it will be necessary to group the islands in order to get series of dependable size. On this point Handy again helps out with the statement that cultural and traditional evidence points to the possibility of two different subdivisions within the island groups. Some evidence (language for example) points to the grouping of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka in one group and Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva in the other. On [184] the other hand, other evidence (traditional, other linguistic, and also archaeological) groups the western half of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and the western half of Hiva Oa with Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva for one section and eastern Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and eastern Hiva Oa for the second section.

As the first grouping divides the material used for study into almost equal parts, it seems best to adopt it tentatively. Before dealing with the distribution of the differences it seems wise to determine the magnitude of these differences. The southeastern islands of Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa will be called for convenience Group I. The northwestern islands of Ua Pou, Ua Huku, and Nuku Hiva will be called Group II.

The results of such a grouping will be found in Table IX and Table X. In 141 Group I the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, the bigonial diameter is less, the face and also the nose is markedly higher, the nose is narrower, the relative shoulder height is greater, the cephalic index is smaller, the facial index is larger, and the nasal index is smaller. The other differences are contradictory in the two sexes. The results for hair form 142x are also somewhat doubtful and contradictory. In Group I the hair of the men is somewhat more wavy but for the women the reverse is true. In Group I the axes of the nostrils are more often antero-posterior and oblique; in Group II they are more often transverse. The incisor rim is likewise more frequent in Group I.

Fourteen different colors were given as approaching the skin color of the Marquesans. These colors were arranged into a series of increasing pigmentation. The lighest in color was numbered one, the darkest was given a value of fourteen.

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*142 In this way it is possible to give an index of pigmentation for each island or group of islands. The smaller the number is the lighter is the skin color. The results are given in Table XI.

TABLE XI. INDEX OF RELATIVE PIGMENTATION OF THE SKIN BY ISLANDS AND GROUPS OF ISLANDS[a]

Island	NUMBER		MALE		FEMALE	
	Male	Female	Unexposed	Exposed	Unexposed	Exposed
Fatu Hiva	12	1	7.1	9.0	7.5	4.5
Hiva Oa	33	29	6.2	6.1	5.2	6.3
Group I	45	31	6.9	6.9	5.3	6.2
Ua Pou	23	26	9.2	9.0	6.7	8.1
Ua Huku	7	10	10.9	9.4	9.0	8.7
Nuku Hiva	11	7	9.0	9.6	6.0	7.5
Group II	41	43	9.4	9.2	7.1	8.1
Total Group	86	74	7.8	8.0	6.4	7.3

The differences in pigmentation are very marked. The natives of Hiva Oa are the lightest while those of Ua Huku are darkest. All of the islands of Group I have a lower index of relative pigmentation than do the islands of Group II.

141 *142 The inter-island differences, in addition to the other signs of variability, are indicative of a non-homogeneous group. The variability is too great and the inter-island differences too far reaching to be accounted for by mere local peculiarities. There is every indication that more than one physical type is under consideration. Since it is unlikely that the two types are isolated in the islands selected as a basis of subdivision and that the averages given represent not the mean of two pure physical types, but the mean of two or more physical types mixed in different proportions in the two groups of islands, it is probable that if the two types can be more specifically isolated the differences between them will be increased.

[a] The smaller the number, the lighter is the skin color.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES IN THE MARQUESAS

On first impression it might seem that the inter-island differences could be /141 accepted as indicative of the characters of the two or more types in the islands. /142x But when it is recalled that it is unlikely that these types exist in any great degree of purity, it will be seen that the differences cannot be taken literally. They are, however, useful in indicating the promising mode of attack in reconstructing the two types. The most marked differences are in the facial and nasal indices with less marked differences in stature, minimum frontal, face width, face height, bigonial diameter, nasal height and nasal width, hair form, axes of nostrils, and the incisor rim. In order to reconstruct the different physical types in the islands it becomes necessary to know how these differences are correlated in the individual. In what manner does a tall individual differ from a short individual? What other characters are associated with a long head, a broad nose, or a particular type of hair form?

Characters Associated With Hair Form

Hair form is one of the most used criteria of race. If there is more than one type in the Marquesas it is important to know the characteristic hair forms of the different types. In order to determine what characters are associated with the different types of hair the material was subdivided into three groups. In Group I, have been placed all individuals with straight hair, in Group II all individuals with low waved hair, and in Group III all individuals with deeply waved, curly, or frizzly hair. If these types of hair form are merely normal variants around a median normal type and this group is a homogeneous racial group, selection on the basis of hair form should not affect the other characters. The averages of the characteristics of the straight-haired group should be the same or similar to those of the wavy-haired groups. If, on the other hand, the group is non-homogeneous and the different types of hair are indicative of different physical types, it is to be expected that the associated characteristics would be revealed in the averages. While hair form is specifically considered here, the same general principle with some slight modifications for correlated characters holds true for selection for other characters. (See p. 174.)

In Table XII and Table XIII the results of such hair form subdivision are given. On the whole the results are not very satisfactory. In some respects the results for the two sexes are so contradictory that it is impossible to know which series tells the truth. The only consistent differences that appear are as follows: in the straight-haired group the individuals are slightly shorter, their heads are larger, their bigonial diameters are less and their zygomatico-mandibular indices

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are less; in the low-waved group the noses are higher and narrower and the nasal indices smaller and the incisor rim has a lower frequency; in the deeply waved group the bigonial diameters are larger, the face heights are smaller, the noses are lower and wider, the zygomatico-mandibular indices are higher, and there are fewer antero-posteriorly placed nostrils. The most far-reaching differences seem to be associated with the deeply-waved and curly hair. But the results are still indefinite on many important characters. It is clear that further subdivision will be necessary.

TABLE XII. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE THREE HAIR-FORM GROUPS

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved
1. Stature	169.6	170.6	170.2	160.3	161.2	160.6
2. Shoulder height	140.9	142.4	141.2	132.4	134.4	133.8
3. Arm length	79.8	79.5	79.3	71.0	72.6	73.4
4. Sitting height	85.9	88.1	88.2	85.3	84.0	84.4
5. Arm reach	177.3	176.8	175.8	161.7	163.6	162.3
6. Head length	194.4	193.4	192.0	184.5	183.8	181.7
7. Head width	154.2	152.7	153.2	150.9	150.5	148.9
8. Minimum frontal	103.4	102.0	104.0	101.8	102.8	101.6
9. Face width	144.4	142.9	142.5	133.7	137.0	135.3
10. Bigonial	108.7	109.3	110.4	100.7	103.3	103.9
11. Face height	122.2	127.8	124.1	115.4	115.3	113.1
12. Nose height	52.9	53.8	52.4	48.2	49.7	47.9
13. Nose width	43.4	42.9	43.3	40.7	40.6	41.3
14. Ear height	68.0	67.4	65.6	63.6	61.6	63.0
15. Ear width	32.5	32.9	32.7	31.0	31.2	31.1
16. Relative shoulder height index	83.0	83.5	82.9	82.3	83.3	83.2
17. Relative arm length	47.3	46.7	46.6	44.4	45.2	45.5
18. Relative sitting height	50.4	51.6	51.7	53.2	52.2	52.7
19. Relative arm reach	104.6	103.6	103.3	100.7	100.9	100.7
20. Cephalic index	79.2	79.0	80.0	81.9	82.2	81.9
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.2	67.1	67.9	67.6	68.2	68.2
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.7	93.6	93.1	88.7	90.8	90.9
23. Zygomatic-frontal index	71.6	71.5	73.1	76.4	75.1	75.1
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	75.9	76.5	77.5	75.0	75.5	76.8
25. Facial index	84.8	89.9	86.9	85.9	84.6	83.8
26. Nasal index	82.4	80.4	83.2	84.8	81.8	84.5
27. Ear index	48.0	48.9	49.5	48.7	50.3	49.6

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE XIII. COMPARISON OF THE ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE THREE HAIR FORM GROUPS (DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGE) 142x

	MALE			FEMALE		
	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved	Straight	Low Waved	Deep Waved
Direction of nostrils						
Antero-posterior	4.0	11.5	0	0	0	0
Oblique	40.0	61.5	50.0	36.8	60.0	20.7
Transverse	56.0	27.0	50.0	63.2	40.0	79.3
Keilodonty; enamel rim on lateral incisor						
Absent	55.6	74.0	53.8	81.3	86.6	78.3
Slight	33.3	13.0	26.9	12.5	6.7	21.7
Marked	11.1	13.0	19.3	6.2	6.7	0
Mesial incisor						
Absent	55.6	71.5	50.0	75.0	80.0	69.6
Slight	33.3	9.5	30.8	12.5	6.7	26.1
Marked	11.1	19.0	19.2	12.5	13.3	4.3

TABLE XIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 TALLEST MEN 141 142x

Catalog number	Stature	Minimum frontal	Face width	Bigonial	Face height	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment check [a]
156	174	98	143	110	122	78.4	96.0	84.1	80.7	7	10
98	174	105	145	110	130	80.2	91.8	89.7	84.9	11	11
85	174	112	147	105	115	80.2	93.0	78.2	88.7	12	10
46	174	105	148	106	129	83.0	98.0	87.2	88.2	10	12
174	174	106	144	114	126	79.3	94.1	87.5	74.5	5	5
110	174	93	150	114	118	85.5	84.3	78.7	74.6	13	10
11	175	100	143	110	127	79.5	92.3	88.8	83.0	11	11
45	175	106	149	105	126	82.5	93.1	84.6	87.8	10	12
122	175	107	140	95	132	76.1	91.5	94.3	95.7	10	10
94	175	104	146	115	129	76.5	95.4	88.4	77.2	4	6
40	176	100	146	111	.....	75.9	94.8	.....	77.6	10	9
195	176	99	145	110	126	77.6	95.4	86.9	82.7	9	6
78	176	102	140	108	133	80.7	88.0	95.0	.....	10	10
36	176	99	140	.....	124	81.0	91.5	88.6	78.2	7	11
152	177	102	147	117	127	83.9	94.2	86.4	70.9	3	5
200	178	95	147	110	131	78.0	94.2	89.1	80.7	6	4
77	178	104	133	108	.....	81.0	.....	.....	78.4	12	6
9	178	105	146	113	110	82.2	90.1	75.3	88.5	11	11
68	178	111	146	111	118	79.0	94.8	80.8	93.9	10	6
17	178	100	148	114	132	77.5	95.5	89.2	75.9	12	11
201	179	105	145	115	133	76.5	94.8	91.7	69.9	8	7
166	180	103	143	110	131	80.8	94.1	91.6	77.4	10	11
27	184	113	152	115	120	86.3	92.7	79.0	86.0	12	10
Averages		103.2	144.9	110.3	125.7	80.1	93.6	86.4	81.3	9.2	8.8
Average of total series		103.2	143.2	109.5	124.1	79.4	93.5	87.0	81.9	7.8	8.0

[a] The pigment number given in this and the following column is the relative pigment of the total series. The number ranges from 1 to 14. Number 1 is the lightest and number 14 is the darkest.

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TABLE XV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 TALLEST WOMEN

Catalog number	Stature	Minimum frontal	Face width	Bigonial	Face height	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
61	164	102	141	107	116	83.1	92.8	82.3	93.5	7	10
64	165	103	138	100	121	82.5	88.5	87.7	78.4	5	5
67	165	105	137	103	123	83.1	90.1	89.8	71.2	7	6
102	165	100	138	104	112	73.8	95.8	81.2	90.2	6	6
51	165	91	138	101	110	81.3	93.2	79.7	88.4	6	10
181	165	95	135	103	104	86.0	91.8	77.0	89.1	4	6
117	166	102	142	114	123	80.2	97.3	87.2	88.0	9	10
87	166	124	149	110	124	83.5	94.9	83.2	77.4	4	7
33	166	103	134	101	117	83.9	88.7	87.3	93.8	11	10
38	166	101	142	106	110	81.2	91.0	77.5	93.3	6	9
161	166	103	138	105	121	83.5	87.9	87.7	70.4	5	4
145	166	102	136	100	125	79.1	91.9	91.9	70.6	5	5
59	167	105	141	92	133	81.0	81.6	94.3	90.9	4	10
48	167	100	134	102	117	81.4	89.9	87.3	80.0	10	11
160	168	113	138	110	117	77.0	93.9	84.8	78.4	4	10
91	169	113	135	105	113	81.8	88.2	83.7	88.2	4	6
63	169	101	139	108	122	80.5	93.3	87.8	97.6	5	10
171	169	100	135	93	111	78.5	92.5	82.2	69.2	4	6
49	170	105	134	100	117	75.0	91.2	87.3	95.4	10	7
151	174	104	137	106	117	79.2	90.1	85.4	78.4	4	5
Average		103.6	138.0	103.5	117.6	80.8	91.7	85.3	84.1	6.0	7.6
Average of total series		102.1	135.5	103.0	114.5	82.0	90.3	84.7	83.6	6.4	7.3

TABLE XVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 SHORTEST MEN

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
111	161	79.6	98.1	76.5	87.5	5	10
119	161	77.0	95.8	87.0	87.5	12	12
129	162	77.3	94.4	89.6	75.9	4	6
62	162	86.1	93.6	80.7	94.0	7	12
146	162	74.1	93.0	93.2	75.9	6	6
14	163	82.4	95.3	83.9	72.7	10	9
120	163	76.6	97.4	80.0	75.9	12	12
173	163	87.8	86.7	86.0	77.4	10	6
116	163	84.5	91.5	85.0	89.6	6	4
41	163	78.4	95.3	77.5	78.8	10	10

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TABLE XVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 SHORTEST MEN—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
193	164	85.4	90.1	92.0	87.8	6	6
125	164	81.9	89.0	.....	84.0	7	10
66	164	76.7	92.3	82.5	85.4	12	10
183	165	80.1	94.6	90.1	96.1	4	5
199	165	77.4	97.4	79.6	86.0	4	7
169	166	84.3	90.4	92.2	75.5	4	5
158	166	82.0	91.3	95.6	72.1	4	6
123	166	77.3	92.8	87.3	100.0	10	10
86	166	77.5	83.9	89.2	86.0	4	4
57	166	81.6	96.8	74.0	80.8	10	9
177	166	76.3	92.0	89.0	81.1	10	6
Average		80.2	92.9	85.5	83.3	7.5	7.9
Average total series		79.4	93.5	87.0	81.9	7.8	8.0

TABLE XVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 SHORTEST WOMEN

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Cephalo-facial index	Facial index	Nasal index	Relative pigment arm	Relative pigment cheek
92	147	87.9	86.9	88.0	91.3	11	11
182	150	75.3	90.7	92.9	81.2	4	5
108	151	84.2	91.3	76.5	79.2	4	6
185	152	82.0	93.3	82.1	93.0	4	6
138	152	83.6	89.9	92.5	73.7	5	5
99	154	80.6	88.0	78.8	85.7	7	6
155	154	85.6	89.3	82.7	83.3	5	6
112	155	82.7	85.0	84.6	90.9	4	7
4	155	86.9	84.3	81.4	85.7	11	9
187	155	78.5	88.4	91.5	65.5	5	5
50	156	80.3	95.9	71.6	100.0	10	9
32	156	83.3	91.7	77.4	79.2	10	10
7	156	80.0	88.6	86.4	78.4	10	12
180	156	80.0	85.5	90.0	82.6	5	5
140	156	80.0	94.6	82.9	80.4	5	5
80	157	86.1	87.7	86.8	76.9	6	10
37	157	88.2	90.0	77.8	93.0	11	11
13	157	85.0	86.9	85.7	74.5	10	9
82	157	83.3	90.7	82.4	80.0	6	4
126	157	80.7	89.8	87.9	76.0	10	4
Average		82.7	89.4	83.9	82.5	7.1	6.8
Average total series		82.0	90.3	84.7	83.6	6.4	7.3

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TABLE XVIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF STATURE GROUPS

	MEN			WOMEN		
	23 Tallest	Total	21 Shortest	20 Tallest	Total	20 Shortest
Cephalic index	80.1	79.4	80.2	80.8	82.0	82.7
Cephalo-facial index	93.6	93.5	92.9	91.7	90.3	89.4
Facial index	86.4	87.0	85.5	85.3	84.7	83.9
Nasal index	81.3	81.9	83.3	84.1	83.6	82.5
Arm pigment	9.2	7.8	7.5	6.0	6.4	7.1
Cheek pigment	8.8	8.0	7.9	7.6	7.3	6.8

Characters Associated with Stature

The Polynesians are always cited as among the tallest races of man. Their physique is extolled in all books of travel and early exploration. For this reason it is of special interest to know what other characters occur in association with tall stature. Likewise it will be of interest to know what characters are associated with short stature. I have selected a sufficiently large number of the tallest and shortest individuals to give some approach to a reliable or significant average and listed their characteristics in Tables XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII. But the averages are based upon such small numbers that the characters of the individuals must be studied as well as the averages. One or two extremes might nullify the conclusions based on averages. As is to be expected, the tall men and women have greater absolute diameters such as face width and bigonial diameter. This is a natural normal correlation in all races of man and is not in itself indicative of racial heterogeneity. There is, however, no very great correlation between stature and the indices and proportions or between stature and the attribute characters in a homogeneous race group.

The characters associated with tall stature are very variable, especially in the women. In the male series the tallest men are markedly variable, but show a somewhat greater tendency to approach one type. A large number have heads somewhat longer than the average, a high facial index, and a small nasal index and with these characters is associated a lighter skin. But in the averages the other individuals in the series hide this fact. The average shows the men to have somewhat shorter heads than the total series, but longer than those of the shortest men. The cephalo-facial index is higher, the facial index is smaller, but somewhat greater than that of the shortest men, the nasal index is smaller and the skin slightly darker. The women have longer heads, higher faces, but wider noses than the total series. On the whole there does not seem to be a very close correlation between tall stature and the other characteristics studied.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In the series of shortest individuals the results are somewhat more clear and are in closer agreement in the two sexes. In a large number of individuals of both sexes short stature seems to be associated with short heads, smaller cephalo-facial indices, and lower faces. The nose character and pigmentation are different in the two sexes. Again, while the results indicate the non-homogeneity of the series, they do not show clearly just what in detail are the characteristics of the different types.

TABLE XIX. CHARACTERISTICS OF 18 MEN WITH THE LONGEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form [a]	Amount of hair [b]	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
190	72.4	.....	91.2	75.4	1	3	6	4
109	72.4	169	83.9	83.6	4	6	10	12
141	72.9	172	92.5	78.2	1	4	11	6
134	73.4	171	96.6	81.5	2	1	6	6
146	74.1	162	93.2	75.9	2	3	6	6
65	74.3	172	84.8	84.6	1	3	10	7
170	74.4	168	87.1	80.4	2	5	4	4
5	74.5	171	84.9	78.8	4	1	11	10
100	75.1	170	91.8	76.9	1	2	11	10
147	75.6	170	84.8	86.0	4	10	4	6
154	75.9	.....	88.9	78.4	4	2	4	4
40	75.9	176	.....	77.6	1	15	10	9
122	76.1	175	94.3	95.7	2	2	10	10
118	76.2	169	88.6	89.4	4	5	4	10
177	76.3	166	89.0	81.1	3	6	10	6
12	76.4	173	82.0	82.7	1	1	6	7
201	76.5	179	91.7	62.9	2	2	8	7
94	76.5	175	88.4	77.2	2	3	4	6
Average		171.1	89.0	80.3	2.3	4.1	7.5	7.2
Average total series		170.3	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

[a] Hair form is numbered consecutively from straight to woolly. A value of 1 is given to straight hair, 2 to low-waved hair, etc. The smaller the number, the straighter the hair or vice versa.

[b] The hair is numbered in accordance with its abundance: none = 0, slight = 1, medium = 2, abundant = 3. It was observed in six places. The number in this column is the total of the observations. It may be as high as 18 in an individual.

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TABLE XX. CHARACTERISTICS OF 17 WOMEN WITH LONGEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
102	73.8	165	81.2	90.2	4	6	6
49	75.0	170	87.3	95.4	1	10	7
182	75.3	150	92.9	81.2	3	4	5
127	76.0	159	90.8	90.2	2	4	7
172	76.8	160	94.2	77.4	2	5	5
26	76.9	163	75.4	90.0	1	10	9
160	77.0	168	84.8	78.4	4	4	10
81	77.1	163	87.7	84.0	1	4	6
75	77.3	163	80.9	97.6	2	4	5
139	78.1	—	86.6	75.0	4	6	6
171	78.5	169	82.2	69.2	2	6	6
15	79.0	160	88.3	79.6	2	4	11
145	79.1	166	91.9	70.6	1	5	5
149	79.1	164	86.4	87.0	1	6	6
178	79.2	160	93.2	75.5	3	6	6
151	79.2	174	85.4	78.4	2	4	5
110	79.4	159	84.7	76.0	4	6	6
Average		163.3	86.7	82.1	2.3	5.5	6.5
Average of total series		160.7	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 22 MEN WITH THE SHORTEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
159	81.6	172	84.1	68.4	3	2	4	6
57	81.6	166	74.0	80.8	2	11	10	9
28	81.8	173	75.3	97.8	3	2	11	11
125	81.9	164	85.4	84.0	1	6	7	10
168	81.9	170	92.1	71.9	2	4	5	6
158	82.0	166	95.6	72.1	3	3	4	6
29	82.1	166	85.2	82.0	1	2	10	10
9	82.2	178	75.3	88.5	1	0	11	11
14	82.4	163	83.9	72.7	1	11	10	9
45	82.5	175	84.6	87.8	1	1	10	12
46	83.0	174	87.2	88.2	5	4	10	12
152	83.9	177	86.4	70.9	2	6	3	5
107	84.0	172	85.2	62.4	4	3	11	10
169	84.3	166	92.2	75.5	4	4	4	5
116	84.5	163	85.0	89.6	1	3	6	4
193	85.4	164	92.0	87.8	2	0	6	6
110	85.5	174	78.7	74.6	2	0	13	12
2	85.6	173	81.4	97.8	4	3	11	9
62	86.1	162	80.7	94.0	1	1	7	12
27	86.3	184	79.0	86.0	4	2	12	10
179	87.1	167	85.4	79.6	4	2	4	4
173	87.8	163	86.0	77.4	2	4	10	6
Average		169.7	84.3	82.2	2.4	3.4	8.1	8.4
Average of total series		170.3	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

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TABLE XXII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 19 WOMEN WITH THE SHORTEST HEADS

Catalog number	Cephalic index	Stature	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
136	84.8	160	87.7	79.2	2	4	6
13	85.0	157	85.7	74.5	3	10	10
155	85.6	154	82.7	85.3	2	5	6
1	85.6	160	79.8	87.5	1	11	9
30	86.0	160	80.2	85.7	4	4	6
3	86.0	161	82.9	85.7	1	4	9
181	86.0	165	77.0	89.1	2	4	6
22	86.1	159	81.8	95.4	1	6	10
80	86.1	157	86.8	76.9	3	6	10
44	86.9	158	77.5	95.1	3	10	7
4	86.9	156	81.4	85.7	1	11	9
68	87.2	161	75.4	107.7	5	10	9
6	87.4	158	77.4	85.1	2	9	10
150	87.4	158	88.5	74.5	2	1	2
92	87.9	147	88.0	91.3	1	11	11
21	88.2	161	68.7	86.4	6	10	10
37	88.2	167	77.8	93.0	3	11	11
19	88.7	164	79.2	75.0	2	10	9
97	91.3	160	80.6	80.8	2	10	9
Average		158.6	81.0	85.9	2.4	7.7	7.8
Average of total series		160.7	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF HEAD FORM GROUPS

	18 MEN			WOMEN		
	Longest heads	Total series	Shortest heads	Longest heads	Total series	Shortest heads
Stature	171.1	170.3	169.7	163.3	160.7	158.6
Facial index	89.0	87.0	84.3	86.7	84.7	81.0
Nasal index	80.3	81.9	82.2	82.1	83.6	85.9
Hair form	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.4
Amount of hair	4.1	5.3	3.4	—	—	—
Arm pigment	7.5	7.8	8.1	5.5	6.4	7.7
Cheek pigment	7.2	8.0	8.4	6.5	7.3	7.8

Characters Associated with Head Form

The cephalic index of Marquesans ranges from 72 to 91. This range of 20 points is rather high, but most of the individuals fall between 76 and 82 in the male series and between 77 and 84 in the female series. Extremely long heads and extremely short heads are of rare occurrence.

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141 In Tables XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, and XXIII the men and women with the
x 142 longest and shortest heads, respectively, are listed. This division in the main is very satisfactory. With the long heads there are associated in a very large number of individuals tall stature, high faces, narrow noses, straight hair, an abundance of beard and body hair, and a lighter skin color. This holds true for both sexes. Number 102 (Table XXVII) comes nearer to the Melanesian type, but it is the most outstanding exception to the above generalization.

In the short-headed series the results are not quite so satisfactory so far as the individuals making up the series are concerned. Many short heads are associated with short stature, low faces, broader noses, more wavy hair, less beard and body hair, and a darker skin color. There are a few exceptions to the rule that are worthy of further study. In the female series Numbers 136, 13, 80, 150, and 19, and in the male series Numbers 159, 158, 152, 169, 110, 179, 173 have very short heads but high or medium faces with very narrow noses. In many ways, with the exception of head form, they approach the characteristics of those individuals having the longest heads. They have a light skin. They are either individuals of the same type with deformed heads or represent a different type with some characteristics in common. A large proportion of these persons have hair much more wavy than the average. But in addition to these exceptional individuals we have the long list of characteristics associated with the longest and the shortest heads mentioned above. From these it is clear that the face form and nose form are the most promising remaining bases of subdivision.

Characteristics Associated with Face Form

The facial index has an enormous range of 30 points. In Tables XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII are listed the individuals with the highest and lowest faces respectively. The results of such subdivisions or groupings are very satisfactory. The two sex series agree in associating longer heads, narrower noses, more beard and body hair and a lighter skin color with the higher facial indices. This is true of the individuals as well as of the average. It is not quite as clear what type of stature or hair form is associated with the higher faces since the results differ in the two sexes.

The characters associated with a low face are short stature, shorter heads, wider noses, less beard and body hair and darker skin. But here again the hair form associated with a low face is not clearly distinctive. If we accept the women as a criterion wavy hair is associated with a low face, while a high face is associated with straighter hair.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TABLE XXIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 MEN WITH THE HIGHEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form [a]	Amount of hair [b]	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
88	90.7	169	81.2	79.3	4	12	4	6
176	91.0	168	81.4	73.7	4	5	4	5
190	91.2	-----	72.4	75.4	1	3	6	4
189	91.3	169	81.3	84.3	4	5	4	4
143	91.4	-----	77.7	73.7	3	11	5	5
166	91.6	180	80.8	77.4	4	8	10	11
201	91.7	179	76.5	62.9	2	2	8	7
100	91.8	170	75.1	76.9	1	2	11	10
193	92.0	164	85.4	87.8	2	0	6	6
168	92.1	170	81.9	71.9	2	4	4	6
16	92.1	170	78.4	78.8	2	3	----	----
169	92.2	166	84.3	75.5	4	4	4	5
141	92.5	172	72.9	78.2	1	4	1	6
146	93.2	162	74.1	75.9	2	3	6	6
121	93.5	169	78.3	74.6	2	6	4	11
122	94.3	175	76.1	95.7	2	2	10	10
104	94.4	173	81.4	80.0	4	18	4	6
184	94.5	173	81.4	78.7	4	14	4	5
78	95.0	176	80.7	-----	1	6	10	10
158	95.6	166	82.0	72.1	3	3	4	6
198	95.7	168	79.5	66.1	1	10	5	6
186	96.5	173	79.0	74.1	2	1	4	6
134	96.6	171	73.4	81.5	2	1	6	6
Average		170.6	78.9	77.0	2.5	5.5	5.6	6.2
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

[a] Hair form is given a numerical value. 1 = straight, 2 = low waves, 3 = deep waves, 4 = curly, 5 = frizzly, 6 = woolly. These are averaged at the bottom, the larger the number the more wavy the hair.

[b] The amount of beard and body hair is given a numerical value. 0 = absent, 1 = sparse, 2 = medium, 3 = heavy. Since it was observed on six different places a very hairy individual would have a total of 18. The values are averaged the same as the value for pigmentation. The results of this process are not satisfactory, as a few extreme individuals have a great weight in determining the average.

TABLE XXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF 25 WOMEN WITH HIGHEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
161	87.7	166	83.5	70.4	2	5	4
136	87.7	160	84.8	79.2	2	4	6
81	87.7	163	77.1	84.0	1	4	6
64	87.7	165	82.5	78.4	1	5	5
63	87.8	169	80.5	97.6	4	4	10
126	87.9	157	80.7	76.0	4	10	4
92	88.0	147	87.9	91.3	1	11	11
192	88.1	164	80.2	75.5	4	5	6
15	88.3	160	79.0	79.8	2	4	11
150	88.5	158	87.4	74.5	2	1	2
67	89.8	165	83.1	71.2	1	7	6

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TABLE XXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF 25 WOMEN WITH HIGHEST FACES—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
180	90.0	156	80.0	82.6	1	5	5
127	90.8	159	76.0	90.2	2	4	7
95	91.3	160	81.6	84.8	1	4	9
187	91.5	155	78.5	65.5	2	5	5
196	91.7	163	81.7	71.4	3	6	4
145	91.9	166	79.1	70.6	1	5	5
148	92.3	162	83.4	60.4	5	10	6
138	92.5	152	83.6	73.7	1	5	5
182	92.9	150	75.3	81.2	3	4	5
178	93.2	160	79.2	75.5	3	6	6
172	94.2	160	76.8	77.4	2	5	5
59	94.3	167	81.0	90.9	2	4	10
188	97.7	158	81.4	79.2	5	4	4
142	97.7	158	80.0	78.0	2	4	5
Average		160.0	80.9	78.3	2.3	5.2	6.1
Average of toatl series		160.7	82.0	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 19 MEN WITH LOWEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
55	72.0	167	79.7	107.1	5	2	12	10
57	74.0	166	81.6	80.8	2	11	10	9
28	75.3	173	81.8	97.8	3	2	11	9
9	75.3	178	82.2	88.5	1	0	11	11
111	76.6	161	79.6	87.6	1	6	5	10
41	77.5	172	80.8	77.8	1	1	10	10
41	77.5	163	78.4	78.8	1	6	10	10
89	78.2	174	80.2	89.7	4	6	12	10
110	78.7	174	85.5	74.6	2	0	13	10
27	79.0	184	86.3	86.0	4	2	12	10
199	79.6	165	77.4	86.0	1	12	4	7
120	80.0	163	76.6	75.9	1	5	12	12
62	80.7	162	86.1	94.0	1	1	7	12
68	80.8	178	79.0	93.2	2	2	10	6
31	81.1	171	80.0	87.0	1	15	10	10
2	81.4	173	85.6	97.8	4	3	11	9
12	82.0	173	76.4	82.7	1	1	6	7
66	82.5	184	76.7	85.4	5	9	12	10
23	83.2	167	78.2	78.4	5	12	11	7
Average		169.9	80.7	86.8	2.4	5.0	9.9	9.4
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	81.9	2.4	6.3	7.8	8.0

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TABLE XXVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 24 WOMEN WITH THE LOWEST FACES

Catalog number	Facial index	Stature	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
50	68.7	156	80.3	100.0	4	10	9
26	71.6	163	76.9	90.0	1	10	9
68	75.4	161	87.2	107.7	5	10	9
21	75.4	161	88.2	86.4	6	10	10
108	76.5	151	84.2	79.2	2	4	6
181	77.0	165	86.0	89.1	2	4	6
39	77.2	164	83.6	102.4	3	4	10
6	77.4	158	87.4	85.1	2	9	10
32	77.4	156	83.3	79.2	4	10	10
44	77.5	158	86.9	95.1	3	10	7
38	77.5	166	81.2	93.3	2	6	9
37	77.8	157	88.2	93.0	3	11	11
92	76.8	154	80.6	85.7	5	7	6
133	78.9	161	81.1	73.6	2	5	6
71	79.1	162	82.4	96.6	3	4	4
19	79.2	164	88.7	75.0	2	10	9
51	79.7	165	81.3	88.4	2	6	10
1	79.8	160	85.6	87.5	1	11	9
30	80.2	160	86.0	85.7	4	4	6
97	80.6	160	91.3	80.8	2	10	9
75	80.9	163	77.3	97.8	2	4	5
35	81.1	161	81.2	97.7	1	6	10
102	81.2	165	73.8	90.2	4	6	6
4	81.4	156	88.9	85.7	1	11	9
Average		160.3	83.7	89.5	2.8	7.6	8.1
Average of total series		160.7	82.0	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXVIII. AVERAGE OF CHARACTERISTICS OF FACE FORM GROUPS

	23	MEN	19	25	WOMEN	24
	Highest faces	Total series	Lowest faces	Highest faces	Total series	Lowest faces
Stature	170.6	170.3	169.9	160.0	160.7	160.3
Cephalic index	78.9	79.4	80.7	80.9	82.0	83.7
Nasal index	77.0	81.9	86.8	78.3	83.6	89.3
Hair form	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8
Hair amount	5.5	5.3	5.0	—	—	—
Arm pigment	5.6	7.8	9.9	5.2	6.4	7.6
Cheek pigment	6.2	8.0	9.4	6.1	7.3	8.1

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Characters Associated with Nose Form

141 X142 Nose form is the most variable of all the characters. It ranges from an index of 60 to one of 108. In other words there is here in one series the greater part of the entire range of the nasal index. An inspection of Tables XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII will show that the narrowest noses are associated with taller stature, slightly longer heads, higher faces, more beard and body hair and a lighter skin color.

The widest noses are associated with shorter stature, shorter heads, lower faces, less body hair, and a darker skin color. Hair form is again uncertain.

TABLE XXIX. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 23 MEN WITH THE NARROWEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
201	62.9	179	76.5	91.7	2	2	8	7
198	66.1	168	79.5	95.7	1	10	5	6
159	68.4	172	81.6	84.1	3	2	4	6
152	70.9	177	83.9	86.4	2	6	3	5
168	71.9	170	81.9	92.1	2	4	5	6
158	72.1	166	82.0	95.6	3	3	4	6
14	72.7	163	82.4	83.9	1	11	10	9
176	73.7	168	81.4	91.0	4	5	4	5
143	73.7	——	77.7	91.4	3	11	5	5
186	74.1	173	79.0	96.5	2	1	4	6
174	74.5	174	79.3	87.5	2	4	5	5
121	74.6	169	78.3	93.5	2	6	4	11
110	74.6	174	85.5	78.7	2	0	13	10
190	75.4	——	72.4	91.2	1	3	6	4
169	75.5	166	84.3	92.2	4	4	4	5
146	75.9	162	74.1	93.2	2	3	6	6
120	75.9	163	76.6	80.0	1	5	12	12
129	75.9	162	77.3	89.6	2	15	4	6
17	75.9	178	77.5	89.2	2	2	12	11
100	76.9	170	75.1	91.8	1	2	11	10
94	77.2	175	76.5	88.4	2	3	4	6
166	77.4	180	80.8	91.6	4	8	10	11
173	77.4	163	87.8	86.0	2	4	10	6
Average		170.0	79.6	89.6	2.2	4.9	6.6	7.1
Average total series		170.3	79.4	87.0	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TABLE XXX. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 20 WOMEN WITH THE NARROWEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
148	60.4	162	83.4	92.3	5	10	6
187	65.5	155	78.5	91.5	2	5	5
171	69.2	169	78.5	82.2	2	6	6
161	70.4	168	83.5	87.7	2	5	4
145	70.6	166	79.1	91.9	1	5	5
67	71.2	165	83.1	89.8	1	7	6
196	71.4	163	81.7	91.7	3	6	4
133	73.6	161	81.1	78.9	2	5	6
138	73.7	152	83.6	92.5	1	5	5
150	74.5	158	87.4	88.5	2	1	2
13	74.5	157	85.0	85.7	3	10	9
19	75.0	164	88.7	79.2	2	10	4
139	75.0	.....	78.1	86.6	4	6	6
178	75.5	160	79.2	93.2	3	6	6
192	75.5	164	80.2	88.1	4	5	6
110	76.0	159	79.4	84.7	4	6	6
126	76.0	157	80.7	87.9	4	10	4
80	76.9	157	86.1	86.8	3	6	10
172	77.4	160	76.8	94.2	2	5	5
87	77.4	166	83.5	83.2	2	4	7
Average		161.1	81.9	87.8	2.6	6.1	5.6
Average total series		160.7	82.0	84.7	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 25 MEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
165	85.7	167	80.8	89.3	4	2	7	6
199	86.0	165	77.4	79.6	1	12	4	7
86	86.0	166	77.5	89.2	4	2	4	4
147	86.0	170	75.6	84.8	4	10	4	6
27	86.0	184	86.3	79.0	4	2	12	10
31	87.0	171	80.0	81.1	1	14	10	10
54	87.0	172	79.7	87.2	1	8	10	9
119	87.5	161	77.0	87.0	2	7	12	12
111	87.5	161	79.3	76.5	1	6	5	10
193	87.8	164	85.4	92.0	2	0	6	6
45	87.8	175	82.5	84.6	1	1	10	12
46	88.2	174	83.0	87.2	5	4	10	12
9	88.5	178	82.2	75.3	1	0	11	11
89	88.7	174	80.2	78.2	4	6	12	10
118	89.4	169	76.2	88.6	4	5	4	10
116	89.8	163	84.5	85.0	1	3	6	4
68	93.9	173	79.0	80.3	2	2	10	6

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TABLE XXXI. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 25 MEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES—CONTINUED

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
62	94.0	162	86.1	80.7	1	1	7	12
122	95.7	175	76.1	94.3	2	2	10	10
164	95.9	167	77.0	90.5	4	3	4	6
183	96.1	165	80.1	90.1	2	2	4	5
28	97.8	173	81.8	75.3	3	2	11	9
2	97.8	173	85.8	81.4	4	3	11	9
123	100.0	166	77.3	87.3	2	2	10	10
55	107.1	167	79.7	72.0	5	2	12	10
Average		169.6	80.4	83.9	2.6	4.0	8.2	8.6
Average of total series		170.3	79.4	87.0	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXXII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 21 WOMEN WITH THE WIDEST NOSES

Catalog number	Nasal index	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
26	90.0	163	76.9	75.4	1	10	9
127	90.2	159	76.0	90.8	2	4	7
102	90.2	165	73.8	81.2	4	6	6
59	90.9	167	81.0	94.3	2	4	10
112	90.9	155	82.7	84.6	1	4	7
92	91.3	147	87.9	88.0	1	11	11
185	93.0	152	82.0	82.1	2	4	6
37	93.0	157	88.2	77.8	3	11	11
38	93.3	166	81.2	77.5	2	6	9
61	93.5	165	83.1	82.3	2	7	10
33	93.8	166	83.9	87.3	4	11	10
49	95.4	170	75.0	87.3	1	10	7
22	95.4	159	86.1	81.8	1	6	10
44	95.1	158	86.9	77.5	3	10	7
71	95.6	162	82.4	79.1	5	4	9
63	97.6	169	80.5	87.8	4	4	10
75	97.6	163	77.3	80.9	2	4	5
35	97.7	161	81.2	81.1	1	6	10
50	100.0	156	80.3	71.6	4	10	9
39	102.4	164	83.5	77.2	3	4	10
68	107.7	161	87.2	75.4	5	10	9
Average		161.1	81.8	82.0	2.5	7.0	8.6
Average of total series		160.7	82.0	84.7	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOSE FORM GROUPS

	23 MEN		25	WOMEN		
	Narrowest noses	Total group	Widest noses	Narrowest noses	Total group	Widest noses
Stature	170.0	170.3	169.6	161.1	160.7	161.1
Cephalic index	79.6	79.4	80.4	81.9	82.0	81.8
Facial index	89.6	87.0	83.9	87.8	84.7	82.9
Hair form	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5
Hair amount	4.9	5.3	4.0	—	—	—
Arm pigment	6.6	7.8	8.2	6.1	6.4	7.0
Cheek pigment	7.1	8.0	8.6	5.6	7.3	8.6

TABLE XXXIV. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN WITH MARKED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH 141 142x

Catalog pigment	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
198	168	79.5	95.7	66.1	1	10	5	6
176	168	81.4	91.0	73.7	4	5	4	5
195	176	77.6	86.9	82.7	1	2	9	6
154	—	75.9	88.9	78.4	4	2	4	4
174	174	79.3	87.5	74.5	2	4	5	5
183	165	80.1	90.1	96.1	2	2	4	5
184	173	81.4	94.5	78.7	4	14	4	5
121	169	78.3	93.5	74.6	2	6	4	11
28	173	81.8	75.3	97.8	3	2	11	9
2	173	85.6	81.4	97.8	4	3	11	9
Average	170.6	80.1	88.5	82.0	2.7	5.0	6.1	6.4
Average of total series	170.3	79.4	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

TABLE XXXV. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN WITH SLIGHTLY DEVELOPED RIM ON INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Hair amount	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
158	166	82.0	95.6	72.1	3	3	4	6
141	172	72.9	92.5	78.2	1	4	11	6
143	—	77.7	91.4	73.7	3	11	5	5
189	169	81.3	91.3	84.3	4	5	4	4
191	169	79.9	85.0	82.8	2	6	4	6
179	167	87.1	85.4	79.6	4	2	4	4
159	172	81.6	84.1	68.4	3	2	4	6
125	164	81.9	85.4	84.0	1	6	6	10
165	167	80.8	89.3	85.7	4	2	7	6
164	167	77.0	90.5	95.9	4	3	4	6
123	166	77.3	87.3	100.00	2	2	10	10
120	163	76.6	80.0	75.9	1	5	12	12
9	178	82.2	75.3	88.5	1	0	11	11
98	174	80.2	89.7	84.9	1	2	11	11
40	176	75.9	—	77.6	1	15	10	9
Average	169.3	79.6	87.3	82.1	2.3	4.5	7.1	7.5
Average of total series	170.3	79.4	87.0	81.9	2.4	5.3	7.8	8.0

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TABLE XXXVI. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WITH MARKED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
155	154	85.6	82.7	83.3	2	5	6
4	156	86.9	81.4	85.7	1	11	9
182	150	75.3	92.9	81.3	3	4	5
138	152	83.6	92.5	73.7	1	5	5
172	160	76.8	94.2	77.4	2	5	5
Average	154.4	81.6	88.7	80.3	1.8	6.0	6.0
Average of total series	160.7	82.0	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WITH SLIGHTLY DEVELOPED ENAMEL RIM ON THE INCISOR TEETH

Catalog number	Stature	Cephalic index	Facial index	Nasal index	Hair form	Arm pigment	Cheek pigment
13	157	85.0	85.7	74.5	3	10	9
38	166	81.2	77.5	93.3	2	6	9
133	161	81.1	78.9	73.6	2	5	6
126	157	80.7	67.9	76.0	4	10	4
188	158	81.4	97.7	79.2	5	4	4
180	156	80.0	90.0	82.6	1	5	5
192	164	80.2	88.1	75.5	4	5	6
48	167	81.4	87.3	80.0	1	10	11
37	157	88.2	77.8	93.0	3	11	11
32	156	83.3	77.4	79.2	4	10	10
Average	160.0	82.2	84.8	80.7	2.9	7.6	7.5
Average total series	160.7	82.0	84.7	83.6	2.5	6.4	7.3

TABLE XXXVIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOOTH FORM GROUPS

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Marked Rim	Slight Rim	Total Series	Marked Rim	Slight Rim	Total Series
Stature	170.6	169.3	170.3	154.4	160.0	160.7
Cephalic index	80.1	79.6	79.4	81.6	82.2	82.0
Facial index	88.5	87.3	87.0	88.7	84.8	84.7
Nasal index	82.0	82.1	81.9	80.3	80.7	83.6
Hair form	2.7	2.3	2.4	1.8	2.9	2.5
Hair amount	5.0	4.5	5.3	.....	.....	.....
Arm pigment	6.1	7.1	7.8	6.0	7.6	6.4
Cheek pigment	6.4	7.5	8.0	6.0	7.5	7.3

Characters Associated With the Enamel on the Upper Incisor Teeth

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On account of its high frequency in the Mongoloid types, the enamel rim on the upper incisor teeth is of considerable interest in a study of the Polynesian peoples. In Tables XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII, I have listed the individuals with marked and slight incisor rims. The results are not conclusive. It is clear that this character is associated with a high face and a lighter skin color. The association with other characters is not certain. Many of the individuals with a marked incisor rim are tall, long-headed, high-faced, and narrow-nosed. Those individuals having a slightly developed incisor rim form a most mixed and heterogeneous group.

Characters of Two Marquesan Types

The above analyses of physical characteristics have suffciently demonstrated not only the heterogeneity of the series under consideration, but also the correlations or associations of many characters. While it is still uncertain just what are the affiliations of certain characters such as stature, hair form, and the frequency of the incisor rim, there are in the main two tendencies shown in these associations or correlations which clearly indicate at least two different types. These may be outlined as follows:

TYPE I	TYPE II
Characterized by	Characterized by
1. Taller stature	1. Shorter stature
2. Longer heads	2. Shorter heads
3. Higher faces	3. Lower faces
4. Narrower noses	4. Wider noses
5. Straighter hair	5. More wavy hair
6. More beard	6. Less beard
7. More body hair	7. Less body hair
8. Lighter skin color	8. Darker skin color
9. More frequent incisor rim	9. Less frequent incisor rim

At present it is possible to describe these two types only in terms of each other. In saying that Type I has longer heads I do not mean that they are necessarily markedly dolichocephalic, but that on the average their heads are slightly longer than those of Type II. The other statements likewise are merely comparative. For the present no attention will be paid the other elements of the population.

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ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS

Since it is clear that there are at least two widely different types in the Marquesas, it is desirable to know what proportion of the population is formed by each type and whether or not these two types will include all of the population. This information can be derived only from an analysis of individuals, for it must be assumed that the average characters of the types are to be found in individuals. By this I mean that persons belonging to Type I should be tall, longer headed, higher faced, narrower nosed, lighter skinned, straighter haired, and more heavily bearded than those belonging to Type II. In order that I may not seem to defy the law of chance I wish to make it clear that I would not expect every individual to show all of these characters in the extreme. Yet in a homogeneous race group the correlation or association is closer than is generally realized. A member of a homogeneous race group should approach the mean of the type in a majority of his characteristics.

Since the most promising differences occurred in head form, face form, and nose form, the cephalic, facial and nasal indices were used as the basis of my subdivision. Later the results were supplemented by an analysis on the basis of pigmentation, hair form, and stature.

Persons with a long head, high face, and narrow nose were tentatively placed in Type I. Those with a short head, low face and broad nose were put in Type II. Intermediate types and types that did not fall into the two groups were classed as mixed. Later study on the basis of other characters led me to remove some of the individuals from Type I and Type II and place them in separate groups. They were predominatingly of Type I or Type II, but each showed one or more characteristics of the other group. These were called mixed-near Type I and mixed-near Type II.

One hundred fifty-eight records were available for the analysis. Of the persons measured 28 per cent had long heads, high faces, and narrow noses, 14 per cent being more qualified in two of these characteristics, but slightly divergent in one character or having one character lacking. In their other characters they were apparently related to the individuals in Type I. Thus about 42 per cent of the sample was assigned to Type I.

Of the sample 26 per cent had short heads, low faces, and broad noses and 10 per cent diverged slightly in one character, but were still unmistakably affiliated with Type II. These two types then account for about 78 per cent of this sample. Of the remainder 22 per cent were classed as mixed or unclassifiable. Of these 9 per cent were intermediate in all three characters and were probably mixed types, and three more were very probably also mixtures of Type II. Of the remaining 13 per cent about three individuals approached the Melanesian type. The others do not fit. They are extremely short-headed, but have high or moderately high

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faces and narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. They are the individuals I have previously spoken of as having very possibly artificially deformed heads. But it must be repeated here that this is by no means certain as yet. They are so few in number it is difficult to state their other characteristics with any degree of certainty. It is equally possible that they represent another racial element in the population. If this is true, its segregation will affect somewhat the percentages given above, particularly those of Type I which it most closely approaches in several characteristics.

Inter-Island Distribution of the Two Types

While no pretense is made that any individual I place in Type I or Type II is a pure unmixed member of that type, it is fairly certain that a majority of those individuals classed as Type I or Type II were predominatingly of those types, which serves our purpose just as well. Three independent sortings resulted in only a few disagreements of one class. A few individuals were classed sometimes as near Type I and sometimes as mixed. But not over 5 per cent were the subjects of such changes.

It later occurred to me that it would be of interest to work out the distribution of the two types in the different islands. The results are listed in Table XXXIX, which shows clearly the distribution. Type I is to be found in all of the islands but is less mixed in the southeastern islands of the group. Type II is strongest in Ua Huku, but occurs also in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and to a lesser extent in Hiva Oa. While the series is small and the results cannot be taken literally, the differences are so marked that there can be little doubt that they indicate roughly the true state of affairs. So far as this sample may be relied upon, it would indicate that if these two physical types had different languages and cultures, as they conceivably should have had, the language and culture belonging to Type II should be most clearly recognizable in Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou. While it would have unquestionably affected Hiva Oa, it is here and in Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva that the culture and language of Type I should be found. In Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and to a lesser extent in Hiva Oa there should be found a stratification of the cultures.

I will leave this correlation of the physical and cultural differences to those better acquainted with the details of culture. My purpose in making the above statement is to bring out the fact that the averages obtained in the inter-island grouping cannot be taken as the averages of the two types. The northwestern group contained many individuals belonging to Type I, although Type II was the prevailing type. In the southeastern group there were a few individuals of Type II. For this reason I have separated the material into five groups used above and averaged their characteristics. These are given in Tables XL and XLI.

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Detailed Averages of the Different Types

141 In this subdivision and grouping all of the material has been used. The
*142 averages for Type I are given in the first column. In the second column Type I has been combined with those individuals who were near Type I, but departed from the type in some one or two characters. In column three the averages of these individuals (near Type I) are given separately. In the fourth column have been placed all the mixed, unclassifiable individuals and those near Type I and near Type II. In the succeeding columns are those near Type II, Type II and near Type II, and finally Type II. It will be seen that some individuals are used in more than one column (2, 4, and 7).

An inspection of both Table XL and XLI demonstrates that this subdivision of the material into two types and mixtures thereof has been fairly successful. The averages progress smoothly from Type I to Type II or from Type II to Type I. The mixed individuals give intermediate averages for most characters. From left to right the index of pigmentation decreases, the development of the beard, body hair, and the frequency of the incisor rim also decrease. Hair form is irregular. Stature also does not behave in a convincing manner. Among the women the mixed individuals are the tallest, but with the men the reverse is true. The only other irregularities in the anthropometric results are slight ones in minimum frontal and bigonial diameters and the indices based on them. But these irregularities indicate clearly that there is still a disturbing factor in the series that has not been isolated.

For convenience the averages and differences of Types I and II are placed side by side in Table XLII. Here as elsewhere in this paper a numerical value has been given to certain attribute characters and the results treated statistically. As previously explained, the color values have been numbered from 1 to 14 and the results averaged. The smaller the number is the lighter is the color. Hair form has also been given a value of 1 and wavy hair a value of 2, and so on. A similar treatment was accorded the development of beard and body hair and the incisor rim. In reading Table XLII, it is sufficient to know that in pigmentation a small number indicates a light pigmentation; in hair form a small number indicates straight hair; in beard and body hair development a small number indicates a poor development; and in the incisor rim a small number indicates a low frequency.

The figures given for men and for women in Table XLII agree in emphasizing the enormous differences between Type I and Type II. Of the 24 characters considered, the differences in 20 are sufficiently large to remove doubt of their significance. In only four characters—hair form, minimum frontal, bigonial, and cephalo-facial index—are the differences small and contradictory in the two sexes. Type II is unquestionably darker than Type I, has a poorer development

of the beard and body hair, and also a less frequent occurrence of the incisor rim. Type II is shorter, has shorter, wider heads, wider and lower faces, and wider and lower noses. As a result of these differences, the cephalic index is greater in Type II, the facial index is about 12 points less on the average, and the nasal index 12 or more points higher. Other consistent differences are smaller fronto-parietal indices and a larger ear index in Type II. 141 142x

There can be no doubt that at least two separate and radically different groups of associated characters are represented. A study of the photographs of the two groups will add still further to the lists of associated characters. On the basis of measurements and descriptive characters, I have sorted out the photographs as best I could into groups approaching Type I and Type II. I do not urge that any of these be accepted as pure members of either type, although it seems altogether probable that many of them are. For our purpose it will be sufficient to say that in a totality of their characters the men in Plate XXXVI and the women in Plate XXXVIII approach Type I, as I have described it. The men who most clearly approach Type II are shown in Plate XXXVII and the women in Plate XXXIX. Many better eamples of the two types were photographed, but under such adverse conditions that the photographs do not lend themselves well to reproduction. Most of the men represented in Plate XXXVI are fairly typical of Type I. Numbers 7, 8, 10, 13 are very possibly of a different type. They have extremely short heads. In Plate XXXVII numbers 1, 2, and 3 are rather extreme examples of Type II. The other members are probably mixed with various other elements besides Type I. Numbers 3, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 14 are poor examples of the type. The women are much more difficult to select. Numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12 and 13, on Plate XXXIX are good examples of Type II. Most of the women in Plate XXXVIII approach fairly closely Type 1, but numbers 5, 6, 9, and 15 are the best representatives. In Plate XL I have placed those who fall in the mixed and unclassified groups. Numbers 2, 5, 11, and 13 represent the extremely short-headed element as do also numbers 8 and 12 of Plate XXXVIII. For comparison a few photographs of persons of mixed Caucasian and Asiatic origin are given in Plate XLI.

A careful study of the photographs suggest many other characters in which the two types differ. Type II has thicker lips and the eyes are peculiar, being less wide open, and several have a suggestion of epicanthic fold. The lower lid of some of the eyes in Type II has a swollen beveled appearance. The outer canthus is somewhat higher than the inner canthus which results in an obliquely placed eye slit. Type II is also heavier and stockier. The neck is short and heavy. Type I, when all Type II characters are removed, are more Caucasoid in appearance. The nasal bridge is higher and the lips are thinner. The hair, too, seems to be straighter in Type I although it should be emphasized here that in neither of these two types 144 142x 144

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do we find the stiff straight black hair characteristic of the Chinese, Japanese, and many Malay and American peoples.

TABLE XXXIX. INTER-ISLAND DISTRIBUTION OF TWO PHYSICAL TYPES IN THE MARQUESAS

Island	Type I		Mixed near Type I		Intermediate and unclassifiable		Mixed near Type II		Type II		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
MEN											
Nuku Hiva	0	0	2	18	2	18	2	18	5	46	11
Ua Huku	1	12	0	0	1	12	1	12	5	64	8
Ua Pou	4	20	7	35	1	5	3	15	5	25	20
Hiva Oa	22	63	4	11	7	20	0	0	2	5	35
Tahu Ata	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fatu Hiva	1	10	2	20	7	70	0	0	0	0	10
Total	28	33	15	18	18	21	6	7	17	20	84
WOMEN											
Nuku Hiva	1	14	0	0	2	28	2	28	2	28	7
Ua Huku	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	20	7	70	10
Ua Pou	1	4	2	7	8	29	4	14	12	44	27
Hiva Oa	10	38	4	15	7	27	2	8	3	12	26
Tahu Ata	2	100	—		—	—		—		—	2
Fatu Hiva	1	50	1	50	—	—		—		—	2
Total	16	21	7	9	17	23	10	13	24	32	74
TOTAL SERIES											
Nuku Hiva	1	5	2	11	4	22	4	22	7	39	18
Ua Hiva	2	11	0		1	5	3	17	12	67	18
Ua Pou	5	10	9		9	19	7	15	17	36	47
Hiva Oa	32	52	8	13	14	23	2	3	5	8	61
Tahu Ata	2	100									2
Fatu Hiva	2	17	3	25	7	58					12
Total	44	28	22	14	35	22	16	10	41	26	158

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TABLE XL. AVERAGE CHARACTERS OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES
MEN

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Character	Type I	Type I and near Type I	Near Type I	Mixed and near Type I and near Type II	Mixed	Near Type II	Type II and near Type II	Type II
Relative arm pigment	6.4	6.9	8.0	7.9	7.3	9.5	9.8	9.9
Relative cheek pigment	6.3	7.2	8.4	8.2	7.6	9.8	9.5	9.4
Relative hair form	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.6
Development of beard [a]	3.3	3.4	3.5	2.8	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0
Development of body hair	2.8	2.9	3.0	2.6	2.2	3.0	2.1	1.8
Rim on lateral incisor [b]	1.0	.9	.4	.5	.6	.0	.4	.4
Rim on mesial incisor	1.1	.9	.4	.5	.6	.0	.4	.5
Stature	171.0	171.0	171.1	169.6	168.0	170.8	170.7	170.6
Head length	195.0	194.8	194.6	192.5	191.3	191.1	191.3	191.5
Head width	151.0	151.4	152.5	153.6	154.5	153.6	155.1	155.6
Minimum frontal	102.1	102.5	103.4	103.7	103.1	106.5	103.7	102.7
Face width	141.7	142.1	142.9	143.2	143.0	144.6	145.5	145.8
Bigonial diameter	109.4	110.1	111.5	109.9	108.7	109.8	109.1	108.8
Face height	129.4	128.6	126.6	123.9	123.9	118.3	116.8	116.3
Nasal height	56.2	55.2	53.3	52.5	52.3	51.3	50.2	49.8
Nasal width	42.7	42.9	43.3	43.2	43.4	42.6	43.6	43.9
Cephalic index	77.6	77.9	78.4	79.9	80.9	80.4	81.1	81.3
Fronto-parietal index	67.6	67.8	68.3	67.7	66.7	69.3	66.8	66.0
Cephalo-facial index	94.0	93.8	93.7	93.2	92.5	94.2	93.8	93.7
Zygomatico-frontal index	72.1	72.2	72.5	72.5	72.1	73.6	71.3	70.5
Zygomatico-mandibular index	77.1	77.4	77.9	76.7	75.8	76.1	74.7	74.2
Facial index	91.3	90.6	89.0	86.3	86.6	81.8	80.3	79.8
Nasal index	76.6	78.3	81.9	82.7	83.4	82.8	87.1	88.7
Ear index	49.2	48.6	47.8	48.0	47.9	48.9	50.2	50.6
Number of men	28	43	15	39	18	6	23	17

[a] Beard and body hair are considered separately from here on, so that 9 is the maximum index.

[b] The incisor rim was indicated as follows: 0 = absent, 1 = slight, 2 = medium, 3 = marked. These values were totaled and divided by the number of cases. The average values are small here in all of the types.

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TABLE XLI. AVERAGE CHARACTERS OF THE DIFFERENT PHYSICAL TYPES OF WOMEN

Character	Type I	Type I and near Type I	Near Type I	Mixed and near Type I and near Type II	Mixed	Near Type II	Type II and near Type II	Type II
Relative arm pigment	5.5	5.3	5.0	6.0	6.1	6.6	7.2	7.4
Relative cheek pigment	5.8	6.0	6.1	7.0	7.4	6.8	8.1	8.5
Relative hair form	3.6	2.6	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.8	2.5	2.5
Rim on lateral incisor	.5	.7	1.0	.2	.1	.0	.1	.1
Rim on mesial incisor	.9	.7	.1	.3	.2	.4	.3	.2
Stature	160.2	160.8	162.1	162.0	162.9	160.3	157.2	155.1
Heal length	186.4	186.4	185.1	183.8	184.7	181.4	180.4	180.0
Head width	145.1	147.8	148.5	150.5	150.4	152.0	151.6	151.4
Minimum frontal	101.2	101.1	101.1	104.6	103.9	108.5[a]	108.0[a]	99.0
Face width	132.8	132.8	132.7	136.0	136.6	137.2	137.0	136.9
Bigonial diameter	101.7	100.9	99.0	103.3	103.7	105.5	104.1	103.5
Face height	120.4	119.6	117.8	116.2	117.8	112.2	110.1	109.2
Nose height	52.2	52.0	51.7	49.9	50.2	48.3	45.7	44.6
Nose width	39.3	39.6	40.4	40.8	40.9	40.8	40.7	40.7
Cephalic index	79.2	79.5	80.3	81.9	81.5	83.9	84.1	84.2
Front-parietal index	68.6	68.4	68.1	69.5	69.1	71.4	67.1	65.4
Cephalo-facial index	89.9	89.7	89.4	90.7	91.5	90.3	90.4	90.5
Zygomatico-frontal index	76.2	76.2	76.3	76.9	75.9	79.1	74.3	72.2
Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.6	76.0	74.6	75.8	75.8	76.8	75.9	75.5
Facial index	90.7	90.1	88.8	85.5	86.3	81.8	79.8	78.9
Nasal index	75.2	76.2	78.6	82.1	81.8	84.7	89.5	91.6
Ear index	47.7	48.4	50.5	50.1	50.1	49.7	50.0	50.1
Number of women	16	23	7	34	17	10	34	24

[a] Due to two extreme cases 131 and 125.

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TABLE XLII. COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGES AND DIFFERENCES OF TYPES I AND II

	Type I Men	Total Series, Men	Type II Men	Type I Women	Total Series, Women	Type II Women	Difference Between Types I and II Men	Difference Between Types I and II Women
Relative arm pigment	6.4	8.2	9.9	5.5	6.4	7.4	+ 3.5	+ 1.9
Relative cheek pigment	6.3	8.6	9.4	5.8	7.3	8.5	+ 3.1	+ 2.7
Relative hair form	2.4	2.6	2.6	3.6	2.5	2.5	+ .2	— 1.1
Development of beard	3.3	3.6	2.0	.....	.....	.....	— 1.3	.....
Development of body hair	2.8	2.5	1.8	.....	.....	.....	— 1.0	.....
Rim on lateral incisor	1.0	.7	.4	.5	.3	.1	— .6	— .4
Rim on mesial incisor	1.1	.7	.5	.9	.4	.2	— .6	— .7
Stature	171.0	170.3	170.6	160.2	160.7	155.1	— .4	— 5.1
Head length	195.0	193.2	191.5	186.4	183.2	180.0	— 3.5	— 6.4
Head width	151.0	153.2	155.6	145.1	150.1	151.4	+ 4.6	+ 6.3
Minimum frontal	102.1	103.2	102.7	101.2	102.1	99.0	+ .6	— 2.2
Face width	141.7	143.2	145.8	132.8	135.5	136.9	+ 4.1	+ 4.1
Bigonial diameter	109.4	109.5	108.8	101.7	103.0	103.5	— .6	+ 1.8
Face height	129.4	124.6	116.3	120.4	114.5	109.2	—13.1	—11.2
Nasal height	56.2	53.1	49.8	52.2	48.6	44.6	— 6.4	— 7.6
Nasal width	42.7	43.2	43.9	39.3	40.4	40.7	+ 1.2	+ 1.4
Cephalic index	77.6	79.4	81.3	79.2	82.0	84.2	+ 3.7	+ 5.0
Fronto-parietal index	67.6	67.4	66.0	68.6	68.0	65.4	— 1.6	— 3.2
Cephalo-facial index	94.0	93.5	93.7	89.9	90.3	90.5	— .3	+ .6
Zygomatico-frontal index	72.1	72.0	70.5	76.2	75.2	72.2	— 1.6	— 4.0
Zygomatico-mandibular index	77.1	76.8	74.2	76.6	75.9	75.5	— 2.9	— 1.1
Facial index	91.3	87.0	79.2	90.7	84.7	78.9	—12.1	—11.8
Nasal index	76.6	81.9	88.7	75.2	83.6	91.6	+12.1	+16.4
Ear index	49.2	48.9	50.6	47.7	49.6	50.1	+ 1.4	+ 2.4
Number	28	84	17	16	74	24	.....	.....

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A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE SAMOANS

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In view of the clear evidences of at least two types in the Marquesas it becomes highly important to reconsider the Samoans and Tongans in order to determine if possible the presence or absence of Type II. It is not only probable but altogether likely that some of the diversity I attributed to Melanesian intermixture may be due to the presence of Type II since the differences are in the same characters.[10] While Type II cannot be considered Melanesian it has certain Melanesian, Papuan, and negroid characters which might very easily be mistaken for Melanesian influence. I refer, of course, to the darker skin, more wavy hair, low and broad faces, low and broad noses, and thick lips. As a matter of fact this leaves but one or two criteria with which to distinguish between Melanesian intermixture and the influence of Type II. This must be decided largely upon the basis of head form and relative curliness of the hair. With the possibility of head deformation in Tonga and Samoa, the problem is still further complicated.

It will be necessary to test further the homogeneity of the Samoan and Tongan series by subdividing them into different stature, head form, face form, and nose form groups, as I have done for the Marquesan material.

TABLE XLIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATURE GROUPS OF SAMOAN MEN

Characters	18 Tallest	Total series	20 Shortest
Cephalic index	81.2	81.3	82.0
Fronto-parietal index	68.0	66.8	67.1
Cephalo-facial index	93.9	94.2	93.4
Facial index	91.2	89.9	89.9
Nasal index	72.5	73.6	73.7
Rim on lateral incisor	.33	.76	1.10
Rim on mesial incisor	.22	.44	.63
Arm pigment	6.1	7.1	8.6
Cheek pigment	9.3	10.3	10.2
Hair form	1.9	1.7	1.6
Beard development	5.8	5.2	5.4
Body hair development	6.2	5.2	5.0
Elevation of nasal bridge [a]	2.2	1.9	1.8
Axes of nostrils [b]	2.3	2.3	2.3

[a] The higher the number the higher the nasal bridge.
[b] The larger the number the more transverse the nostrils.

[10] Op. cit.

[pp. 197-232 have been omitted from this source] -Analyst

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144 narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. As yet I have not been able to establish a sufficiently large group of associated characters to warrant its discussion. It seems probable, however, that this type may account for some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians. This, as well as many other phases of the Polynesian problem, needs further study in the areas in which the people are more characteristic of this type.

In a marginal area like Polynesia it is possible to find individual representatives of nearly all the races living in and around the Pacific. A study of the photographs in this and other papers on Polynesia will show that this possibility is realized to some extent in the Marquesas, Samoa, and Tonga. but to discuss them at present would be to magnify their importance. I have confined my efforts to those types whose presence could be unmistakably demonstrated in sufficient number to warrant the assumption that they had played an important part in the history or prehistory of Polynesia. I am not at all sure that I have isolated all of these elements even, in the three island groups considered here. Furthermore, it is probable that future studies may result in some modification in the characteristics I have assigned to the two main types discussed in this paper. The relative proportions of the different types given in this paper are of course tentative for it is only when it has been possible to reconstruct the various elements of the population in detail that it will be practicable to give definite estimates of their relative frequencies.

128 141 x142 144 In order that this paper may be of greater permanent value to those who do future work in Polynesia, or who may be inclined to carry my analysis further, I have presented the data and analyses in considerable detail. The extent of this detail may discourage those whose interest is only casual from hunting for the points which may be of special interest to them. For this reason I will briefly recapitulate the points of more general interest and indicate the section of the paper in which more detail on these points can be found.

The Marquesan material when seriated shows no tendency to form normal frequency distributions. The bimodal tendency encountered in Tonga is here encountered in an extended and exaggerated degree. Nearly every character is bimodal or multimodal. The range is enormous especially in the nasal, facial and cephalic indices. (See p. 145.) This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation which are greatly in excess of those for the Samoan and Tongan data. (See p. 165.)

141 x142 144 The Marquesans differ somewhat in their average characters from the Samoans and the Tongans. Their hair is more wavy, their skin is darker, they are more glabrous, they have more transversely placed nostrils, the enamel rim on the incisor teeth is less frequent, they are shorter in stature, have longer heads, their

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faces are narrower, but markedly lower, their bigonial diameters are greater and their noses are narrower and lower. (See p. 160.) 141 142 144

In the three southeastern islands of the group (Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa) the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, but the height is much higher, the nose is higher and narrower than in the northwestern islands of the group. The skin color is lighter also. The differences are too great and far-reaching to be considered as local differentiation and indicate a non-homogeneous group. (See pp. 165-8.)

A detailed analysis showed two main tendencies in the association of characters which I have designated as follows:

TYPE I	TYPE II
Characterized by:	Characterized by:
1. Taller stature	1. Shorter stature
2. Longer heads	2. Shorter heads
3. Higher faces	3. Lower faces
4. Narrower noses	4. Wider noses
5. Straighter hair (?)	5. More wavy hair (?)
6. More beard	6. Scant beard
7. More body hair	7. Scant body hair
8. Lighter skin color	8. Darker skins
9. More frequent incisor rim	9. Infrequent incisor rim. (See p. 187)

On the assumption that the cephalic, facial, and nasal indices were the most distinctive anthropometric traits of these two types, the individuals were analyzed and classified as Type I, Type II or mixed and unclassified. That this analysis and classification was partly successful is indicated by the resulting averages of these groups. Marked and certain differences were found in twenty of the twenty-four characters studied. They emphasize the difference in the facial and nasal indices which amount to 12 points or more on the average. The differences in head form are less marked. Type I is mesocephalic and Type II is slightly brachycephalic. Type II also has thicker lips and less wide open eyes than Type I.

Type I occurs in all of the islands, but is least mixed in Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Hiva Oa. Type II is the dominant type in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huku, and Ua Pou. There is a residue of extremely short heads that are not accounted for by either or both of these types. (See p. 188.)

A re-analysis of the Samoan material shows that Type I is an important type, but that Type II is also present here to some extent. The gap between the two types is not so wide as in the Marquesas. This is taken to mean that Type II has never been so important numerically in Samoa or has been pretty thoroughly mixed with Type I or perhaps both of these things. No apparent inter-island diffrences occur in the frequency of these two types. But since the sample was mainly from Upolu this cannot be taken as final. In Samoa also there is a still larger residue of extremely short heads. (See p. 202.)

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A more detailed analysis of the Tongan data indicates that Type II is also present in Tonga. The presence of this type which has many Negroid characters is responsible for much of the heterogeneity attributed to Melanesian influence in a previous paper. Type II is more distinct here than in Samoa, but less so than in the Marquesas. Here again Type II has not become uniformly distributed throughout the archipelago, but is concentrated more strongly in the northeastern groups of Vavau and Haapai and especially in Haano. These two types account for about 60 per cent of the population of Tonga. The remaining 40 per cent contained a large number of individuals with short heads, narrow faces and narrow noses. (See p. 209.)

Type I is the true Polynesian. Its relationship to the Aino is suggested. When Type II is removed the Polynesians are much more Caucasoid than they have hitherto been described in this series, but this approach to the Caucasian may be due to the fact that there is a third type in Polynesia carrying these traits. They seem to stand intermediate between the Caucasians and the Mongols in a totality of their characters. It is possible to regard the Polynesian as Mongoloid only on the assumption that the primitive Mongoloid type gave rise to the Caucasian types. In this sense the Polynesian may be regarded as a near-Caucasian type or as the result of one of nature's attempts to evolve a Caucasian type. They at least must have branched off very near to where the Caucasians branched off. (See pp. 215-7.)

Type II is called tentatively an Indonesian type. It is commonly looked upon as Mongoloid, but its negroid characters are emphasized. It is also pointed out that these two types are not very closely related and have very little in common except the fact that both may be somewhat hesitatingly classified as divergent Mongoloid types, the one in the Caucasian direction, and the other in the direction of the negro. Earlier theories of relationships of these two types are due in part to the unrecognized presence of an Indonesian type in Polynesia and a Polynesian type in Indonesia combined with an unfortuate confusion in anthropological terminology.

These two types do not entirely exhaust the possibility of other types in Polynesia. Among other things there is an extreme degree of brachycephaly, or short headedness, to be explained. It seems very probable that this condition is due to the presence of a third type, but discussion of this point is reserved for the Hawaiian paper of this series, since Hawaii is a stronghold of this element. Although the characteristics of this type in detail are not yet certain, there seems to be associated with them short heads, high, narrow faces, narrow noses, light skins and a well-developed beard and body hair. The isolation of this type will probably modify some of the characteristics given to the two types which form the subject of this paper.

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INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

Individual records of the Marquesans, Samoans and Tongans on which the comparative studies of this paper are based are given in the accompanying tables. The Samoan and Tongan observations and measurements were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern; the Marquesan observations and measurements, by Dr. and Mrs. E. S. Handy; and the tables were compiled by Bessie P. Sullivan. The symbols used in the tables are as follows:

128
141
142x
144

KEY TO TABLES OF INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

Explanation of Tables

A catalog number
B sex
C age
D island of birth
E hair form
F incisor rim, laterals
G incisor rim, mesials
1 stature
2 head length
3 head width
4 minimum frontal diameter
5 face width, maximum
6 bigonial diameter
7 anatomical face height
8 nasal height
9 nasal width

I cephaic index
II transverse fronto-parietal index
III transverse cephalo-facial index
IV zygomatico-frontal index
V zygomatico-mandibular index
VI anatomical facial index
VII nasal index

Body of tables

Under B: m = male; f = female
Under D: Island of Birth

Samoa
1—Upolu
2—Savaii
3—Fiji

Tonga
1—Niuatoputapu
2—Niuafoou
3—Vavau
4—Haapai
5—Tongatabu
6—Eua

Marquesas
1—Nuku Hiva
2—Ua Huku
3—Ua Pou
4—Hiva Oa
5—Tahu Ata
6—Fatu Hiva

Under E: hair form
1—straight
2—low waves
3—deep waves
4—curly
5—frizzly
6—woolly

Under F and G: enamel rim on incisor teeth
0—absent
1—slight
2—medium
3—marked

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INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
14	m	46	1	1	...	...	163	182	150	108	143	105	120	55	40	82.4	72.0	95.3	75.5	73.4	83.9	72.7
29	m	48	1	1	0	0	168	190	156	104	142	110	121	50	41	82.1	66.7	91.0	73.2	77.5	85.2	82.0
2	m	21	1	4	3	3	.....	187	160	101	140	.....	114	45	44	85.6	63.1	87.5	72.1	.....	81.4	97.8
28	m	20	1	3	3	3	173	187	153	107	146	103	110	46	45	81.8	69.9	95.4	73.3	70.6	75.3	97.8
62	m	43	1	1	0	0	162	180	155	100	145	103	117	50	47	86.1	64.5	93.6	69.0	71.0	80.7	94.0
116	m	45	1	1	0	0	163	181	153	100	140	107	119	48	43	84.5	65.4	91.5	71.4	76.4	85.0	89.6
111	m	60	1	1	...	...	161	196	156	93	153	116	117	56	49	79.6	59.6	98.1	60.8	75.8	76.5	87.5
109	m	48	1	4	...	...	169	210	152	103	155	118	130	55	46	72.4	67.8	102.0	67.1	76.1	83.9	83.6
36	m	50	1	...	...	...	176	187	153	99	140	.....	124	55	43	81.0	64.7	91.5	70.7	.....	88.6	78.2
107	m	24	1	4	...	...	172	188	158	103	142	108	121	51	42	84.0	65.2	89.9	72.5	76.1	85.2	82.4
31	m	59	1	1	...	...	171	200	160	108	148	112	120	54	47	80.0	67.1	92.5	73.0	75.7	81.1	87.0
12	m	30	2	1	0	0	173	199	152	112	146	.....	120	52	43	76.4	73.7	96.0	76.7	.....	82.2	82.7
5	m	21	2	4	0	0	171	192	143	100	139	.....	118	52	41	74.5	69.9	97.2	71.9	.....	84.9	78.8
110	m	22	2	2	0	0	174	186	159	93	150	114	118	55	41	85.5	58.5	94.3	62.0	76.0	78.7	74.6
27	m	35	2	4	...	...	184	190	164	113	152	115	120	50	43	86.3	68.9	92.7	74.3	73.7	79.0	86.0
9	m	19	2	1	1	1	178	197	162	105	146	113	110	52	46	82.2	64.8	90.1	71.9	77.4	75.3	88.5
17	m	54	2	2	0	0	178	200	155	100	148	114	132	58	44	77.5	64.5	95.5	67.6	77.0	89.2	75.9
23	m	22	2	5	0	0	167	197	154	100	137	98	114	51	40	78.2	64.9	89.0	73.0	71.5	83.2	78.4
16	m	59	3	2	0	0	170	190	149	100	140	112	129	52	41	78.4	73.2	94.0	71.4	80.0	92.1	78.8
54	m	30	3	1	0	0	172	207	165	110	149	110	130	54	47	79.7	66.7	90.3	73.8	73.8	87.2	87.0
86	m	25	3	4	0	0	166	200	155	118	130	114	116	50	43	77.5	76.1	83.9	90.8	87.7	89.2	86.0
94	m	65	3	2	...	...	175	200	153	104	146	115	129	57	44	76.5	88.0	95.4	71.2	78.8	88.4	77.2
100	m	64	3	1	0	0	170	193	145	112	135	102	124	52	40	75.1	77.2	93.1	83.0	75.6	91.8	76.9
104	m	42	3	4	0	0	173	188	153	103	143	113	135	60	48	81.4	67.3	93.5	72.3	79.0	94.4	80.0
55	m	20	3	5	0	0	167	192	153	102	143	111	103	42	45	79.7	66.7	93.5	71.3	77.6	72.0	107.1
68	m	25	3	2	0	0	178	195	154	111	146	111	118	49	46	79.0	72.1	94.8	76.0	76.0	80.8	93.9
89	m	20	3	4	0	0	174	197	158	112	147	105	115	53	47	80.2	70.9	93.0	76.2	71.4	78.2	88.7
45	m	29	3	1	0	0	175	194	160	106	149	105	126	49	43	82.5	66.2	93.1	71.1	70.5	84.6	87.8
57	m	30	3	2	0	0	166	190	155	100	143	106	111	47	38	81.6	66.4	96.8	68.7	76.0	74.0	80.8
66	m	31	3	5	0	0	164	202	155	100	143	106	118	48	41	76.7	64.5	92.3	69.9	74.1	82.5	85.4
40	m	41	3	1	1	1	176	203	154	100	146	111	.....	58	45	75.9	64.9	94.8	68.5	76.0	.....	77.6
98	m	33	3	1	1	1	174	197	148	105	145	110	130	53	45	80.2	66.5	91.8	72.4	75.9	89.7	84.9
88	m	32	3	4	...	...	169	192	156	110	140	116	127	58	46	81.2	70.5	89.7	78.1	82.9	90.7	79.3
78	m	60	3	1	...	...	176	197	159	102	140	108	133	57	...	80.7	64.2	88.0	72.9	77.1	95.0	.....
58	m	60	3	2	...	...	.....	204	157	104	157	110	.....	59	46	77.0	66.2	100.0	66.2	70.1	.....	78.0
65	m	24	3	1	...	...	172	202	150	97	145	110	123	52	44	74.3	64.7	96.7	66.9	75.9	84.8	84.6
46	m	40	3	5	0	0	174	182	151	105	148	106	129	51	45	83.0	69.5	98.0	71.0	71.6	87.2	88.2
42	m	22	3	1	0	0	172	188	152	103	142	113	110	49	38	80.8	67.8	93.4	72.5	79.6	77.5	77.6
41	m	40	3	1	...	...	163	190	149	108	142	110	110	51	41	78.4	72.5	95.3	76.1	77.5	77.5	78.8
159	m	21	4	3	1	1	172	190	155	97	145	110	122	57	39	81.6	62.6	93.6	66.9	75.9	84.1	68.4
179	m	36	4	4	1	1	167	178	155	106	144	119	123	54	43	87.1	68.4	92.9	73.6	82.6	85.4	79.6
191	m	40	4	2	1	1	169	194	155	97	147	112	125	58	48	79.9	61.6	94.8	66.0	76.2	85.0	82.8
183	m	24	4	2	3	3	165	186	149	97	141	114	127	51	49	80.1	65.1	94.6	68.8	80.8	90.1	96.1
193	m	35	4	2	0	0	164	178	152	97	137	100	126	49	43	85.4	63.8	90.1	70.8	73.0	92.0	87.8
152	m	29	4	2	0	0	177	186	156	102	147	117	127	55	39	83.9	65.4	94.2	69.4	79.6	86.4	70.9
173	m	38	4	2	0	0	163	188	165	105	143	112	123	53	41	87.8	63.6	86.7	73.4	78.3	86.0	77.4

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
143	m	31	4	3	1	1	—	188	146	94	139	108	127	57	42	77.7	64.4	95.2	67.6	77.7	91.4	73.7
141	m	43	4	1	1	1	172	203	148	103	143	108	135	55	43	72.9	69.6	98.0	71.0	74.5	92.5	78.2
138	m	25	4	3	1	1	166	183	150	105	137	102	131	61	44	82.0	70.0	91.3	76.6	74.4	95.6	72.1
200	m	51	2	4	3	3	178	200	156	95	147	110	131	57	46	78.0	60.9	94.2	64.6	74.8	89.1	80.7
184	m	27	4	4	3	3	173	193	157	98	146	121	138	61	48	81.4	62.4	93.0	67.1	82.9	94.5	78.7
174	m	21	4	2	3	3	174	193	153	106	144	114	126	51	38	79.3	69.3	94.1	73.6	79.2	87.5	74.5
154	m	31	4	4	3	3	—	203	154	103	144	109	128	51	40	75.9	66.9	93.5	71.5	75.7	88.9	78.4
193	m	41	4	1	3	3	176	196	152	99	145	110	126	52	43	77.6	65.1	95.4	68.3	73.9	86.9	82.7
176	m	60	4	4	3	3	168	188	153	102	144	113	131	57	42	81.4	66.7	94.1	70.8	78.5	91.6	73.7
198	m	34	4	1	3	3	168	195	155	98	140	108	134	59	39	79.5	63.2	90.3	70.0	77.1	95.7	66.1
201	m	30	4	2	0	0	179	200	153	105	145	115	133	62	39	76.5	68.6	94.8	72.4	79.3	91.7	62.9
129	m	33	4	2	0	0	162	185	143	96	135	104	121	58	44	77.3	67.1	94.4	71.1	77.0	89.6	75.9
190	m	60	4	—	0	0	—	199	144	100	147	107	134	57	43	72.4	69.4	102.1	68.0	72.8	91.2	75.4
186	m	25	4	2	—	—	173	205	162	105	144	110	139	58	43	79.0	64.8	88.9	72.9	76.4	96.5	74.1
188	m	34	4	2	0	0	170	188	154	98	140	105	129	57	41	81.9	63.6	90.9	70.0	73.0	92.1	71.9
165	m	28	4	4	0	0	180	188	152	103	143	110	131	53	41	80.8	67.8	94.1	72.0	76.9	91.6	77.4
134	m	64	4	2	0	0	171	207	152	102	145	115	140	54	44	73.4	67.1	95.4	70.3	79.3	96.6	81.5
194	m	31	4	1	—	—	170	195	151	105	147	115	131	55	45	77.4	69.5	97.4	71.4	78.2	89.1	81.8
137	m	46	4	4	0	0	169	198	148	102	140	112	126	54	42	78.7	68.9	94.6	72.9	80.0	90.0	77.8
177	m	40	4	3	0	0	166	194	148	100	137	102	122	53	43	76.3	67.6	92.0	73.0	74.4	89.0	81.1
170	m	34	4	2	0	0	168	195	143	104	140	106	122	56	43	74.4	71.7	96.6	74.3	75.7	87.1	80.4
199	m	40	4	1	0	0	165	195	151	100	147	100	117	50	43	77.4	66.2	97.4	68.0	68.0	79.6	86.0
189	m	20	4	4	1	1	169	182	148	97	138	111	126	51	43	81.3	65.5	93.2	70.3	80.4	91.3	84.3
147	m	nd	4	4	—	—	170	201	152	103	145	115	123	50	43	75.6	67.8	95.4	71.0	79.3	84.8	86.0
169	m	23	4	4	0	0	166	185	156	101	141	112	130	53	40	84.3	64.7	90.4	71.6	79.4	92.2	75.5
77	m	26	4	2	0	0	178	189	153	104	133	108	—	51	40	81.0	68.0	86.9	78.2	81.2	—	78.4
11	m	24	6	1	1	1	175	195	155	100	143	110	127	54	45	79.5	64.5	92.3	69.9	76.9	88.8	83.0
120	m	40	6	1	1	1	163	201	154	110	150	105	120	54	41	76.6	71.4	97.4	73.3	70.0	80.0	75.9
123	m	23	6	2	1	1	168	198	153	106	142	107	124	48	48	77.3	69.3	92.8	74.6	73.4	87.3	100.0
165	m	36	6	4	1	1	167	198	160	110	149	117	133	49	42	80.8	68.8	93.1	73.8	78.5	89.3	85.7
164	m	20	6	4	1	1	167	191	147	104	137	107	124	49	47	77.0	70.8	93.2	73.9	78.1	90.5	95.9
125	m	37	6	1	1	1	164	188	154	98	127	—	117	50	42	81.9	63.6	89.0	71.5	—	85.4	84.0
122	m	22	6	2	0	0	175	201	153	107	140	95	132	47	45	76.1	69.9	91.5	76.4	67.9	94.3	95.7
156	m	60	6	1	0	0	174	190	149	98	143	110	122	57	46	78.4	65.8	96.0	68.5	76.9	84.1	80.7
146	m	39	6	2	1	—	162	193	143	97	133	106	124	54	41	74.1	67.8	93.0	72.0	79.7	93.2	75.9
121	m	23	6	2	3	3	169	189	148	101	138	94	129	55	41	78.3	68.2	93.2	73.2	68.1	93.5	74.6
118	m	27	6	4	0	0	169	193	147	112	141	113	125	47	42	76.2	76.2	95.9	79.4	80.1	88.6	89.4
119	m	53	6	2	0	0	161	187	144	114	138	107	120	48	42	77.0	79.2	95.8	82.6	77.5	87.0	87.5
13	f	19	1	3	0	0	157	180	153	95	133	102	114	47	35	85.0	62.1	86.9	71.4	76.7	85.7	74.5
117	f	60	1	4	—	—	166	182	146	102	142	114	123	50	44	80.2	69.9	97.3	71.8	80.3	87.2	88.0
110	f	25	1	4	0	—	159	189	150	103	137	103	116	50	38	79.4	68.7	91.3	75.2	75.2	84.7	76.0
3	f	27	1	1	0	0	161	185	159	100	140	—	116	49	42	86.0	62.9	88.0	71.4	—	82.9	85.7
112	f	21	1	1	—	—	155	185	153	93	130	93	110	44	40	82.7	60.8	85.0	71.5	71.5	84.6	90.9
135	f	27	1	2	0	3	154	174	149	100	133	91	110	48	40	85.6	67.1	89.3	75.2	68.4	82.7	83.3
108	f	50	1	2	—	—	151	177	149	100	136	103	104	48	38	84.2	67.1	91.3	73.5	75.7	76.5	79.2
15	f	59	2	2	—	—	160	190	150	100	137	102	121	54	43	79.0	66.7	91.3	72.0	74.4	88.3	79.6

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INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
21	f	24	2	6	0	0	161	170	150	100	134	102	92	44	38	88.2	66.7	89.3	74.6	76.1	68.7	86.4
6	f	18	2	2	0	0	158	175	153	100	137	.....	106	47	40	87.4	65.4	89.5	73.0	.....	77.4	85.1
4	f	17	2	1	0	3	156	176	153	103	129	.....	105	42	36	86.9	67.3	84.3	79.8	.....	81.4	85.7
30	f	27	2	4	0	0	160	178	153	99	136	103	109	49	42	86.0	64.7	88.9	72.8	75.7	80.2	85.7
26	f	48	2	1	0	0	163	195	150	97	142	112	117	50	45	76.9	64.7	94.7	68.3	78.9	75.4	90.0
32	f	26	2	4	1	1	156	174	145	95	133	100	103	48	38	83.3	65.5	91.7	71.4	75.2	77.4	79.2
1	f	23	2	1	0	0	160	180	154	104	.....	103	129	48	42	85.6	67.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	87.5
19	f	32	2	2	.....	.....	164	177	157	106	144	115	114	52	39	88.7	67.5	91.7	73.6	79.3	79.2	75.0
33	f	25	2	4	0	0	166	180	151	103	134	101	117	48	45	83.9	68.2	88.7	76.9	75.4	87.3	93.8
80	f	20	3	3	0	0	157	180	155	124	136	112	118	52	40	68.1	80.0	87.7	91.2	82.4	86.8	76.9
102	f	60	3	4	0	0	165	195	144	100	138	104	112	51	46	73.8	69.4	95.8	72.5	75.4	81.2	90.2
87	f	ad	3	2	0	0	166	188	157	124	149	110	124	53	41	83.5	79.0	94.9	83.2	73.8	83.2	77.4
48	f	23	3	1	1	1	167	183	149	100	134	102	117	50	40	81.4	67.1	89.9	74.6	76.1	87.3	80.0
49	f	24	3	1	0	.....	170	196	147	105	134	100	117	44	42	75.0	71.4	91.2	77.6	74.6	87.3	95.4
59	f	60	3	2	0	0	167	190	154	105	141	92	133	55	50	81.0	68.2	91.6	74.5	65.2	94.3	90.9
63	f	ad	3	4	0	0	169	185	149	101	139	108	122	41	40	80.5	67.8	93.3	72.7	77.7	87.8	97.6
64	f	23	3	1	0	0	165	189	156	103	138	100	121	51	40	82.5	66.0	88.5	74.6	72.5	87.7	78.4
81	f	50	3	1	.....	.....	163	188	145	114	130	98	114	50	42	77.1	78.6	89.7	87.7	75.4	87.7	84.0
37	f	38	3	3	.....	1	157	170	150	95	135	103	105	43	40	88.2	63.3	90.0	70.4	76.3	77.8	93.0
92	f	30	3	1	0	0	147	174	153	95	133	100	117	46	42	87.9	62.1	86.9	71.4	75.2	88.0	91.3
68	f	32	3	5	.....	0	161	172	150	95	142	102	107	39	42	87.2	63.3	94.7	66.9	71.8	75.4	107.7
44	f	18	3	3	0	0	158	176	153	102	132	103	107	41	39	86.9	66.7	90.2	73.9	74.6	77.5	95.1
51	f	26	3	2	0	0	165	182	148	91	138	101	110	43	38	81.3	61.5	93.2	65.9	73.2	79.7	88.4
71	f	35	3	3	.....	.....	162	182	150	100	139	106	110	46	44	82.4	66.7	92.7	71.9	76.3	79.1	95.6
99	f	26	3	5	0	0	154	186	150	101	132	99	104	42	36	80.6	67.3	88.0	76.5	75.0	78.8	85.7
38	f	9	3	2	1	.....	166	192	156	101	142	106	110	45	42	81.2	64.7	91.0	71.1	74.6	77.5	93.3
39	f	25	3	3	0	0	164	182	152	96	136	108	105	41	42	83.5	63.2	89.5	70.6	79.4	77.2	102.4
50	f	27	3	4	0	0	156	183	147	100	141	105	101	41	41	80.3	68.0	95.9	70.9	74.5	71.6	100.0
61	f	35	3	2	.....	.....	165	183	152	192	141	107	116	46	43	83.1	67.1	92.8	72.3	75.9	82.3	93.5
95	f	40	3	1	0	0	160	185	151	110	127	97	116	46	39	81.6	72.8	84.1	86.6	76.4	91.3	84.8
67	f	ad	3	1	0	0	165	183	152	105	137	103	123	39	42	83.1	69.1	90.1	76.6	75.2	89.8	71.2
97	f	30	3	2	0	0	160	172	157	125	144	113	116	32	42	91.3	79.6	91.7	86.8	78.5	80.6	80.8
75	f	25	3	2	0	0	163	207	160	105	136	108	110	42	41	77.3	65.6	85.0	77.2	79.4	80.9	97.6
91	f	60	3	4	.....	.....	169	187	153	113	135	105	113	51	45	81.8	73.9	88.2	83.7	77.8	83.7	88.2
47	f	40	3	5	0	0	160	179	147	102	138	107	114	45	37	82.1	69.4	93.9	73.9	77.5	82.6	82.2
136	f	45	4	2	0	0	160	178	151	99	138	110	121	48	38	84.8	65.6	91.4	71.7	79.7	87.7	79.2
133	f	40	4	2	.....	1	161	180	151	99	138	110	101	53	39	81.1	65.1	88.4	73.6	76.0	78.9	73.6
7	f	65	4	1	0	0	156	185	148	96	132	.....	114	51	40	80.0	64.9	88.6	72.7	.....	86.4	78.4
149	f	39	4	1	0	0	164	182	144	112	132	95	114	46	40	79.1	77.8	91.7	84.8	72.0	86.4	87.0
161	f	26	4	2	.....	.....	166	188	157	103	138	105	121	54	38	83.5	65.6	87.9	74.6	76.1	87.7	70.4
140	f	35	4	2	0	0	156	185	148	102	140	105	116	56	45	80.0	88.9	94.6	72.9	75.0	82.9	80.4
139	f	27	4	4	0	0	.....	187	146	98	134	107	116	52	39	78.1	67.1	91.8	73.1	79.8	86.6	73.0
160	f	70	4	4	0	0	168	191	147	113	138	110	117	51	40	77.0	76.9	93.9	81.9	79.7	84.8	78.4
142	f	30	4	2	0	0	158	190	152	100	130	105	127	50	39	80.0	65.8	85.5	76.9	80.8	97.7	78.0
188	f	21	4	5	1	1	158	177	144	96	128	94	125	53	42	81.4	66.7	88.9	75.0	73.4	97.7	75.5
178	f	35	4	3	0	0	160	183	145	93	133	103	124	53	40	79.2	64.1	91.1	69.9	77.4	93.2	75.5

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
182	f	21	4	3	0	3	150	186	140	100	127	96	118	48	39	73.3	71.4	90.7	78.7	73.6	92.9	81.2
145	f	28	4	1	0	0	166	187	148	102	130	100	125	51	38	79.1	68.9	91.9	73.0	73.5	91.9	70.6
187	f	70	4	2	—	—	155	186	146	100	129	100	118	58	38	78.5	68.5	88.4	77.5	77.5	91.5	68.5
192	f	23	4	4	1	1	164	187	150	100	134	111	118	53	40	80.2	66.7	89.3	74.6	82.8	88.1	73.5
172	f	48	4	2	3	3	160	194	149	101	137	108	129	53	41	76.8	67.8	92.0	73.7	76.6	94.2	77.4
22	f	32	4	1	0	0	159	180	135	102	132	106	108	44	42	84.1	65.8	85.2	77.3	80.3	81.8	95.4
181	f	18	4	2	0	0	165	171	147	95	133	103	104	46	41	86.0	6.46	91.8	70.4	76.3	77.0	89.1
35	f	40	4	1	—	—	161	186	151	104	143	109	116	43	42	81.2	68.9	94.7	72.7	76.2	81.1	97.7
185	f	40	4	2	0	0	152	183	130	106	140	103	115	43	40	82.0	70.7	93.3	75.7	73.6	82.1	93.0
171	f	20	4	2	—	—	169	186	146	100	135	93	111	32	36	78.5	68.5	92.5	74.1	68.9	82.2	89.2
151	f	20	4	2	—	—	174	192	152	104	137	106	117	51	40	79.2	68.4	90.1	73.9	77.4	85.4	78.4
127	f	30	4	2	—	—	159	183	139	99	130	99	118	51	46	76.0	71.2	93.5	76.2	76.2	90.0	90.2
180	f	18	4	1	1	1	158	190	152	92	130	90	117	46	38	80.0	60.5	85.5	70.8	69.2	90.0	82.6
167	f	34	4	2	0	0	159	181	147	110	136	99	112	47	41	81.2	74.8	92.5	80.9	72.8	82.4	87.2
82	f	30	4	4	0	0	157	180	150	121	136	113	112	50	40	83.3	80.7	90.7	89.0	83.1	82.4	80.0
150	f	28	5	2	—	—	153	175	133	100	130	103	115	51	38	87.4	65.4	85.0	76.9	79.2	88.5	74.5
148	f	30	5	5	—	—	162	181	151	100	130	102	120	53	32	83.4	66.2	86.1	76.9	78.5	92.3	60.4
196	f	25	5	3	—	—	163	186	152	101	133	100	122	56	40	81.7	66.4	87.5	75.9	75.2	91.7	71.4
126	f	20	6	4	1	1	157	181	146	98	132	92	116	50	38	80.7	67.1	89.8	74.2	69.7	87.9	76.0
138	f	60	6	1	3	0	152	177	148	98	133	105	123	37	42	83.6	66.2	89.9	73.7	79.0	92.5	73.7

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—SAMOAN SERIES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
29	m	50	1	1	0	1	162	188	158	108	148	96	133	60	30	84.0	68.4	93.7	72.9	64.9	89.9	83.3
15	m	50	1	1	1	0	167	189	160	104	151	123	129	62	45	84.7	65.0	94.4	68.9	81.5	85.4	72.6
22	m	24	1	2	1	0	168	194	161	106	150	101	136	62	46	82.9	65.8	93.2	70.7	67.3	90.7	74.2
39	m	41	1	1	0	1	173	197	151	95	143	106	136	64	44	76.6	62.9	94.7	66.4	74.1	95.1	68.8
31	m	40	1	1	1	0	177	182	158	95	139	96	145	68	43	86.8	60.1	87.9	68.4	69.1	104.3	63.2
31	m	34	1	1	1	0	173	193	161	114	156	112	123	61	47	83.4	70.8	96.9	73.1	71.8	78.8	77.0
17	m	20	1	2	1	0	—	195	155	110	151	115	135	62	49	79.5	70.9	97.4	72.8	76.2	89.4	79.0
45	m	20	1	1	1	0	175	189	156	101	152	98	137	58	41	82.5	72.1	98.0	73.5	64.5	94.0	70.7
3	m	60	1	1	1	0	169	186	154	111	151	94	142	57	46	82.8	72.1	98.0	73.5	62.2	94.0	80.7
34	m	39	1	1	—	0	175	188	160	102	158	102	132	63	43	85.1	63.8	98.8	64.6	64.6	83.5	68.2
34	m	33	1	1	0	0	182	203	159	111	157	107	138	68	48	78.3	69.8	98.7	70.7	68.2	87.9	70.6
67	m	23	1	2	0	0	179	191	149	101	144	101	123	51	41	78.0	67.8	96.6	70.1	70.1	85.4	80.4
7	m	65	1	1	0	0	169	193	158	100	146	109	133	58	43	81.9	63.3	92.4	68.5	74.7	91.1	74.1
89	m	28	1	1	0	0	169	177	157	90	144	97	129	61	41	88.7	57.3	91.7	62.5	67.4	89.6	67.2
5	m	45	1	1	0	0	171	190	159	102	146	110	131	61	45	83.7	64.6	91.8	69.9	75.3	89.7	73.8
61	m	25	1	1	0	0	172	181	158	91	145	110	125	61	45	87.3	57.6	91.8	62.8	75.9	86.2	73.8
65	m	29	1	2	0	0	178	186	161	104	148	117	130	60	45	86.6	64.4	91.9	70.3	79.0	87.8	75.0
44	m	29	1	1	0	0	165	190	155	102	140	110	115	55	39	81.6	64.8	90.3	72.9	78.6	82.1	70.9

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[ms]
[p. 242-247 have been omitted from this source. -Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 *A.* Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

346 417 *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

291 *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

312 *D.* Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna uni* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

291 304 *B.* Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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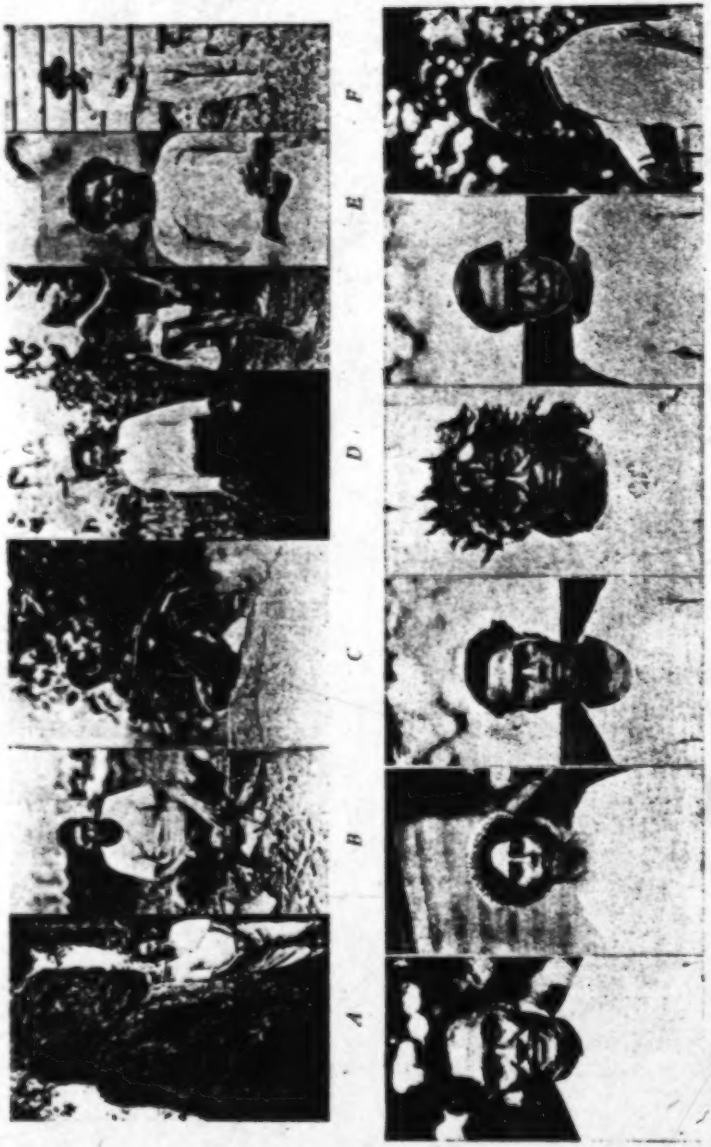

MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

[End Plate 2]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his 142
countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing 6.148
their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived [262] [415]
they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head [142]
and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

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[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.
[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the ship was taken by a wave to within a lance's length of a rock, with 50 fathoms close to it. There was great consternation at the obvious danger. Sail was made, and God was served that a breeze should spring up, and the ship stood off. Then there came another report that the port was bad, full of sunken rocks, and that it was impossible to get out again if a ship had once entered. The Adelantado was much annoyed to hear the complaints of the hard work, and was moved to continue the voyage, saying that the water they had on board would be sufficient for the voyage to his islands. The Chief Pilot reminded him of the uncertainties of the sea, to which he answered: "If we cannot find a port, what are we to do?" The Chief Pilot replied that we must return to Magdalena, which we had already seen, and where the frigate had anchored, and that for a little more work it was needful to secure more necessaries. Meanwhile, the Camp Master had been coasting along the island; and very near the port that had been entered he found another, which he reported, and there the fleet anchored.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Adelantado landed on the island of Santa Cristina, and what took place with the natives.

On the day after the arrival, which was the 28th of July, the Adelantado went on shore, with his wife and the greater part of the crew, to hear the first mass said by the Vicar. The natives knelt down in silence and attention, imitating all they saw the Christians do. A very beautiful [142] native sat near Doña Isabel, with such red hair that Doña Isabel wished to cut off a few locks; but seeing that the native did not like it she desisted, not wishing to make her angry.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [157] 361 421 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [281]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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SECOND VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,

BY

HIS CHIEF PILOT, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

ON Friday, the 9th of April, of the year 1595, the Commander-in-Chief, Alvaro de Mendaña, set sail with his fleet to go and subject and people the western islands of the South Sea, from the port of the Callao of Lima, which is in 12½° S. latitude; passing by the valleys of Santa, Truxillo and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita, where he took in water, and made a list of four hundred persons, more or less, with his four vessels, two large and two small. He 648 left this port (which is 5° higher than the said port), 142 steering W.S.W., making for the islands of his discovery: he took as Master of the Camp Pedro Merino Manrique, and as Admiral his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, and as Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; and he sailed on this course to the altitude of 9½°, from which point he sailed W. and to the point S.W. to 14°, where he changed his course to W. and the point N.W.; and having reached, by this course, fully 10° of latitude, on Friday, 21st of July,

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
[29] part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands,
304 and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. [622] They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [291] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

• 142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

● 142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 831 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being im- 291 modest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahkee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

141 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 Although the Marquesans have been under French domina-797 tion since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

12: Sullivan

● 142

OX6 Marquesas OX6

[For information on descriptive somatology, see category 116, pp. 155-162, 166-196, 234-247, end plates 1-6.]

TABLE VI. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

141
144

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	171.7	173.0	170.3	161.2	162.5	160.7
2. Head length	190.6	191.0	193.2	183.0	184.1	183.2
3. Head width	154.8	154.8	153.2	148.1	150.0	150.1
4. Minimum frontal	103.4	104.8	103.2	101.5	103.0	102.1
5. Face width	145.9	143.5	143.2	136.5	136.1	135.5
6. Bigonial diameter	104.6	104.8	109.5	99.0	99.2	103.0
7. Face height	131.1	128.2	124.1	121.1	124.1	114.5
8. Nose height	59.8	57.5	53.1	54.3	56.7	48.6
9. Nose width	43.8	44.4	43.2	41.2	41.9	40.4
10. Ear height	66.1	66.0	67.1	61.2	64.5	62.7
11. Ear width	35.2	34.5	32.7	33.6	33.4	31.2
12. Cephalic index	81.3	81.1	79.4	80.8	81.6	82.0
13. Fronto-parietal index	66.8	67.6	67.4	68.8	68.7	68.0
14. Cephalo-facial index	94.2	92.8	93.5	92.4	91.2	90.3
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	70.9	73.1	72.0	74.5	75.4	75.2
16. Zygomatico-mandibular	71.7	73.2	76.8	72.5	72.5	75.9
17. Facial index	89.9	89.2	87.0	89.8	90.8	84.7
18. Nasal index	73.6	77.6	81.9	76.3	74.2	83.6
19. Ear index	53.3	52.4	48.9	54.9	51.8	49.6

If the results may be taken at their face value the Marquesans are a much more glabrous people than either the Samoans or Tongans. While again allowances must be made for different observers it seems impossible that such large differences can be wholly explained in this way. Transverse nostrils are also more frequent in the Marquesas. On the other hand, the incisor rim is somewhat less frequent. [142]

In Table VI the anthropometric averages are given. The Marquesans are considerably shorter than the Tongans and a little shorter even than the Samoans. The average of this series is less than that given by Deniker. The Marquesan head is longer and narrower than the heads of the Samoans and Tongans, the face is narrower and lower. The bigonial diameter is much greater. The nose is slightly narrower but markedly lower. Such differences result of course in a slightly lower cephalic index (in the males only), a larger zygomatico-mandibular index, a smaller facial index, and a larger nasal index. Again, it is possible to account for these differences in part by differences in technique, but there will still be a residue that must be explained in another way.

In Table II attention has been called to the great irregularity in distribution. There is not only a great range but a most irregular distribution within that range. This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation recorded in Table VII and in Table VIII. The Marquesan males have a greater standard deviation than either the Samoan or Tongan in ten of nineteen

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the
genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of
any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands,
but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two
rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While
popoi made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking [262]
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more Euro-
pean than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee
and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cook-
ing utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who
have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of
Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their
sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally
affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 177
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, accord- 144
ing to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the
finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of
them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind.
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of 164
rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other
minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands
and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life
with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their
whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural
avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely
by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near
disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension
on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse
that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally
unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [161]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONCLUSION

In spite of the large amount of literature dealing with Polynesia, few parts of this vast region have been carefully studied and there is no part for which the information can be considered at all complete. New Zealand is probably the best known locality. Satisfactory, but by no means complete, information is available for Hawaii and Samoa and the present activities of Bishop Museum will contribute additional information regarding Tonga, the Austral Islands and the Marquesas. /2/

Accounts of the culture of single localities are chiefly valuable as a basis for the careful comparative study, which alone can throw light on the relations of the various Polynesian groups and ultimately on the larger questions of Polynesian origin and diffusion. The final solution of Polynesian problems can come only from a correlation of the evidence along all lines. Comparative studies based on a single class of evidence—traditions, religion, material culture or physical type—serve to arrange the data in order and make them available for such correlation. Theories based upon such partial studies can only be tentative but are justifiable on the basis of Bacon's dictum that truth can be brought out of error much more readily than out of chaos.

Recent studies of physical type have proved conclusively that the Polynesians are not a pure race but are made up of at least three racial elements (70). These elements are a dolichocephalic negroid race, a dolichocephalic or mesocephalic race which shows Caucasic affinities, and a brachycephalic race with slight Mongoloid affinities which Sullivan calls Indonesian (79, *b*, p. 18). The frequency and distribution of the two non-negroid races seems to indicate that they entered the region in nearly pure form. All three races are present in most of the Polynesian islands but they vary in the proportion which they bear to the total population of each group. The negroid element is strongest in Easter Island but is important in northern New Zealand and is found throughout southeastern Polynesia. The Caucasic element is strongest in northern New Zealand and the Marquesas. The Indonesian element is strongest in Tonga but is important in Samoa, southern New Zealand, Hawaii and the northern Marquesas. 144

Polynesian material culture shows an even more complex condition. The climate and products of all the Polynesian islands except New Zealand are so nearly the same that local difference in culture can not be ascribed to environmental causes, but it is hard to determine which of them are due to differences in the culture of the original settlers of each group. Many of the Polynesian groups are separated from their nearest neighbors by hundreds of miles of open sea and must have originally been settled by very small parties of immigrants. The *tuhuna* system, which placed the more important industries in the hands of 171 101

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 head hunting, preservation of the skulls of ancestors, exposure or preservation
174 of corpses, instruction or initiation of young men, absence of large governmental units and chiefs of little power are all of wide occurrence in Melanesia although lacking in western Polynesia. In spite of the general Melanesian tone of the Maori and Marquesan cultures, analysis shows that they are not closely linked with the culture of any one Melanesian locality. The art resemblances are general rather than specific and the Maori-Marquesan image conventions are practically absent in Melanesia. The non-material traits common to the Maori-Marquesan and Melanesian cultures are of very wide occurrence in Melanesia and are present in cultures which differ considerably on the material side. Single traits of the Maori and Marquesan material cultures are often present in one or two of the Melanesian cultures but the distribution of these traits is so irregular that little can be deduced from it.

171 Both the culture and physical type of the northern Maori and southern
174 Marquesans indicate that their ancestors had been in contact with some negroid people. It has generally been assumed that this contact occurred in the course of
● 144 their migration from Indonesia and that the Melanesian elements present in Polynesia reached that region as inclusions in some non-negroid race. Churchill (69, p. 139) advances the theory that the Polynesian immigrants coasted along Melanesia and made many stops to rest and raise crops, in this way coming into close contact with the negroid peoples of the region. The northern Maori and southern Marquesans are predominantly of the Caucasic race and if this race came by way of Melanesia and picked up negroid blood and Melanesian cultural traits in transit, we should expect to find negroid blood and Melanesian traits in all the groups where the Caucasic element is important. It is important in Hawaii, where there is very little of the negroid element (Sullivan, 79, *b*, p. 19) and where the culture shows hardly any Melanesian affinities. It seems probable, therefore, that at least some of the Caucasic immigrants into Polynesia had had little or no contact with Melanesians at the time of their arrival. The population of Easter Island, which lies on the extreme eastern edge of Polynesia, shows a larger proportion of negroid types than that of any other Polynesian locality (Dixon, 70, *a*, p. 370). Stone implements which are of Melanesian type and which differ considerably from those used by the historic population have been found in Tahiti. It seems improbable that a racial element which entered Polynesia as an inclusion would have retained its distinctive implement types or would have been strong enough to dominate physically in the easternmost Polynesian island thousands of miles from Melanesia. It is more probable that the population of central and southeastern Polynesia was at one time predominantly negroid in physical type and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture.

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171 currence in Melanesia, are probably referable to the negroid stratum in the
174 southeastern Polynesian population. It also has several features in common with the western Polynesian culture. It seems probable, therefore, that it is a blend between a culture of western Polynesian type and the culture of the Caucasic immigrants who mixed with negroids to produce the southeastern Polynesian culture. The historic Hawaiians are predominantly brachycephalic but Sullivan concludes that they are a thorough mixture of the Caucasic and Indonesian races.

171 Each of the three races present in Polynesia probably entered the region
174 at a different time and brought with it a distinctive culture but it is still impossible to establish their chronological sequence. The negroid race was probably
144 the first to arrive in central and southeastern Polynesia. The main argument which has been advanced against the presence of a negroid population in this region has been the supposed inability of negroid peoples to make the long voyages necessary to colonize Polynesia. It is improbable that a race able to reach Fiji from the New Hebrides, the nearest Melanesian group to the west, would have been unable to cross the shorter stretch of sea separating Fiji from Tonga or to make the only slightly longer trip from Fiji to Samoa. The central and southeastern Polynesian groups are comparatively close lying and it would not have been difficult for even poor navigators to pass along them as far east as the Austral and Tuamotu Islands. It is not necessary to suppose that the migration of the negroid race was a deliberate or organized movement. It is probable that, like the historic Melanesians, they disliked long voyages but their presence in Fiji proves that they had seaworthy vessels and it would always be possible for a canoe to be blown out of its course and carried to islands unknown before. There is no indication that a pure negroid race reached Hawaii and the negroids probably did not reach New Zealand or the Marquesas except as inclusions in some superior race.

The order of arrival in Polynesia of the Caucasic and Indonesian races must be left an open question. The traditional movements in Polynesia have been from west to east and from southeastern Polynesia to Hawaii, the Marquesas and New Zealand. As the Indonesian stock seems to be strongest in western Polynesia this may indicate that it was the last to arrive. At the same time, the Indonesian element in the populations of New Zealand and the Marquesas seems to be strongest in those localities which are least desirable for settlement and which are farthest from the probable points of arrival of immigrants from the rest of Polynesia. In New Zealand and the Marquesas, therefore, the Indonesian race may have preceded the Caucasic race. It seems probable that the sequence of arrival of the three races in central and southeastern Polynesia was first, Negroid; second, Caucasic; third, Indonesian. The priority

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of the Indonesian race in the more distant Polynesian localities may have been due to their greater skill as navigators. The use of many piece canoes and lateen sails, which was apparently a feature of the Indonesian culture, gave them a freedom of movement which the negroid and Caucasic races probably lacked. Polynesian traditions mention long voyages of exploration and the sailing canoes of the Tongans carried complements of over a hundred men and were hardly more dependant upon winds and currents than European sailing vessels. It would not be difficult for a race which used such canoes to pass by islands which were held by hostile populations and establish itself in more distant islands which it found unoccupied or sparsely settled. The Indonesian race may have colonized both western and marginal Polynesia before it succeeded in conquering the large mountainous islands of southeastern Polynesia. The establishment of cultures of western Polynesian type in southeastern Polynesia must be quite recent for cultures of Maori-Marquesan type were still in existence there at the time of the twelfth century migration to New Zealand.

The routes by which the negroid, Caucasic and Indonesian races reached Polynesia can not be fully established until we have fuller information on Micronesia and Melanesia. The historic distribution of races and cultures in Polynesia seems to be best explained by the following hypothesis: The first settlers of central and southeastern Polynesia were negroid in race and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture. They entered the region largely as a result of accidental drifts and settled in Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook, Society, Austral and Tuamotu groups, but did not reach any of the more distant Polynesian localities. They came originally from Melanesia, probably from Fiji. The next immigrants to reach Polynesia were of the Caucasic race and had come from Indonesia by way of Micronesia. They arrived first in Samoa and spread over the territory held by the negroid people, mixing with them to produce a hybrid race and the southeastern Polynesian type of culture. A fairly pure group of the Caucasic race reached and colonized the Marquesas, which they found unoccupied or only partially settled by the negroids. A mixed group, in which the negroid element predominated, reached Easter Island. The Caucasic immigrants did not, at this time, reach either Hawaii or New Zealand. While the main body of the Caucasic immigrants were passing through Micronesia another group of the same race were coasting southward through Melanesia. This wing of the Caucasic migration was probably absorbed or dissipated before it reached Polynesia but it modified the culture of the eastern Melanesian islands to a considerable degree. The last immigrants to enter Polynesia in large numbers were of the Indonesian race. They came from Indonesia, like the Caucasic immigrants, and passed by way of Micronesia. In Micronesia their

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171 vanguard met and mixed with the rearguard of the Caucasic immigrants and a
174 group of this mixed people sailed eastward, perhaps from the Marshall group,
144 and discovered and colonized Hawaii. The main body of the Indonesian invaders arrived first in western Polynesia and established themselves most thoroughly in Tonga, where the islands were comparatively small and level. In Samoa, where the islands were large and mountainous, the earlier Caucasic and negroid population held out for a considerable time and was able to somewhat modify the culture and physical type of the conquerors. In Niue, an isolated group of the earlier population survived into historic times. The Indonesians sailed southward from western Polynesia and discovered and colonized New Zealand. They also spread over southeastern Polynesia and reached the Marquesas. In that group they mixed with the earlier Caucasic population producing a culture somewhat like that which had been carried to Hawaii by immigrants of mixed Caucasic and Indonesian race. They were unable to displace the mixed Caucasic and negroid populations of the larger southeastern Polynesian islands but they established colonies on these islands. This first Indonesian invasion was followed by a period of comparative quiescence during which few voyages were made. About the year 1000 A.D. (79, *a*, p. 223) a second period of voyages commenced. It is impossible to tell what caused the resumption of nautical activity, but it seems probable that western Polynesia had become overpopulated and that the culture of the Indonesians in that region had been stimulated by their contact with Fiji. Immigrants from western Polynesia reached the Society group and explored northward from it until they rediscovered Hawaii. There they found a branch of the same people who had been modified by long isolation and so were able to establish themselves as overlords without meeting with serious opposition. They brought to Hawaii a few features of culture which they had acquired during their passage through southeastern Polynesia. In southeastern Polynesia the pressure of the invasion from the west forced some of the population to migrate to northern New Zealand and the southern Marquesas. These migrants were predominantly Caucasic and negroid in race but were probably under the direction of chiefs descended from the earlier Indonesian invaders of southeastern Polynesia. In New Zealand they destroyed the earlier Indonesian population or drove it into the undesirable localities. In the Marquesas they ousted the earlier population from the southern islands of the group but were unable to conquer the northern islands. After the departure of these emigrants from southeastern Polynesia, western Polynesian immigrants established themselves in the region, destroying or modifying the earlier type of culture.

160 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[8]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

144 167 In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

[186] Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

161 TABLE I.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

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DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[8] Personal communication.

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GENERAL COMPARISON OF MARQUESANS WITH SAMOANS AND TONGANS.

X 142 114 The Bayard Dominick Expedition has furnished the comparative data from Samoa and Tonga. For New Zealand a unique and important contribution to somatology is that of Te Rangi Hiroa, a Maori, who has recently begun to publish in serial form a careful and thoroughly scientific study of his race. The first number,[1] dealing with skin color, hair form and color, eye color, weight, and stature has already appeared. Judging from this there is every reason to expect that the completed work will form one of the most important contributions to somatology.

Although skin color is of great interest the observations upon this character were most unsatisfactory. All of the observers complained that Fritsch's standard was not adapted to the study of the Polynesians. From my own experience with it I can sympathize with them. Furthermore the Fritsch standard is not expressed in numbers and I gave to the standards arbitrary numbers of my own. As the Fritsch chart is little known and to give the results in terms of it would be useless, it became necessary to translate these results into the terms of von Luschan's scale. I did this as best I could, but found it necessary to use two numbers in many instances. In order that there might be no personal peculiarities in the results I later asked four of the men engaged in these studies to match Fritsch's scale with von Luschan's scale. Here again great differences of judgment were shown by observers in the field. In view of this it seems best to state the results of skin color as a mere approximation. Two numbers were most frequently used—numbers 10 and 18 for unexposed skin color. Translated into terms of von Luschan's scale 10 was variously given as 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Number 18 is much darker and approaches 17, 18, or 22, 23, 24 of von Luschan's scale. For Tonga and Samoa Gifford and McKern most often reported 10 as the skin color for men. Handy gives 10 and 18 in about equal proportions. This would indicate that the Marquesans were considerably darker than the Samoans and Tongans. For exposed skin, however, no such differences occur. The Tongans, Samoans, and Marquesans are very similar. Buck's studies on the Maoris seem to indicate that they are also somewhat darker than the Samoans and the Tongans.

X 142 144 From Table V it will be noted that the Marquesans have more wavy hair than either the Samoans or the Tongans. Some of the difference may be accounted for by differences in standards of observation. This is true particularly of the curly hair of the Marquesans. (See p. 144.) But it seems fairly

[1] Hirea, Te Rangi (P. H. Buck), Maori somatology: Journ. Polynesian Soc., vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1922.

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certain that there is less straight hair in the Marquesans than in Samoa or Tonga. In Samoa and Tonga reddish-brown hair was reported, but its presence was somewhat discounted by the fact that a custom of bleaching by the use of lime was reported. Handy found a fairly high percentage of reddish-brown hair in the Marquesas, but no such process to account for it. On this point he says:[8]

> You will note that we have frequently marked hair color both black and reddish-brown. This indicates hair of the type that is almost universal with them, which appears to be black unless one sees it so that the light comes through it, when it is seen to have a strong auburn or reddish-brown tinge. I have never found any evidences of the custom of bleaching hair in the Marquesas neither in modern nor in ancient times. There was formerly a bleaching of the skin, but this is not practised now. I am convinced that this russet color in the hair was indigenous to the Marquesans before the coming of the early explorers.

This reddish tint of the hair has been the basis for much discussion and speculation. It has been attributed to intentional bleaching, to the natural bleaching effect of sunlight and salt water or both, to intermixture with the whites, or more often as evidence of a Nordic origin of the Polynesians as a whole. Speaking of hair color Buck[9] says:

> The general colour is black, but brown and reddish hair occur. Certain tribes have been stated to have had more than their share of red hair, and in these tribes it is said to occur in certain families. . . Although amongst the Maoris the confusion in colour caused by the Samoan and Tongan custom of limeing the hair, does not exist, yet owing to the admixture of white blood, great care has to be exercised in recording cases of red or brown hair as being full Maori. . . There was only one case in the whole series (760 men) of reddish brown hair and that was in a full Maori. Contrary to expectations, his skin color was 18 on von Luschan's scale (18 is the darker prevailing color of the Maori).

In Hawaii the reddish-brown hair under discussion is often found. I have seen in Hawaii thousands of mixed-bloods no one of whom had exactly this type of hair. I can confirm Doctor Buck's statement that it occurs in family groups. In two families studied it had persisted for three generations at least. As a rule it does not seem to be accompanied by a diminution of iris pigment or skin pigment. In only one family was it accompanied by weak eyes and in that only in the younger members of the family. It occurs in both sexes. Reddish-brown hair apparently occurs throughout Polynesia and I have seen the same type of hair in Chinese and Japanese who otherwise were typical members of their race. While the condition is interesting and important it should not be allowed to have too much influence on the imagination. I recommend Doctor Buck's paper for interesting comments on the Maori vocabulary and tradition dealing with hair color, hair form, and skin pigment.

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[8] Personal communication.
[9] Op. cit.

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TABLE V. COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS IN SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS ON A PERCENTAGE BASIS

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CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
Hair form:						
Straight	55.1	41.5	30.5	47.8	34.4	25.7
Low waves	25.5	41.5	31.7	39.1	46.9	35.1
Deep waves	10.1	14.4	6.1	8.8	12.5	12.2
Curly	5.8	2.5	26.8	0	5.2	18.9
Frizzly	1.4	0	4.9	4.3	1.0	6.8
Woolly	0	0	0	0	0	1.3
Hair color:						
Black	91.4	94.1	87.5	56.9	87.6	84.2
Dark brown	4.3	4.2	6.3	8.8	4.1	6.3
Reddish brown	4.2[a]	1.6[a]	3.8	34.7[a]	7.2[a]	9.5
	MALES ONLY					
Development of hair:	UPPER CHEEK			CHEST		
None	10.1	2.1	63.4	59.7	23.4	65.8
Scant	46.3	15.8	17.1	22.3	28.7	21.0
Medium	31.9	33.7	14.6	14.9	25.5	6.6
Heavy	11.5	48.4	4.9	3.0	22.3	6.6
	LOWER CHEEK			ARM		
None	14.5	4.2	49.4	3.0	0	48.2
Scant	43.3	37.2	29.6	19.1	10.5	28.4
Medium	23.2	18.1	16.0	35.3	43.2	14.8
Heavy	18.8	40.4	5.0	42.6	46.3	8.6
	CHIN			LEG		
None	0	0	5.1	0	0	19.0
Scant	23.2	19.4	62.0	7.2	7.3	53.2
Medium	27.5	30.6	20.3	42.0	66.7	17.7
Heavy	49.2	50.0	12.6	50.7	26.0	10.1
	MALE			FEMALE		
Nasal bridge						
Low	21.4	21.7	15.5	56.9	30.5	54.8
Medium	64.3	70.4	78.5	39.1	67.4	42.5
High	14.3	7.8	6.0	4.3	2.1	2.7
Axes of nostrils						
Antero	2.9	1.7	4.8	0	5.3	1.4
Oblique	57.3	78.3	50.6	39.1	69.5	37.0
Transverse	39.7	20.0	44.6	60.9	25.3	61.6
Keilodonty						
Lateral incisors: No rim	51.5	42.1	59.1	57.1	36.3	75.9
Lateral incisors: Trace	34.3	42.9	24.2	23.8	40.6	16.7
Lateral incisors: Marked	14.1	14.9	16.7	19.0	23.1	7.4
Mesial incisors: No rim	68.2	57.9	61.8	76.0	62.6	81.5
Mesial incisors: Trace	25.7	29.8	23.5	14.3	26.4	14.8
Mesial incisors: Marked	6.0	12.3	14.7	9.5	10.4	3.7

[a] Said to be bleached with lime.

TABLE VI. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

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CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	171.7	173.0	170.3	161.2	162.5	160.7
2. Head length	190.6	191.0	193.2	183.0	184.1	183.2
3. Head width	154.8	154.8	153.2	148.1	150.0	150.1
4. Minimum frontal	103.4	104.8	103.2	101.5	103.0	102.1
5. Face width	145.9	143.5	143.2	136.5	136.1	135.5
6. Bigonial diameter	104.6	104.8	109.5	99.0	99.2	103.0
7. Face height	131.1	128.2	124.1	121.1	124.1	114.5
8. Nose height	59.8	57.5	53.1	54.3	56.7	48.6
9. Nose width	43.8	44.4	43.2	41.2	41.9	40.4
10. Ear height	66.1	66.0	67.1	61.2	64.5	62.7
11. Ear width	35.2	34.5	32.7	33.6	33.4	31.2
12. Cephalic index	81.3	81.1	79.4	80.8	81.6	82.0
13. Fronto-parietal index	66.8	67.6	67.4	68.8	68.7	68.0
14. Cephalo-facial index	94.2	92.8	93.5	92.4	91.2	90.3
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	70.9	73.1	72.0	74.5	75.4	75.2
16. Zygomatico-mandibular	71.7	73.2	76.8	72.5	72.5	75.9
17. Facial index	89.9	89.2	87.0	89.8	90.8	84.7
18. Nasal index	73.6	77.6	81.9	76.3	74.2	83.6
19. Ear index	53.3	52.4	48.9	54.9	51.8	49.6

If the results may be taken at their face value the Marquesans are a much more glabrous people than either the Samoans or Tongans. While again allowances must be made for different observers it seems impossible that such large differences can be wholly explained in this way. Transverse nostrils are also more frequent in the Marquesas. On the other hand, the incisor rim is somewhat less frequent. [142]

In Table VI the anthropometric averages are given. The Marquesans are considerably shorter than the Tongans and a little shorter even than the Samoans. The average of this series is less than that given by Deniker. The Marquesan head is longer and narrower than the heads of the Samoans and Tongans, the face is narrower and lower. The bigonial diameter is much greater. The nose is slightly narrower but markedly lower. Such differences result of course in a slightly lower cephalic index (in the males only), a larger zygomatico-mandibular index, a smaller facial index, and a larger nasal index. Again, it is possible to account for these differences in part by differences in technique, but there will still be a residue that must be explained in another way.

In Table II attention has been called to the great irregularity in distribution. There is not only a great range but a most irregular distribution within that range. This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation recorded in Table VII and in Table VIII. The Marquesan males have a greater standard deviation than either the Samoan or Tongan in ten of nineteen

144 characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in two others they
144 exceed the Tongans. The excess in standard deviation for the females is in eleven of nineteen characters. In seven others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In both sexes the excess for facial index and nasal index is enormous. Practically the same excessive variability is revealed by the coefficients of variability. The Marquesan men have coefficients of variation greater than either the Samoans or Tongans in ten of nineteen characters. In five others they exceed the Samoans and in one other the Tongans. In the female series the excess of variation is even more accentuated. The Marquesan women are more variable than either the Samoans or Tongans in thirteen of nineteen characters and in five others they exceed the Samoans.

TABLE VII. COMPARISON OF THE STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	5.25	5.21	5.12	4.92	5.83	5.11
2. Head length	5.69	6.89	7.00	5.22	6.47	6.77
3. Head width	4.46	4.26	4.87	3.87	5.06	3.98
4. Minimum frontal	5.98	4.87	5.19	3.96	4.65	7.10
5. Face width	5.23	5.94	4.88	3.79	6.03	4.50
6. Bigonial	5.13	5.81	5.23	3.93	4.80	5.67
7. Face height	6.56	6.81	7.30	6.41	5.79	7.28
8. Nose height	3.64	3.91	3.97	4.53	3.75	4.40
9. Nose width	2.59	3.02	2.70	2.56	2.86	2.80
10. Ear height	4.23	4.57	4.53	3.33	3.97	5.99
11. Ear width	2.76	2.62	3.05	2.30	2.35	3.22
12. Cephalic index	3.53	3.14	3.52	2.98	4.09	3.66
13. Fronto-parietal index	3.30	3.51	3.75	3.12	3.22	4.50
14. Cephalo-facial index	2.84	4.68	3.13	2.63	3.23	3.08
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	3.55	4.23	4.37	3.34	3.33	5.06
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	3.84	4.56	4.02	3.50	3.57	3.32
17. Facial index	4.87	4.43	6.17	5.03	4.32	5.69
18. Nasal index	5.86	7.58	7.75	7.99	6.15	9.17
19. Ear index	3.79	3.93	4.82	4.53	3.93	4.83

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TABLE VIII. COMPARISON OF THE COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATION OF THE SAMOANS, TONGANS, AND MARQUESANS (IN PERCENTAGE) 141 144

CHARACTER	MALE			FEMALE		
	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan	Samoan	Tongan	Marquesan
1. Stature	3.05	3.01	3.00	3.05	3.58	3.20
2. Head length	2.98	3.60	3.60	2.85	3.51	3.70
3. Head width	2.88	2.75	3.20	2.61	3.37	2.70
4. Minimum frontal	5.78	4.64	5.00	3.90	4.51	7.00
5. Face width	3.59	4.13	3.40	2.77	4.43	3.30
6. Bigonial	4.90	5.54	4.80	3.96	4.83	5.50
7. Face height	5.00	5.31	5.80	5.30	4.66	6.40
8. Nose height	6.09	6.80	7.50	8.34	6.61	9.00
9. Nose width	5.91	6.80	6.20	6.21	6.82	6.90
10. Ear height	6.39	6.92	6.80	5.44	6.15	9.60
11. Ear width	7.84	7.59	9.30	6.84	7.03	10.30
12. Cephalic index	4.34	3.87	4.40	3.68	5.01	4.50
13. Fronto-parietal index	4.94	5.19	5.60	4.54	4.68	6.60
14. Cephalo-facial index	3.01	5.04	3.30	2.84	3.54	3.40
15. Zygomatico-frontal index	5.01	5.78	6.06	4.49	4.41	6.70
16. Zygomatico-mandibular index	5.42	6.22	5.20	4.83	4.92	4.40
17. Facial index	5.42	4.96	7.10	5.60	4.75	6.70
18. Nasal index	7.96	9.76	9.50	10.47	8.28	10.90
19. Ear index	7.11	7.50	9.90	8.25	7.58	9.70

TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)

CHARACTER	45 MALE 39		30 FEMALE 43	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
1. Stature	169.5	171.1	160.2	161.2
2. Shoulder height	142.2	141.7	134.5	133.1
3. Arm length	79.6	79.5	73.4	71.9
4. Sitting height	87.3	87.4	84.0	84.8
5. Arm reach	176.0	177.5	163.5	161.9
6. Head length	192.7	193.7	183.6	182.7
7. Head width	153.9	154.8	148.4	151.4
8. Minimum frontal	101.9	104.5	101.3	102.6
9. Face width	142.1	144.4	133.8	136.7
10. Bigonial	109.2	109.8	102.2	103.6
11. Face height	128.0	120.6	117.1	112.6
12. Nose height	53.8	52.2	50.6	47.3
13. Nose width	42.8	43.9	39.7	40.9
14. Ear height	67.1	67.0	62.9	62.5
15. Ear width	32.6	32.9	31.3	31.0
16. Relative shoulder height index	83.4	82.8	83.8	82.5
17. Relative arm length index	46.9	46.7	45.6	44.8

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TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF THE ANTHROPOMETRIC AVERAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND OF THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)—CONTINUED

CHARACTER	MALE		FEMALE	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
18. Relative sitting height index	51.2	51.0	52.4	52.6
19. Relative arm reach index	103.8	103.8	101.5	100.3
20. Cephalic index	78.9	79.9	80.7	82.9
21. Fronto-parietal index	67.2	67.6	68.3	67.8
22. Cephalo-facial index	93.6	93.5	90.2	90.3
23. Zygomatico-frontal index	71.8	72.4	75.8	75.1
24. Zygomatico-mandibular index	76.9	76.6	76.4	75.6
25. Facial index	90.2	83.5	87.6	82.4
26. Nasal index	80.1	84.2	78.7	87.2
27. Ear index	48.8	49.1	51.0	49.7

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TABLE X. COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTE CHARACTERS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ISLANDS (GROUP I) AND THE NORTHWESTERN ISLANDS (GROUP II)
(FREQUENCY IN PERCENTAGE)

CHARACTER	(44) MALE (38)		(31) FEMALE (43)	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
Hair form				
Straight	18.2	44.7	22.6	27.9
Low waves	43.2	18.5	45.2	27.9
Deep waves	9.1	2.6	9.7	13.9
Curly	29.5	23.7	16.1	23.3
Frizzly	0	10.5	6.4	4.7
Woolly	0	0	0	2.3
Axis of nostrils				
Antero-posterior	9.1	0	3.2	0
Oblique	54.5	46.2	54.9	23.8
Transverse	36.4	53.8	41.9	76.2
Keilodonty: Rim on mesial incisor				
Absent	45.0	80.8	68.2	81.3
Slight	32.5	11.5	22.7	12.5
Marked	22.5	7.7	9.1	6.2
Rim on lateral incisor				
Absent	50.0	80.8	71.5	87.9
Slight	31.0	11.5	19.0	12.1
Marked	19.0	7.7	9.5	0

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of the beard and body hair, and also a less frequent occurrence of the incisor rim. Type II is shorter, has shorter, wider heads, wider and lower faces, and wider and lower noses. As a result of these differences, the cephalic index is greater in Type II, the facial index is about 12 points less on the average, and the nasal index 12 or more points higher. Other consistent differences are smaller fronto-parietal indices and a larger ear index in Type II. 141 142X

There can be no doubt that at least two separate and radically different groups of associated characters are represented. A study of the photographs of the two groups will add still further to the lists of associated characters. On the basis of measurements and descriptive characters, I have sorted out the photographs as best I could into groups approaching Type I and Type II. I do not urge that any of these be accepted as pure members of either type, although it seems altogether probable that many of them are. For our purpose it will be sufficient to say that in a totality of their characters the men in Plate XXXVI and the women in Plate XXXVIII approach Type I, as I have described it. The men who most clearly approach Type II are shown in Plate XXXVII and the women in Plate XXXIX. Many better eamples of the two types were photographed, but under such adverse conditions that the photographs do not lend themselves well to reproduction. Most of the men represented in Plate XXXVI are fairly typical of Type I. Numbers 7, 8, 10, 13 are very possibly of a different type. They have extremely short heads. In Plate XXXVII numbers 1, 2, and 3 are rather extreme examples of Type II. The other members are probably mixed with various other elements besides Type I. Numbers 3, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 14 are poor examples of the type. The women are much more difficult to select. Numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12 and 13, on Plate XXXIX are good examples of Type II. Most of the women in Plate XXXVIII approach fairly closely Type 1, but numbers 5, 6, 9, and 15 are the best representatives. In Plate XL I have placed those who fall in the mixed and unclassified groups. Numbers 2, 5, 11, and 13 represent the extremely short-headed element as do also numbers 8 and 12 of Plate XXXVIII. For comparison a few photographs of persons of mixed Caucasian and Asiatic origin are given in Plate XLI.

A careful study of the photographs suggest many other characters in which the two types differ. Type II has thicker lips and the eyes are peculiar, being less wide open, and several have a suggestion of epicanthic fold. The lower lid of some of the eyes in Type II has a swollen beveled appearance. The outer canthus is somewhat higher than the inner canthus which results in an obliquely placed eye slit. Type II is also heavier and stockier. The neck is short and heavy. Type I, when all Type II characters are removed, are more Caucasoid in appearance. The nasal bridge is higher and the lips are thinner. The hair, too, seems to be straighter in Type I although it should be emphasized here that in neither of these two types 141 142X 144

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141 do we find the stiff straight black hair characteristic of the Chinese, Japanese, and many Malay and American peoples.

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TABLE XXXIX. INTER-ISLAND DISTRIBUTION OF TWO PHYSICAL TYPES IN THE MARQUESAS

Island	Type I		Mixed near Type I		Intermediate and unclassifiable		Mixed near Type II		Type II		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
MEN											
Nuku Hiva	0	0	2	18	2	18	2	18	5	46	11
Ua Huku	1	12	0	0	1	12	1	12	5	64	8
Ua Pou	4	20	7	35	1	5	3	15	5	25	20
Hiva Oa	22	63	4	11	7	20	0	0	2	5	35
Tahu Ata	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fatu Hiva	1	10	2	20	7	70	0	0	0	0	10
Total	28	33	15	18	18	21	6	7	17	20	84
WOMEN											
Nuku Hiva	1	14	0	0	2	28	2	28	2	28	7
Ua Huku	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	20	7	70	10
Ua Pou	1	4	2	7	8	29	4	14	12	44	27
Hiva Oa	10	38	4	15	7	27	2	8	3	12	26
Tahu Ata	2	100			—	—		—		—	2
Fatu Hiva	1	50	1	50	—	—		—		—	2
Total	16	21	7	9	17	23	10	13	24	32	74
TOTAL SERIES											
Nuku Hiva	1	5	2	11	4	22	4	22	7	39	18
Ua Hiva	2	11	0		1	5	3	17	12	67	18
Ua Pou	5	10	9		9	19	7	15	17	36	47
Hiva Oa	32	52	8	13	14	23	2	3	5	8	61
Tahu Ata	2	100									2
Fatu Hiva	2	17	3	25	7	58					12
Total	44	28	22	14	35	22	16	10	41	26	158

A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE SAMOANS

141 In view of the clear evidences of at least two types in the Marquesas it becomes highly important to reconsider the Samoans and Tongans in order to determine if possible the presence or absence of Type II. It is not only probable but altogether likely that some of the diversity I attributed to Melanesian intermixture may be due to the presence of Type II since the differences are in the same characters.[10] While Type II cannot be considered Melanesian it has certain Melanesian, Papuan, and negroid characters which might very easily be mistaken for Melanesian influence. I refer, of course, to the darker skin, more wavy hair, low and broad faces, low and broad noses, and thick lips. As a matter of fact this leaves but one or two criteria with which to distinguish between Melanesian intermixture and the influence of Type II. This must be decided largely upon the basis of head form and relative curliness of the hair. With the possibility of head deformation in Tonga and Samoa, the problem is still further complicated.

It will be necessary to test further the homogeneity of the Samoan and Tongan series by subdividing them into different stature, head form, face form, and nose form groups, as I have done for the Marquesan material.

TABLE XLIII. AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATURE GROUPS OF SAMOAN MEN

Characters	18 Tallest	Total series	20 Shortest
Cephalic index	81.2	81.3	82.0
Fronto-parietal index	68.0	66.8	67.1
Cephalo-facial index	93.9	94.2	93.4
Facial index	91.2	89.9	89.9
Nasal index	72.5	73.6	73.7
Rim on lateral incisor	.33	.76	1.10
Rim on mesial incisor	.22	.44	.63
Arm pigment	6.1	7.1	8.6
Cheek pigment	9.3	10.3	10.2
Hair form	1.9	1.7	1.6
Beard development	5.8	5.2	5.4
Body hair development	6.2	5.2	5.0
Elevation of nasal bridge [a]	2.2	1.9	1.8
Axes of nostrils [b]	2.3	2.3	2.3

[a] The higher the number the higher the nasal bridge.
[b] The larger the number the more transverse the nostrils.

[10] Op. cit.

[pp. 197-232 have been omitted from this source.
-Analyst]

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SUMMARY

1444 The modern "Polynesians" of the Marquesas, Samoa and Tonga are a mixed people. This fact accounts for the great diversity of opinion regarding their racial origins and affinities. In addition to the Polynesian population there is a second type resembling the Indonesian peoples of Malaysia, and a third extremely short-headed element. This paper deals mainly with the Polynesian and Indonesian types. The unrecognized presence of the Indonesian type has given rise to the theories of Indonesian affinities of the Polynesian people.

When the Indonesian element is removed, the Polynesian is more strikingly Caucasoid. Some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians may be due to the presence of a third type not yet isolated. At present it seems best to regard the Polynesian type as an offshoot of the primitive Mongoloid stem, very close to where some Caucasians branched off.

The Indonesian type is usually regarded as Mongoloid also but is strongly divergent in the direction of the Negro. The resulting hybrid of the Polynesian and Indonesian types is much more Mongoloid in appearance than is either of the parental types.

The Polynesian and Indonesian types cannot be considered as close relatives in a physical sense. Indeed, their only claim for relationship is that both may be somewhat hesitatingly classed as divergent Mongols. But even if such a classification is eventually proved to be justified, the relationship is a very distant one.

In the Marquesas are marked inter-island differences in the distribution of these two types. The Indonesian type is for the most part confined to the islands of Ua Huku, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou. The Polynesian is also present in these islands, but is much less mixed with the Indonesian element in the southern islands of the group: Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Hiva Oa. In Tonga also the Indonesian element is much more concentrated in the northern island groups, Haapai and Vavau, but especially in Haano. No certain inter-island differences were found in Samoa.

These two types do not exhaust the possibility of finding other physical types in Polynesia. There is unmistakable evidence of Melanesian influence, particularly in Tonga. The Idonesian type has many Negroid characteristics, which have lead to an exaggerated opinion as to the amount of Melanesian blood in Polynesia.

In addition there is an extremely short-headed element in Polynesia, referred to by Dixon as Malayan; by Elliot-Smith as Proto-Armenoid; and by others as Indonesian, or Alpine. Apparently it is this element of the population that Deniker refers to as Polynesian. At present its claim to distinction as a separate type seems to consist chiefly of extremely short heads, associated with narrow faces,

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144 narrow noses, light skin and well developed beard and body hair. As yet I have not been able to establish a sufficiently large group of associated characters to warrant its discussion. It seems probable, however, that this type may account for some of the Caucasoid traits of the Polynesians. This, as well as many other phases of the Polynesian problem, needs further study in the areas in which the people are more characteristic of this type.

In a marginal area like Polynesia it is possible to find individual representatives of nearly all the races living in and around the Pacific. A study of the photographs in this and other papers on Polynesia will show that this possibility is realized to some extent in the Marquesas, Samoa, and Tonga. but to discuss them at present would be to magnify their importance. I have confined my efforts to those types whose presence could be unmistakably demonstrated in sufficient number to warrant the assumption that they had played an important part in the history or prehistory of Polynesia. I am not at all sure that I have isolated all of these elements even, in the three island groups considered here. Furthermore, it is probable that future studies may result in some modification in the characteristics I have assigned to the two main types discussed in this paper. The relative proportions of the different types given in this paper are of course tentative for it is only when it has been possible to reconstruct the various elements of the population in detail that it will be practicable to give definite estimates of their relative frequencies.

128 141 X142 144 In order that this paper may be of greater permanent value to those who do future work in Polynesia, or who may be inclined to carry my analysis further, I have presented the data and analyses in considerable detail. The extent of this detail may discourage those whose interest is only casual from hunting for the points which may be of special interest to them. For this reason I will briefly recapitulate the points of more general interest and indicate the section of the paper in which more detail on these points can be found.

The Marquesan material when seriated shows no tendency to form normal frequency distributions. The bimodal tendency encountered in Tonga is here encountered in an extended and exaggerated degree. Nearly every character is bimodal or multimodal. The range is enormous especially in the nasal, facial and cephalic indices. (See p. 145.) This condition is emphasized by the standard deviations and coefficients of variation which are greatly in excess of those for the Samoan and Tongan data. (See p. 165.)

141 X142 144 The Marquesans differ somewhat in their average characters from the Samoans and the Tongans. Their hair is more wavy, their skin is darker, they are more glabrous, they have more transversely placed nostrils, the enamel rim on the incisor teeth is less frequent, they are shorter in stature, have longer heads, their

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faces are narrower, but markedly lower, their bigonial diameters are greater and their noses are narrower and lower. (See p. 160.) 141 142 144

In the three southeastern islands of the group (Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa) the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, but the height is much higher, the nose is higher and narrower than in the northwestern islands of the group. The skin color is lighter also. The differences are too great and far-reaching to be considered as local differentiation and indicate a non-homogeneous group. (See pp. 165-8.)

A detailed analysis showed two main tendencies in the association of characters which I have designated as follows:

TYPE I	TYPE II
Characterized by:	Characterized by:
1. Taller stature	1. Shorter stature
2. Longer heads	2. Shorter heads
3. Higher faces	3. Lower faces
4. Narrower noses	4. Wider noses
5. Straighter hair (?)	5. More wavy hair (?)
6. More beard	6. Scant beard
7. More body hair	7. Scant body hair
8. Lighter skin color	8. Darker skins
9. More frequent incisor rim	9. Infrequent incisor rim. (See p. 187)

On the assumption that the cephalic, facial, and nasal indices were the most distinctive anthropometric traits of these two types, the individuals were analyzed and classified as Type I, Type II or mixed and unclassified. That this analysis and classification was partly successful is indicated by the resulting averages of these groups. Marked and certain differences were found in twenty of the twenty-four characters studied. They emphasize the difference in the facial and nasal indices which amount to 12 points or more on the average. The differences in head form are less marked. Type I is mesocephalic and Type II is slightly brachycephalic. Type II also has thicker lips and less wide open eyes than Type I.

Type I occurs in all of the islands, but is least mixed in Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Hiva Oa. Type II is the dominant type in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huku, and Ua Pou. There is a residue of extremely short heads that are not accounted for by either or both of these types. (See p. 188.)

A re-analysis of the Samoan material shows that Type I is an important type, but that Type II is also present here to some extent. The gap between the two types is not so wide as in the Marquesas. This is taken to mean that Type II has never been so important numerically in Samoa or has been pretty thoroughly mixed with Type I or perhaps both of these things. No apparent inter-island diffrences occur in the frequency of these two types. But since the sample was mainly from Upolu this cannot be taken as final. In Samoa also there is a still larger residue of extremely short heads. (See p. 202.)

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A more detailed analysis of the Tongan data indicates that Type II is also present in Tonga. The presence of this type which has many Negroid characters is responsible for much of the heterogeneity attributed to Melanesian influence in a previous paper. Type II is more distinct here than in Samoa, but less so than in the Marquesas. Here again Type II has not become uniformly distributed throughout the archipelago, but is concentrated more strongly in the northeastern groups of Vavau and Haapai and especially in Haano. These two types account for about 60 per cent of the population of Tonga. The remaining 40 per cent contained a large number of individuals with short heads, narrow faces and narrow noses. (See p. 209.)

Type I is the true Polynesian. Its relationship to the Aino is suggested. When Type II is removed the Polynesians are much more Caucasoid than they have hitherto been described in this series, but this approach to the Caucasian may be due to the fact that there is a third type in Polynesia carrying these traits. They seem to stand intermediate between the Caucasians and the Mongols in a totality of their characters. It is possible to regard the Polynesian as Mongoloid only on the assumption that the primitive Mongoloid type gave rise to the Caucasian types. In this sense the Polynesian may be regarded as a near-Caucasian type or as the result of one of nature's attempts to evolve a Caucasian type. They at least must have branched off very near to where the Caucasians branched off. (See pp. 215-7.)

Type II is called tentatively an Indonesian type. It is commonly looked upon as Mongoloid, but its negroid characters are emphasized. It is also pointed out that these two types are not very closely related and have very little in common except the fact that both may be somewhat hesitatingly classified as divergent Mongoloid types, the one in the Caucasian direction, and the other in the direction of the negro. Earlier theories of relationships of these two types are due in part to the unrecognized presence of an Indonesian type in Polynesia and a Polynesian type in Indonesia combined with an unfortuate confusion in anthropological terminology.

These two types do not entirely exhaust the possibility of other types in Polynesia. Among other things there is an extreme degree of brachycephaly, or short headedness, to be explained. It seems very probable that this condition is due to the presence of a third type, but discussion of this point is reserved for the Hawaiian paper of this series, since Hawaii is a stronghold of this element. Although the characteristics of this type in detail are not yet certain, there seems to be associated with them short heads, high, narrow faces, narrow noses, light skins and a well-developed beard and body hair. The isolation of this type will probably modify some of the characteristics given to the two types which form the subject of this paper.

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INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

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Individual records of the Marquesans, Samoans and Tongans on which the comparative studies of this paper are based are given in the accompanying tables. The Samoan and Tongan observations and measurements were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern; the Marquesan observations and measurements, by Dr. and Mrs. E. S. Handy; and the tables were compiled by Bessie P. Sullivan. The symbols used in the tables are as follows:

KEY TO TABLES OF INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

Explanation of Tables

A catalog number
B sex
C age
D island of birth
E hair form
F incisor rim, laterals
G incisor rim, mesials
1 stature
2 head length
3 head width
4 minimum frontal diameter
5 face width, maximum
6 bigonial diameter
7 anatomical face height
8 nasal height
9 nasal width

I cephaic index
II transverse fronto-parietal index
III transverse cephalo-facial index
IV zygomatico-frontal index
V zygomatico-mandibular index
VI anatomical facial index
VII nasal index

Body of tables

Under B: m = male; f = female
Under D: Island of Birth
Samoa
1—Upolu
2—Savaii
3—Fiji

Tonga
1—Niuatoputapu
2—Niuafoou
3—Vavau
4—Haapai
5—Tongatabu
6—Eua

Marquesas
1—Nuku Hiva
2—Ua Huku
3—Ua Pou
4—Hiva Oa
5—Tahu Ata
6—Fatu Hiva

Under E: hair form
1—straight
2—low waves
3—deep waves
4—curly
5—frizzly
6—woolly

Under F and G: enamel rim on incisor teeth
0—absent
1—slight
2—medium
3—marked

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
14	m	46	1	1	...	...	163	182	150	108	143	101	120	55	40	82.4	72.0	95.3	73.5	73.4	83.9	72.7
29	m	48	1	1	0	0	168	190	156	104	142	110	121	50	41	82.1	66.7	91.0	73.2	77.5	85.2	82.0
2	m	21	1	4	3	3	...	187	160	101	140	...	114	45	44	85.6	63.1	87.5	72.1	...	81.4	97.8
28	m	20	1	3	3	3	173	187	153	107	146	103	110	46	45	81.8	69.9	95.4	73.3	70.6	73.3	97.8
62	m	43	1	1	0	0	162	180	155	100	143	103	117	50	47	86.1	64.5	93.6	69.0	71.0	80.7	94.0
116	m	43	1	1	0	0	163	181	153	100	140	107	119	48	43	84.5	65.4	91.5	71.4	78.4	85.0	89.6
111	m	60	1	1	...	...	161	198	156	93	153	116	117	56	49	79.6	59.6	98.1	69.8	75.8	76.5	87.5
109	m	48	1	4	...	...	169	210	152	103	155	118	130	55	46	72.4	67.8	102.0	67.1	76.1	83.9	83.6
36	m	50	1	...	...	...	176	187	153	99	140	...	124	55	43	81.0	64.7	91.5	70.7	...	88.6	78.2
107	m	24	1	4	...	...	172	188	158	103	142	108	121	51	42	84.0	65.2	89.9	72.5	76.1	85.2	82.4
31	m	59	1	1	...	...	171	200	160	108	148	112	120	54	47	80.0	67.1	92.5	73.0	75.7	81.1	87.0
12	m	30	2	1	0	0	173	199	152	112	146	...	120	52	43	78.4	73.7	96.0	76.7	...	82.2	82.7
5	m	21	2	4	0	0	171	192	143	100	139	...	118	52	41	74.5	69.9	97.2	71.9	...	84.9	78.8
110	m	22	2	2	0	0	174	186	159	93	150	114	118	55	41	85.5	58.5	94.3	62.0	78.0	78.7	74.6
27	m	35	2	4	...	...	184	190	164	113	152	115	120	50	43	86.3	68.9	92.7	74.3	75.7	79.0	86.0
9	m	19	2	1	1	1	178	197	162	106	146	113	110	52	46	82.2	64.8	90.1	71.9	77.4	73.3	88.5
17	m	34	2	2	0	0	178	200	155	100	148	114	132	58	44	77.5	64.5	95.5	67.6	77.0	89.2	75.9
23	m	22	2	3	0	0	167	197	154	100	137	98	114	51	40	78.2	64.9	89.0	73.0	71.3	83.2	78.4
16	m	39	3	2	0	0	170	190	149	100	140	112	129	52	41	78.4	73.2	94.0	71.4	80.0	92.1	78.8
54	m	30	3	1	0	0	172	207	165	110	149	110	130	54	47	79.7	66.7	90.3	73.8	73.8	87.2	87.0
86	m	25	3	4	0	0	166	200	155	118	130	114	116	50	43	77.5	76.1	83.9	90.8	87.7	89.2	86.0
94	m	65	3	2	...	...	175	200	153	104	146	115	120	57	44	76.5	88.0	95.4	71.2	78.8	88.4	77.2
100	m	64	3	1	0	0	170	193	145	112	135	102	124	52	40	73.1	77.2	93.1	83.0	75.6	91.8	76.9
104	m	42	3	4	0	0	173	188	153	103	143	113	135	60	48	81.4	67.3	93.5	72.3	79.0	94.4	80.0
33	m	30	3	3	0	0	167	192	153	102	143	111	103	42	45	79.7	66.7	93.5	71.3	77.6	72.0	107.1
68	m	25	3	2	0	0	178	195	154	111	146	111	118	49	46	79.0	72.1	94.8	78.0	76.0	80.8	93.9
89	m	20	3	4	0	0	174	197	158	112	147	105	115	53	47	80.2	70.9	93.0	76.2	71.4	78.2	88.7
43	m	29	3	1	0	0	175	194	160	106	149	105	126	49	43	82.5	66.2	93.1	71.1	70.5	84.6	87.8
37	m	30	3	2	0	0	166	190	155	100	143	106	111	47	38	81.6	66.4	96.8	68.7	76.0	74.0	80.8
66	m	31	3	3	0	0	164	202	155	100	143	106	118	48	41	76.7	64.5	92.3	69.9	74.1	82.5	88.4
40	m	41	3	1	1	1	176	203	154	100	146	111	...	58	45	75.9	64.9	94.8	68.5	76.0	...	77.6
98	m	33	3	1	1	1	174	197	148	105	145	110	130	53	45	80.2	66.5	91.8	72.4	75.9	80.7	84.9
88	m	32	3	4	...	...	169	192	156	110	140	116	127	58	46	81.2	70.5	89.7	78.1	82.9	90.7	79.3
78	m	60	3	1	...	...	176	197	159	102	140	108	133	57	...	80.7	64.2	88.0	72.9	77.1	95.0	...
58	m	60	3	2	...	...	...	204	157	104	157	110	...	59	46	77.0	66.2	100.0	66.2	70.1	...	78.0
65	m	24	3	1	...	...	172	202	150	97	145	110	123	52	44	74.3	64.7	96.7	66.9	75.9	84.8	84.6
46	m	40	3	3	0	0	174	182	151	105	148	106	129	51	45	83.0	69.5	98.0	71.0	71.6	87.2	88.2
42	m	22	3	1	0	0	172	188	152	103	142	113	110	49	38	80.8	67.8	93.4	72.5	79.6	77.5	77.6
41	m	40	3	1	...	...	163	190	149	108	142	110	110	51	41	78.4	72.5	95.3	76.1	77.5	77.5	78.8
159	m	21	4	3	1	1	172	190	155	97	145	110	122	57	39	81.6	62.6	93.6	66.9	75.9	84.1	68.4
179	m	36	4	4	1	1	167	178	153	106	144	119	123	54	43	87.1	68.4	92.9	73.6	82.6	85.4	79.6
191	m	40	4	2	1	1	169	194	155	97	147	112	125	58	48	79.9	61.6	94.8	66.0	76.2	85.0	82.8
183	m	24	4	2	3	3	165	186	149	97	141	114	127	51	49	80.1	65.1	94.6	68.8	80.8	90.1	96.1
193	m	35	4	2	0	0	164	178	152	97	137	100	126	49	43	85.4	63.8	90.1	70.8	73.0	92.0	87.8
152	m	29	4	2	0	0	177	186	156	102	147	117	127	55	39	83.9	65.4	94.2	69.4	79.6	86.4	70.9
173	m	38	4	2	0	0	163	188	165	105	143	112	123	53	41	87.8	63.6	86.7	73.4	78.3	86.0	77.4

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Sullivan—Marquesan Somatology

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
143	m	51	4	3	1	1	.....	188	146	94	139	108	127	57	42	77.7	64.4	95.2	67.6	77.7	91.4	73.7
141	m	43	4	1	1	1	172	203	148	103	143	108	135	55	43	72.9	69.6	98.0	71.0	74.5	92.5	78.2
138	m	23	4	3	1	1	166	183	150	103	137	102	131	61	44	82.0	70.0	91.3	76.6	74.4	95.6	72.1
200	m	11	2	4	3	3	178	200	156	95	147	110	131	57	46	78.0	69.9	94.2	64.6	74.8	89.1	80.7
186	m	27	4	4	3	3	173	193	157	98	146	121	138	61	48	81.4	62.4	98.0	67.1	82.9	94.5	78.7
174	m	21	4	2	3	3	174	193	153	106	144	114	126	51	38	79.3	69.3	94.1	73.6	79.2	87.5	74.5
154	m	31	4	4	3	3	.....	203	154	103	144	109	128	51	40	75.9	66.9	93.5	71.5	73.7	88.9	78.4
193	m	41	4	1	3	3	176	196	152	99	145	110	126	52	43	77.6	63.1	93.4	68.3	73.9	86.9	82.7
176	m	60	4	4	3	3	168	188	153	102	144	113	131	57	42	81.4	66.7	94.1	70.8	78.5	91.0	73.7
198	m	34	4	1	3	3	168	195	155	98	140	108	134	59	39	79.5	63.2	90.2	70.0	77.1	95.7	66.1
201	m	30	4	2	0	0	179	200	153	105	145	115	133	62	39	76.5	68.6	94.8	72.4	79.3	91.7	62.9
129	m	33	4	2	0	0	162	185	143	96	135	104	121	58	44	77.3	67.1	94.4	71.1	77.0	89.6	73.9
190	m	60	4	—	0	0	.....	199	144	100	147	107	134	57	43	72.4	69.4	102.1	68.0	72.8	91.2	73.4
186	m	23	4	2	—	—	173	205	162	103	144	110	139	58	43	79.0	64.8	88.9	72.9	76.4	96.5	74.1
188	m	24	4	2	0	0	170	188	154	98	140	105	129	57	41	81.9	63.6	90.9	70.0	73.0	92.1	71.9
165	m	28	4	4	0	0	180	188	152	103	143	110	131	53	41	80.8	67.8	94.1	72.0	76.9	91.6	77.4
134	m	64	4	2	0	0	171	207	152	102	145	115	140	54	44	73.4	67.1	95.4	70.3	79.3	96.6	81.5
194	m	31	4	1	—	—	170	195	151	105	147	115	131	55	45	77.4	69.5	97.4	71.4	78.2	89.1	81.8
137	m	46	4	4	0	0	169	198	148	102	140	112	126	54	42	78.7	68.9	94.6	72.9	80.0	90.0	77.8
177	m	40	4	3	0	0	166	194	148	100	137	102	122	53	43	76.3	67.6	92.0	73.0	74.4	89.0	81.1
170	m	34	4	2	0	0	168	195	145	104	140	106	122	56	45	74.4	71.7	96.6	74.3	75.7	87.1	80.4
199	m	40	4	1	0	0	165	195	151	100	147	100	117	50	43	77.4	66.2	97.4	68.0	68.0	79.6	86.0
189	m	20	4	4	1	1	169	182	148	97	138	111	126	51	43	81.3	65.5	93.2	70.3	80.4	91.3	84.3
147	m	21	4	4	—	—	170	201	152	103	145	115	123	50	43	75.6	67.8	95.4	71.0	79.3	84.8	86.0
189	m	23	4	4	0	0	166	183	156	101	141	112	130	53	40	84.3	64.7	90.4	71.6	79.4	92.2	73.5
77	m	26	4	2	0	0	178	189	153	104	133	106	.....	51	40	81.0	68.0	86.9	78.2	81.2	—	78.4
11	m	24	6	1	1	1	175	198	155	100	143	110	127	54	45	79.5	64.5	92.3	69.9	76.9	88.8	83.0
120	m	40	6	1	1	1	163	201	154	110	150	105	120	54	41	76.6	71.4	97.4	73.3	70.0	80.0	75.9
123	m	33	6	2	1	1	168	198	153	106	142	107	124	48	48	77.3	69.3	92.8	74.6	75.4	87.3	100.0
165	m	36	6	4	1	1	167	198	160	110	149	117	133	49	42	80.8	68.8	93.1	73.8	78.5	89.3	85.7
164	m	20	6	4	1	1	167	191	147	104	137	107	124	49	47	77.0	70.8	93.2	75.9	78.1	90.5	96.9
125	m	37	6	1	1	1	164	188	154	98	127	.....	117	50	42	81.9	63.6	89.0	71.5	—	85.4	84.0
122	m	22	6	2	0	0	175	201	153	107	140	95	132	47	45	76.1	69.9	91.5	76.4	67.9	94.3	95.7
156	m	60	6	1	0	0	174	190	149	98	143	110	122	57	46	78.4	65.8	96.0	68.5	76.9	84.1	80.7
146	m	39	6	2	1	—	162	193	143	97	133	106	124	54	41	74.1	67.8	93.0	72.0	79.7	93.2	75.9
121	m	23	6	2	3	3	169	189	148	101	138	94	129	55	41	78.3	68.2	93.2	73.2	68.1	93.5	74.6
118	m	27	6	4	0	0	169	193	147	112	141	113	125	47	42	76.2	76.2	95.9	79.4	80.1	88.6	89.4
119	m	33	6	2	0	0	161	187	144	114	138	107	120	48	42	77.0	79.2	95.8	82.6	77.5	87.0	87.5
13	f	19	1	3	0	0	157	180	153	95	133	102	114	47	35	83.0	62.1	86.9	71.4	76.7	85.7	74.5
117	f	60	1	4	—	—	166	182	146	102	142	114	123	50	44	80.2	69.9	97.3	71.8	80.3	87.2	88.0
110	f	25	1	4	0	—	159	189	150	103	137	103	116	50	38	79.4	68.7	91.3	75.2	75.2	84.7	76.0
3	f	27	1	1	0	0	161	185	159	100	140	.....	116	49	42	86.0	62.9	88.0	71.4	—	82.9	85.7
112	f	21	1	1	—	—	155	185	153	93	130	93	110	44	40	82.7	60.8	85.0	71.5	71.5	84.6	90.9
135	f	27	1	2	0	3	154	174	149	100	133	91	110	48	40	85.6	67.1	89.3	75.2	68.4	82.7	83.3
108	f	50	1	2	—	—	151	177	149	100	136	103	104	48	38	84.2	67.1	91.3	73.5	75.7	76.5	79.2
13	f	39	2	2	—	—	160	190	150	100	137	102	121	54	43	79.0	66.7	91.3	72.0	74.4	88.3	79.6

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142x
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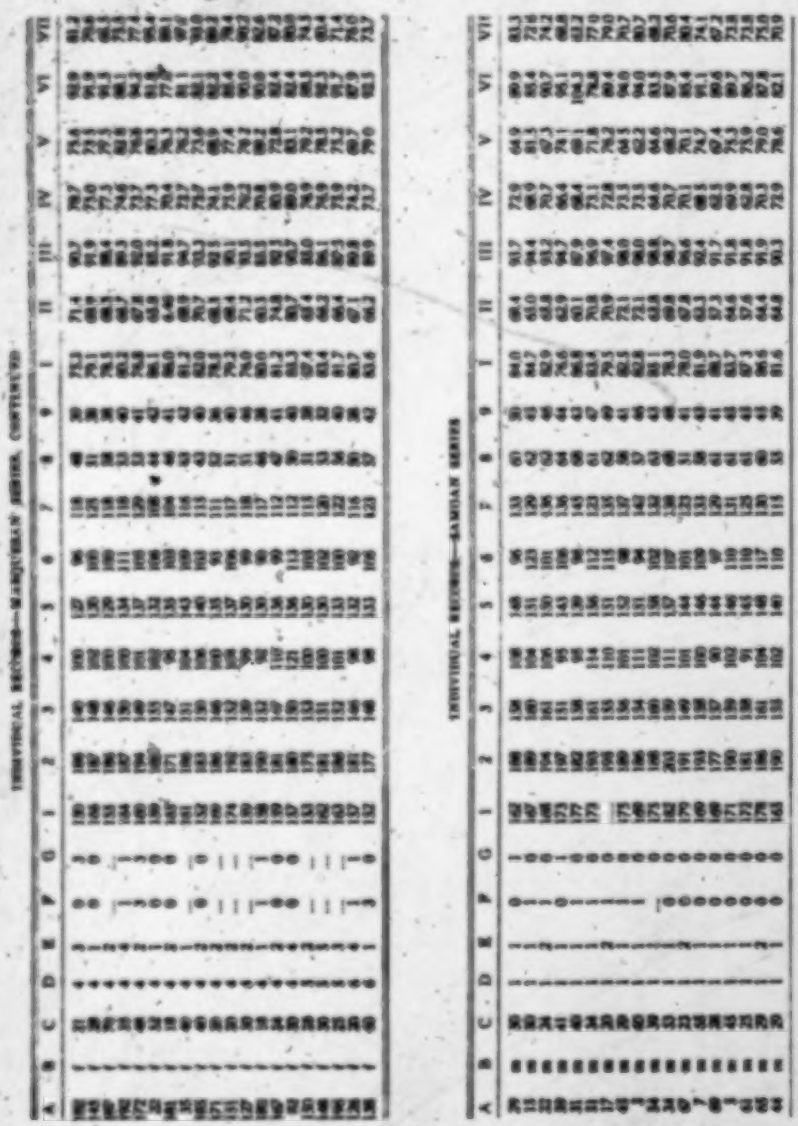
INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—MARQUESAN SERIES, CONTINUED

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
21	f	24	2	6	0	0	161	170	150	100	134	102	92	44	36	90.2	66.7	89.3	74.6	76.1	68.7	86.4
6	f	18	2	2	0	0	159	173	153	100	137	—	106	47	40	87.4	68.4	89.5	73.0	—	77.4	88.1
4	f	17	2	1	0	3	156	176	153	103	129	—	105	42	36	86.9	67.3	84.3	79.8	—	81.4	83.7
30	f	27	2	4	0	0	160	178	153	99	136	103	109	49	42	90.0	64.7	88.9	72.8	75.7	80.2	83.7
26	f	48	2	1	0	0	163	195	150	97	142	112	117	50	45	76.9	64.7	94.7	68.3	78.9	73.4	90.0
32	f	26	2	4	1	1	156	174	145	95	133	100	103	48	38	83.3	68.5	91.7	71.4	75.2	77.4	79.2
1	f	23	2	1	0	0	160	180	154	104	—	103	120	48	42	85.6	67.5	—	—	—	—	87.5
19	f	32	2	2	—	—	164	177	157	106	144	115	114	52	36	80.7	67.5	91.7	73.6	79.3	79.2	73.0
23	f	25	3	4	0	0	166	180	151	103	134	101	117	48	45	83.9	68.2	88.7	76.9	73.4	87.3	93.8
80	f	20	3	3	0	0	157	180	155	124	136	112	118	52	40	88.1	80.0	87.7	91.2	82.4	86.8	78.9
102	f	40	3	4	0	0	168	195	144	100	138	104	112	51	46	73.8	69.4	95.8	72.5	73.4	81.2	90.2
87	f	44	3	2	0	0	168	180	157	134	149	110	124	53	41	83.5	79.0	94.9	83.2	73.8	83.2	77.4
48	f	23	3	1	1	1	167	183	149	100	134	102	117	50	40	81.4	67.1	89.9	74.6	78.1	87.3	80.0
49	f	24	3	1	0	—	170	186	147	105	134	100	117	44	42	75.0	71.4	91.2	77.6	74.6	87.3	95.4
39	f	40	3	2	0	0	167	190	154	105	141	92	123	55	30	81.0	68.2	91.6	74.5	68.2	94.3	90.9
63	f	44	3	4	0	0	169	185	149	101	139	108	122	41	40	80.5	67.8	93.3	72.7	77.7	87.8	97.6
64	f	23	3	1	0	0	165	189	156	103	138	100	121	51	40	82.5	66.0	88.5	74.6	72.5	87.7	78.4
81	f	30	3	1	—	—	163	188	145	114	130	98	114	50	42	77.1	78.6	89.7	87.7	73.4	87.7	84.0
37	f	38	3	3	—	1	157	170	150	95	135	103	105	43	40	88.2	63.3	90.0	70.4	76.3	77.8	93.0
92	f	30	3	1	0	0	147	174	153	95	133	100	117	46	42	87.9	62.1	86.9	71.4	73.2	88.0	91.3
68	f	32	3	5	—	0	161	172	150	95	142	102	107	39	42	87.2	63.3	94.7	66.9	71.8	75.4	109.7
44	f	18	3	3	0	0	158	176	153	102	132	103	107	41	39	86.9	66.7	90.2	73.9	74.6	77.5	95.1
51	f	26	3	2	0	0	165	182	148	91	138	101	110	43	38	81.3	61.5	93.2	68.9	73.2	79.7	88.4
71	f	35	3	3	—	—	162	182	150	100	139	108	110	46	44	82.4	66.7	92.7	71.9	76.3	79.1	95.6
99	f	26	3	5	0	0	154	186	150	101	132	99	104	42	36	80.6	67.3	88.0	76.5	75.0	78.8	85.7
38	f	9	3	2	1	—	166	192	156	101	142	106	110	43	42	91.2	64.7	91.0	71.1	74.6	77.5	93.3
39	f	23	3	3	0	0	164	182	152	96	136	108	105	41	42	83.5	63.2	89.5	70.6	79.4	77.2	102.4
50	f	27	3	4	0	0	156	183	147	100	141	105	101	41	41	80.3	68.0	95.9	70.9	74.5	71.6	100.0
61	f	35	3	2	—	—	165	183	152	102	141	107	116	46	43	93.1	67.1	92.8	72.3	73.9	82.3	93.5
95	f	40	3	1	0	0	160	185	151	110	127	97	116	46	39	91.6	72.8	84.1	86.6	76.4	91.3	84.8
67	f	44	3	1	0	0	165	183	152	105	137	103	123	39	42	83.1	69.1	90.1	76.6	75.2	89.8	71.2
97	f	30	3	2	0	0	160	172	157	125	144	113	116	52	42	91.3	79.6	91.7	86.8	78.5	80.6	80.8
73	f	25	3	2	0	0	163	207	160	105	136	108	110	42	41	77.3	65.6	88.0	77.2	79.4	80.9	97.6
91	f	40	3	4	—	—	169	187	153	113	135	105	113	51	45	81.8	73.9	88.2	83.7	77.8	83.7	88.2
47	f	40	3	5	0	0	160	179	147	102	138	107	114	45	37	82.1	69.4	93.9	73.9	77.5	82.6	82.2
136	f	43	4	2	0	0	160	178	151	99	138	110	121	48	38	84.8	65.6	91.4	71.7	79.7	87.7	79.2
133	f	40	4	2	—	1	161	180	151	99	138	110	101	53	39	81.1	65.1	88.4	73.6	76.0	78.9	73.6
7	f	48	4	1	0	0	156	185	148	96	132	—	114	51	41	80.0	64.9	88.6	72.7	—	86.4	78.4
140	f	39	4	1	0	0	164	182	144	112	132	98	114	46	40	79.1	77.8	91.7	83.8	72.0	86.4	87.0
141	f	26	4	2	—	—	166	188	157	103	138	105	121	54	38	83.5	63.6	87.9	74.6	76.1	87.7	70.4
140	f	33	4	2	0	0	156	185	148	102	140	105	116	56	45	80.0	68.9	94.6	72.9	75.0	82.9	80.4
130	f	27	4	4	0	0	—	187	146	98	134	107	116	52	39	78.1	67.1	91.8	73.1	79.8	86.6	75.0
160	f	70	4	4	0	0	168	191	147	113	138	110	117	51	41	77.0	76.9	93.9	81.9	79.7	84.8	78.4
142	f	30	4	2	0	0	158	190	152	100	130	105	127	50	39	80.0	63.8	85.5	76.9	80.8	97.7	78.0
186	f	21	4	3	1	1	158	177	144	96	128	94	125	53	42	81.4	66.7	88.9	73.0	73.4	97.7	75.5
178	f	35	4	3	0	0	165	183	145	93	133	103	124	53	40	79.2	64.1	91.1	69.9	77.4	93.2	75.5

12: Sullivan, D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

144
142x
144



[ms]

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12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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The catalog numbers of the individuals illustrated are here given. By referring to the Appendix complete details as to stature, cephalic, facial, and nasal indices, and other measurements may be obtained.

PLATE I—POLYNESIAN MEN

1—No. 16
2—No. 100
3—No. 137
4—No. 128 Chief
5—No. 143
6—No. 158
7—No. 104
8—No. 88
9—No. 146
10—No. 184
11—No. 58
12—No. 194
13—No. 88
14—No. 146
15—No. 40

PLATE II—MEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 28 marked incisor rim
2—No. 5
3—No. 2
4—No. 11
5—No. 27 part-Hawaiian
6—No. 9
7—No. 42
8—No. 55
9—No. 11
10—No. 28
11—No. 42
12—No. 55
13—No. 9
14—No. 27
15—No. 2

PLATE III—POLYNESIAN WOMEN

1—No. 126
2—No. 110—part-Hawaiian
3—No. 7
4—No. 145
5—No. 81
6—No. 182 marked incisor rim
7—No. 180
8—No. 148
9—No. 172 marked incisor rim
10—No. 15
11—No. 151
12—No. 196
13—No. 192
14—No. 60
15—No. 139

PLATE IV—WOMEN WITH A LARGE INDONESIAN ELEMENT

1—No. 50
2—No. 44
3—No. 3 part-Hawaiian
4—No. 38
5—No. 51
6—No. 1
7—No. 22
8—No. 6
9—No. 47
10—No. 21 frizzly hair, but cephalic index 88.2
11—No. 44
12—No. 50
13—No. 35
14—No. 6
15—No. 51

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

PLATE V—MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES

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144
128

1—No. 102
2—No. 161
3—No. 26
4—No. 48
5—No. 13
6—No. 59 } long heads, high faces,
7—No. 49 } and broad noses
8—No. 153
9—No. 23
10—No. 54
11—No. 152
12—No. 31
13—No. 116
14—No. 29
15—No. 14

PLATE VI—TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS

1—one-half Chinese
2—one-half Chinese
3—part-Chinese
4—part-Chinese
5—one-half Chinese
6—one-half Chinese
7- one-half Chinese
8-one-half Chinese
9-one half Chinese
10—one-half Chinese
11—one-quarter white, one-quarter Tahitian
12—one-quarter white one-quarter Tahitian
13—one-half English
14-
15- one-quarter Spanish one-quarter French

ERRATA

In "Marquesan Somatology," by Louis R. Sullivan, B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem., Vol. IX, number 2, 1923, Plates XXXVI-XLI should read "Volume IX" instead of "Volume VIII."

[Errata have been noted on plates —Analyst]

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [797]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

131 ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

648 While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible [147] from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride. 762 [156]

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife. 152 578 595

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs. 583

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939

OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and 152
open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It [609]
was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They
manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief,
although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded 763
death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived
immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my
stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not
going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a
magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it
was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the
work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it
on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the
construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of 152
an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He
had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted
on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then
leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did
not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing
the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, 626
an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the
mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be
subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a
polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view.
They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was neverthe-
less aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his
back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe,
there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles,
the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest
of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the
standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of
thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important fac-
tor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which
was previously discussed.

764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back 784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of 152 this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/28 cont./ 804

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
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traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

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discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/69 cont./

two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news. 837 527

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband. 684 [152] 934 837 [578]

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare. 837

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 149
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

175 182 648 797

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

182 648 797 831

154 182 648 797 831

/115 cont./ 154 182 648 797 831

context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried on by the native population. Constant probing for weaknesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not successful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail. 154 182 797 831

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the 182 831 [797]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell.

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-confidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations

while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride.

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife.

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs.

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

753 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *uei*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 756 757

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 776 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

[158 843]

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 833 837 is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. [158] His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. [733] He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 888 [832]

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833 888 [832]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. 11.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

133 [226] 133 171

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

361 161

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i ao,*" it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a mispelling of *i ao*.

A [i.e., the population. - Analyst]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - -	19,200

126 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (fig. 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

● 161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

161 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[8]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

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From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

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All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. In outline the measurements were as follows:

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/5 cont./

the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161 ●
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [114]

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 114

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided 841 842 [797]

/79 cont./ 164-175

crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

161-174

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history: 161 174

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population. 175 [161] [165] [731]

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century. 161 175

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This
is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations
with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

 611 592

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth. [554]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women. 162 [592] [847]

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592 595 592 595

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 842 851

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/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. 835
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825] in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164] he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This [786] occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626 is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835 seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605 One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835 relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/82 cont./

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161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162● 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162● 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support 114 165
whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable 114
disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which 162
Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females.

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth 844
(Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the 182
survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth [343]
house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use.

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil [776]
spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth [753]
or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and [778]
whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion [776]
and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua [847]
Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield.

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXC

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

753 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *nei*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

161 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[3]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

144 In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it
167 is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

[186] Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

161 TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

162

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[3] Personal communication.

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/57 cont./
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ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander.
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relation-
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reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164]
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promiscuous girls and often his sister.

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the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

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fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to
marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred
the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been
involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread
the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the
girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked
who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated
her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while
supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed
the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to
prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter
for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it
is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two
nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscené vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea	164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.	192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.	

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene. 164 [181]

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment. [124] 744 [195]

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation. 757

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine" 757 824
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a 757
paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut
(ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times
daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands 757
were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. 797
They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially 177
available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!)

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal 757
diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here.

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may 164
be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 175

/79 cont./ 164 175

crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hivá, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731]
very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726]
Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439]
for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164]
diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/80 cont./

entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history: 161 174

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population. 175 [161] [165] [131]

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century. 161 175

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/87 cont./

birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

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184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

● 166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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166 they were defeated in the war with all eastern Hiva Oa furnishes an example of a tribe taking refuge on another island.

There is every reason to believe that there was also peaceable penetration and settlement. This is probably what occurred in Taupo Tua (Taupo, a tribal name, *tua*, back), the section along the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. Investigation shows that this region was settled by the Taupo tribe, a powerful member of the Na-iki group in Vevau, who occupied the section of that great valley lying nearest Taupo Tua, so that they had easier access to the coast by land than could be had from any other part of the island.

Summary of Evidence

174 The conclusions that have been come to in the above discussion of the peopling of the Marquesas may be briefly summarized as follows: In the thought of the people themselves there is no conception of their forefathers having come to the islands—that is, of their having migrated. There is, however, in genealogies, legends, and chants, indirect evidence that indicates knowledge of lands to the westward in central Polynesia and proves conclusively that the early settlers of the Marquesas were a branch of the people who named the regions in which they lived, Vevau, Fiti, Tona, and so on. The distribution of these names as land names across central Polynesia seems to me to indicate that this was probably the route by which the early settlers of the Marquesas came to their islands. Comparative study of genealogies and traditions with regard to the occurrence of the names of the first settlers leads to the conclusion that the first colonists came about the tenth century; that from that time until the twelfth century was what has been called the early period of settlement; that the time from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries represented a period of later expansion. Evidence from modern informants, legends, sacred chants, and a number of indirect sources indicates that the region on the southern coast of Hiva Oa, including the valleys now called Taha Uku, Atu Ona, Te Hutu, and Ta'a Oa, was the favorable center in which the native culture was nurtured and the indistinctive traits which characterize it throughout the group were developed, and from which the people and their culture expanded. Lastly it was concluded that certain cultural variations in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, which are paralleled by slight physical and temperamental differences in the people of those islands, indicate the presence of another later immigrating group of Polynesian settlers who infused their blood and influences of their culture into the stock and the culture of the settlers already established throughout the group.

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culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[9] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,[9] had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

[9] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

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Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

[773] [823] 167 [505]

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 181 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarro* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (fig. 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

●167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

161 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[3]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

144 167 In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

[186] Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

161 TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

162

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[3] Personal communication.

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 Although the Marquesans have been under French domina-797 tion since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge [71] on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-ti'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black
292 hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses.
[304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another
582 chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in
[428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Mar-
582 quesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that
● 171 children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii,
[847] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no
848 such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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622 chiefs except over their own households. The evidence of early visitors varies as regards the authority of chiefs. Krusenstern (16, p. 165) supports this:

> I have already had occasion to mention that the form of government is any thing rather than monarchical; the king is not to be distinguished either by his dress or by his ornaments from the lowest of his subjects: they laugh at his orders, and should he venture to strike any one, he would infallibly meet with a like return.

Porter (24, p. 98) says:

> As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children.

Melville, on the other hand, was impressed with the personal authority of the chiefs in Tai-pi Vai during his residence. He writes (23, p. 217):

> During the festival I had not failed to remark the simplicity of manner, the freedom from all restaint, and, to a certain degree, the equality of condition manifested by the natives in general. No one appeared to assume any arrogant pretensions. There was little more than a slight difference in costume to distinguish the chiefs from the other natives. All appeared to mix together freely, and without any reserve; although I noticed that the wishes of a chief, even when delivered in the mildest tone, received the same immediate obedience which elsewhere would have been only accorded to a peremptory command.

When Melville arrived he was also made to feel the personality of the chief. He says (23, p. 74):

> Close to where we lay . . . were some eight or ten noble-looking chiefs . . . . who, more reserved than the rest, regarded us with a fixed and stern attention, which not a little discomposed our equanimity. One of them in particular, who appeared to be the highest in rank, placed himself directly facing me; locking at me with a rigidity of aspect under which I absolutely quailed. He never once opened his lips, but maintained his severe expression of countenance, without turning his face aside for a single moment. Never before had I been subjected to so strange and steady a glance; it revealed nothing of the mind of the savage, but it appeared to be reading my own.

Melville's whole account would indicate a strict obedience to their chief on the part of the people. It seems probable that in Taiohae at the time it was visited by Porter, Stewart, and Krusenstern, there were chiefs who were capable of wielding little personal authority. The general attitude of old Hiva Oa natives in discussing chiefs indicates a strong individualistic spirit of freedom but at the same time a definite respect for and appreciation of the authority of a *haka-iki*.

[171] One thing which prevented chiefs of the Marquesas from assuming such arbitrary power as was held by those of Tahiti and Hawaii was the fact that in the Marquesas chiefs were invested with neither the sacredness nor the religious prestige that would support such authority. It is

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ino* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particu- [171] larly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was cus- [431] tomary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with lovemaking and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

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the average European, had no singing of their own more advanced than the monotonous oli and mele which appear to be all that is remembered today. And the singularity becomes even more surprising, not to say incomprehensible, in view of the fact that it is beyond question that the Marquesans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Samoans and Tongans—all of whom were closely similar to the Hawaiians in other aspects of their culture—were singing in large groups when the first Europeans arrived among them. It appears certain that if it were possible to go back to the days when the hula organization was intact we should find that there were many occasions when the members, who were both singers and dancers, intoned meles, and probably other types of chants now forgotten, in chorus and probably in parts; that is, with melody and harmonization. But of more weight than this supposition is a bit of evidence which is based on definite knowledge that there was choral singing in the southern groups; and the personal opinion, based on several lines of evidence, that there was also part singing in these groups in pre-European times. David Malo,[2] in describing the elaborate rites performed in ancient times in Hawaii in connection with the consecration of the war temple (*luakini*), has written that at a certain stage in the consecration ceremonies, a service of "prayer" was carried on in the temple for two whole nights and days by a body of priests who had committed the "prayers" to memory. The kahunas were divided into two groups that occupied either side of the house in which the service was performed; and the service was carried on by the two groups alternately giving the recitation. Now all prayers in Polynesia were rhythmically intoned, for dynamic expression was considered essential to efficacy. When, therefore, Malo writes, or is translated as writing, that "a prayer was said," a more accurate sense of the meaning will be gained if we substitute "a prayer-spell was intoned, or chanted." Evidently this is an instance of the intonation of a religious chant by a choir of men in the temple service analogous to the intoning of the sacred chants at the temples and on the feast places by choirs of old men—who it is to be noted were called collectively *tuhuna* (kahuna)—in all rites in the Marquesas.

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It is interesting to find mention in Captain King's account of Cook's[3] last and fatal visit to the Hawaiian islands of a group of dancers singing at a funeral; for dirges and eulogies were among the most prominent of the types of chants in Tonga, the Marquesas, and Cook Islands and doubtless elsewhere also. In Tonga the first missionaries who came on the ship "Duff" witnessed the funeral of one of the sacred chiefs of the

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[2] Malo, David, Hawaiian antiquities: B. P. Bishop Mus. Sp. Pub. No. 2, pp. 225-6, 1903.

[3] Cook, James, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780; vol. III, pp. 161, 166-7, London, 1785.

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islands. In their description of the ceremonial performances they describe corps of women and of men as singing responsive chants as they bore material for the tomb of the divine potentate.[4] Gill[5] gives a more adequate description of the singing that was usual at the funerary feasts of the Cook Islanders. At these festivals dirges, or "weeping songs" (*tangi*), and eulogistic compositions were sung by those taking part. Songs were commenced by individuals who brought them as tributes or offerings to the dead, and were then caught up by a chorus and carried on. The dirges and eulogies, and the singing festivals and mode of performance, undoubtedly closely resembled the Marquesan chants and performances on the same occasions.

I can vouch for the fact that *tangi* are still remembered today for I heard one sung in Tahiti by a company of people from Atiu in the Cook Islands; and they sang also other types of songs, the names of which are mentioned by Gill, that were undoubtedly ancient. But these chants were intoned by a few of the older people from Atiu only after they had been persuaded with some difficulty that it was the old "heathen" songs that were wanted, and not the adapted hymns that are much more familiar today and more generally approved, and hence produced always when singing is asked for. On the basis of only two hearings I should say that singing of the Cook Islanders shows an interesting combination of quite distinct elements characteristic of the Marquesan and the Society Islands choruses. Male voices appear usually to commence and take the leading part as in the Marquesas, and the hearer has the same sense of strongly marked, rugged rhythm, contrasting with the more rapid, running Tahitian; and of a sort of heaviness or sluggishness in the voices and tempo. In range the Cook Islands songs resemble the Tahitian rather than the very restricted Marquesan. The rhythm of the Tahitian *himene*, in which the women rather than the men lead off and carry the melody, though they are vigorously supported and urged on by the men's voices which seem veritably to take hold of the melodic element and swing it along in a powerful dynamic impulsion, is quicker and more flexible than that of Marquesas or the Cook Islands, though at the same time it is very strong. These *himene* in Tahiti are probably the best known of the genuinely native performances in Polynesia. They are referred to as "genuinely native" in order to contrast them with the modern Hawaiian songs which, like most of the modern music in all parts of Polynesia, are based wholly on our own music which has been adapted in many very different and

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[4] Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson (pp. 235-246), London, 1799.

[5] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Seas (pp. 181 ff.), London, 1876.

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most interesting ways in the various islands since the missionaries first came about a hundred years ago. Many *himene,* as all choral songs are called in the Society Islands, are adaptations of hymn tunes; many others are recent compositions which combine features from old chants with imported melodic and harmonic elements. But there are beside these many genuine old songs of the land, the words of which deal with heroes and events of long ago, which are remembered and rehearsed year after year for performance at the annual Bastile Day competition when prizes are given for the best singing of ancient and modern compositions. These are also sometimes sung upon other occasions of local festivity. Although these old chants may have been influenced to some extent by church hymn singing (they resemble the native hymns in some ways, but differ markedly in others) it is probable that in the main they represent the ancient form of choral song. As sung today they are elaborate compositions harmonized with seven parts, three carried by women's voices and four by men's voices. Performed by a large body of singers who have rehearsed them over and over until the whole chorus sweeps on as though animated and impelled by one will and completely unified in rhythmic and harmonic sense, these choral chants are stirring, and to some, truly beautiful musical creations.

As in the Cook and Society islands, most of the choral music that is to be heard today in the Tuamotus, Tonga and Samoa is based on old hymns introduced by the missionary teachers of the natives. This does not mean, however, that these compositions are not more native than they are European, for the people have a remarkable way of transforming in a very short time into their own metier even the most recent foreign musical importations. This modern music offers in itself, and we may be assured will continue to offer for many years to come, a very interesting field of study. But there are also the older types that are remembered and these are of greater interest to the student devoting himself to revealing the civilization of these islanders as it existed prior to European influence. On the strength of a very slight knowledge, consisting of one hearing of old Tuamotuan and one of old Samoan singing, I shall hazard the remark that the Tuamotuan singing represents a primitive form of the more elaborate Tahitian choruses (the Tuamotuans who were heard came for the most part from an atoll known to have been colonized from Tahiti), while the Tuamotuan love of sustained cadences resembles strongly the Samoan, contrasting with the modern Tahitian. The same love of sustained cadences was noted in songs heard on Maupiti, the outermost, most isolated, and most primitive of the Society Islands. Among the most charming songs in Samoa are the characteristic boat songs which are

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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely parodoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[4] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[4] Dordillon, I. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

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342 raising the entire house on posts, or by making the roof of disproportionate height. Houses of both types appear to have been used in all the islands, but the larger type shows more or less local variation in the form of the *pacpac*, in size, and in decoration. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *pacpac* was as a rule much wider in proportion to its length than in the islands further south and in Nuku Hiva many *pacpac* were provided with a pit for tapu objects. The use of cut stone as edging for the house floor, although of sporadic occurrence in all the islands, was most frequent in Nuku Hiva and least frequent in Fatu Hiva. The decoration of the dwelling *pacpac* with ornamental masonry appears to have been limited to Nuku Hiva, and its decoration with stone figures, to Hiva Oa, with a single doubtful example from Nuku Hiva. As a class the houses of Nuku Hiva were the largest in the group and those of Fatu Hiva, the smallest and most poorly built. Carved posts are said never to have been used in the dwellings of Ua Huka, were rare in Nuku Hiva, but were very common in Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. Ornamental lashings were used everywhere in the Marquesas, but appear to have played a more important part in the decoration of houses in the northern than in the southern part of the group.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN HOUSES

342 171 Structures corresponding to the Marquesan small house type (p. 271) are of rather wide occurrence in Polynesia. They are recorded from Hawaii, where they represent the original form from which the other house types were developed. They are also found in Tonga and in the Society Islands. The dwelling house type, as described on page 272, is characteristic of the Marquesas, and so far as known is peculiar to that group of islands.

It seems probable, therefore, that the original settlers of the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of the small house type and that the dwelling type is a later local development. The small house, while easily made, was inconvenient on account of the lack of head room and the large amount of waste space under the edges of the roof on either side. To develop the dwelling type from the small house type it was only necessary to raise the roof on one side and prop it up with posts placed along the outer edge. Even now small houses are occasionally enlarged in this way. The use of a stringer along the front of the house to keep the rafters from sagging between posts would be a step requiring no great inventive genius, while an increase in the pitch of the rear roof, cutting down the waste space along its lower edge, would soon follow. The complete absence in the Marquesas of houses with both front and rear walls is rather curious as the natives were in occasional contact with the Tuamotus and Society Islands, where walled houses were in regular use.

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On the basis of house type, Polynesia as a whole may be divided into two parts: a central part, including Tonga, Samoa, and to a lesser degree the Society Islands, in which the houses were oval, with rounded apses; and a marginal portion including New Zealand, the Marquesas and Hawaii, in which the houses were rectangular. In the central section there was no distinction between floor space and bed space, and the platform was unimportant. Some of the houses were furnished with wooden stools. Legged pillows of wood or bamboo were in regular use. In the marginal section there was a permanent division of bed and floor, a stone platform was used everywhere but in New Zealand and there was no furniture.

The Marquesan house had little in common with the central Polynesian type, and appears to be intermediate in form between the two varieties of the marginal type—that is, the Maori and the Hawaiian. In the arrangement of the frame and the common use of a stone platform and side entrance, it resembles the Hawaiian form. On the other hand the use of carved decoration links it with the Maori form, as does also the occurrence of a slide door. The *fata'a*, or store house on poles, finds no parallel in Hawaii or central Polynesia, but it closely resembles the Maori *pataka*. The use of ornamental lashings is absent in both Hawaii and New Zealand, but is highly developed in many parts of the central area. The best explanation for these facts appears to be that the Maori, Marquesan and Hawaiian forms are descended from a common ancestor, but that the Maori and Marquesan houses have been affected by some influence which introduced house carving and the *fata'a* type of structure, an influence which did not reach Hawaii. The Marquesan houses were then further modified by the introduction of ornamental lashings, a feature which did not reach either Hawaii or New Zealand.

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on the other hand are decorated only on those parts which were decorated in the actual ancient canoe and show a close attention to all details, even those hidden when the canoe was assembled, which is good evidence that the maker attempted a replica of the actual craft. At the present time the natives make models of the European vessels which visit the group and these models are properly proportioned and surprisingly accurate as to detail, the original of any model being at once recognizable. It seems probable, therefore, that the old models reproduce the real canoes with similar exactness, and it seems justifiable to use them for illustration and for the settlement of doubtful points. 501

Probably the earliest model now preserved is that in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., which was made before 1820. (See Pl. XLIV, *A*.) As may be seen from the photograph it differs somewhat from the descriptions obtained. There are no separate bow and stern piece, the figurehead rests directly on the top of the cutwater, and the outrigger is unusual in form with a direct attachment. It is possible that it reproduces a special type, now forgotten, but it is equally possible that its extremely small size has led to the omission of certain features. Next in age to this model are two preserved in the Bishop Museum (Pl. XLIV, *C*) which agree in every way with the descriptions given, and appear to be accurate replicas of the ancient craft. The highly decorated example (Pl. XLIV, *B*) is comparatively new, and was probably made for sale to Europeans.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CANOES

The simple dugout is of such widespread use among primitive peoples that a consideration of its occurrance is of little or no comparative value. Quite the reverse is true, however, of the built up canoe, as such craft offer a wide field for possible variation. If we study the Polynesian canoes of this sort we find that in Tonga and Samoa, and from there eastward to the Society Islands, these craft were built up of many sections, each cut to fit its position in the whole. These sections were fastened together by cords passed not through the body of the plank, but through oblique holes cut in flanges or projections left on the inner side of each section at the time it was hewn. No lashings were visible on the outer surface, which, after the boat was assembled, was rubbed down to an even finish. The sections were so accurately fitted that it was often difficult to detect the joints. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand, the built up canoe consisted of five parts, an underbody—hewn when possible from a single log—bow and stern pieces, and side planks. These were attached by lashings passed through holes in the body of the plank so that they were exposed on the outside. The Samoan and Tongan craft had a sharp cutwater and were flat at bow and stern. Certain parts of the larger Samoan canoes were carved but the bow and stern decorations were limited to knobs carved on the flat upper surface or on the 501 171

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edges of the gunwales. Only one Samoan form, said to be a result of foreign influence, had an upward curved projection at bow and stern. In the Hawaiian canoes we find no distinct cutwater as the bottom curves upward and narrows to a point. The bow is unornamented but has a short projection. In the Marquesas and New Zealand the bow and stern of the underbody are of the form just described for Hawaii. The bow piece extends for some distance beyond the end of the underbody while the stern piece curves upward to form a high tail. In the Society Islands the canoes were built of many pieces. The entire hull curved upward at the stern rising almost vertically for some distance, and was crowned with carved figures. At the bow there was a second projection which on some was decorated.

The sails used in Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand were made in the form of a triangle, with the apex at the foot of the mast and the boom along the lower edge. In Tonga and Samoa, on the other hand, the sail was supported by a yard, or yards, hung from the masthead. The Society Islands sail was fundamentally of the first mentioned type, but differed in having the upper end of the boom recurved.

Bailers appear to have been much the same everywhere in Polynesia, but were decorated with carving only in New Zealand and the Marquesas. Marquesan paddles appear to have no exact oceanic parallels, but resemble somewhat those from Easter Island and Mangareva. It is interesting to note in this connection that many of the Hawaiian paddles have on either side, near the tip of the blade, a short rib which serves no practical purpose. It seems possible that this is a survival of an earlier knob or end projection.

It is apparent that in the canoes, as in the houses, there are clear indications of an eastern and a western type. The eastern type is characterized by the use of only five essential parts, bound together by lashings which are visible externally, and by the use of a triangular sail and boom. The western is characterized by the use of many parts bound together by lashings, invisible externally, and by the use of a sail with a movable yard hung from the masthead. The use of ornate bow and stern pieces is unknown in the western area, with a single possible exception, but is normal in the eastern area except Hawaii.

If we compare the Maori and Marquesan canoes we find a series of resemblances so striking that they argue a close cultural relationship. Both boats are basicly the same in the form and arrangement of the parts, and in both the bow piece terminates in a figurehead. In the smaller Maori canoes this figurehead is a simple face borne on the end of a constricted neck, as in the Marquesan form. In the more elaborate Maori forms the figurehead is carved into a full figure, but the high vertical ornament of the Maori bow pieces finds a parallel

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in the pierced planks placed along the center of the Marquesan bow piece. In both we have the high ornamental stern projection. In both, the upper edges of the side planks were expanded to form flat gunwales and the planks themselves were often decorated with carving. In both the Maori and Marquesan canoes, the strips covering the outside of the seams between underbody and side plank were blackened and were decorated with tufts of white feathers at the lashings. Among the Maori, the feathers for this seam decoration were obtained from the shearwater, and although the species of bird from which the Marquesans obtained their feathers for this purpose was not identified, the native descriptions of the habits of the birds makes it almost certain that these people also obtained their decorations from the shearwater.

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The resemblances just noted are too close and numerous to be the result of independent evolution, and although the canoes of the two groups differed in certain minor structural details, the conclusion is inevitable that they represent divergent developments of a single type. The existence of such closely related forms at almost opposite ends of the Polynesian crescent, when the space between is occupied by forms which differ from both more widely than the Maori and Marquesan canoes differ from each other, is best explained by the assumption that they represent marginal survivals of a form which had been diffused over the whole eastern area, but which has been destroyed or overlaid in the intervening regions. The Society Island canoes, with their combination of high stern and prow with many piece construction, are probably a hybrid type resulting from the superposition of the western style of construction upon the Maori-Marquesan form. The exact relation of the Hawaiian canoe to this Maori-Marquesan form is difficult to establish. Basicly they are the same, but the Hawiian canoe lacks all the ornamental features of the other type. It seems probable that both are descended from a common ancestor while the relatively greater simplicity of the Hawaiian canoe suggests that it stands nearer to this original form. The features which distinguish the Maori-Marquesan type—the high bow and stern and profuse decoration—are strongly suggestive of Melanesia, and it seems probable that they are a result of Melanesian influence.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a turner's chisel. The shaft, either from accident or intention, is curved to fit the hand accurately, and the whole surface shows a slight but even polish of the sort acquired through wear, so that it is probable that the implement was never hafted. 412 324

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN ADZES WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

A thorough comparative study of Oceanic adzes would, the author believes, yield results of great ethnological value. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, but it seems well to point out the features which distinguish Polynesian adzes as a class from those used in Melanesia, and to indicate the distribution of the various Polynesian types. No satisfactory information is available for some parts of Polynesia, but the conditions appear to be as follows: 412 171

Melanesian adzes as a class are oval or eliptical in cross section, with smoothly rounded contours, and nearly all of them are completely ground and polished. The use of a distinct tang is unknown. Polynesian adzes, on the other hand, are triangular to rectangular in crosssection with surfaces composed of a few large planes meeting at sharp angles. New Zealand appears to have been the only locality in which the grinding and polishing of all surfaces was normal. Fully ground specimens are fairly common from Tonga, the Society, Austral and Cook groups, and from Easter and Chatham Islands, but are less numerous in collections than those which are at least partially rough. In Hawaii and Samoa fully ground adzes are almost unknown, while in the Marquesas complete grinding is practically limited to the *toki oa* type. In Tonga there appear to be two quite distinct types, one of which is clearly Melanesian while the other is an angular tangless blade of Polynesian character. Adzes of Melanesian contour and finish are present in collections from New Zealand, Easter Island, Chatham Island and rarely from the Society Islands. It thus appears that, broadly speaking, adzes of Melanesian type are present in all those localities in which there is a marked tendency toward complete grinding of recognizably Polynesian forms, while they are lacking in regions where complete grinding is rare or absent. It seems probable, therefore, that this feature is everywhere referable to a Melanesian influence, either direct or transmitted, and that the original Polynesian implement was ground, at most, upon the bit and outer face.

The angular Polynesian adzes may be divided into two main classes, tanged and tangless, each of which contains a number of subtypes. Tanged adzes are present in all the marginal Polynesian areas and extend as far west as the Cook Islands but they are rare in Samoa and absent in Tonga. They are divided into well marked local types: the Hawaiian type, the Southwestern type and the New Zealand type.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 171 The Hawaiian type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, relatively thick blade, and grinding upon the bit, or the bit and outer surface only. Fully 90 per cent of the Hawaiian specimens have this form, but its only occurrence outside that group appears to be in the Marquesas, where it is one of the rare forms (Pl. XLV, *D*).

The southeastern type is characterized by a triangular or subtriangular cross section, a relatively thin blade with a long bevel, and a more or less distinct shoulder where the blade meets the tang. It is often completely ground, and is normally better finished than the Hawaiian type. This is the dominant form in the Society, Austral and Cook islands, and in Easter Island, and is not uncommon in the Marquesas, although the specimens from that locality are inferior in finish to those from further south. Several examples of this type are known from New Zealand but it is lacking in the Chatham Islands and in Hawaii. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.)

The New Zealand type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, approaching in this respect the Hawaiian type. It is distinguished from the Hawaiian type by its thinner blade, rounded tang, and by a more or less complete grinding of all surfaces. It does not seem to occur in any other part of Polynesia although certain large adzes from the Chatham Islands may be a variant of this type.

The *toki aa* appears to be about equally common in the Society Islands and the Marquesas with related forms in the Cook and Austral islands and possibly in Easter Island. It is lacking in New Zealand and Hawaii. It is impossible to fix its point of origin, but the complete grinding characteristic of the type is at variance with the ordinary Marquesan practice and it seems probable that it was introduced into that group from the south.

The *toki kouma*, with slight modifications, is found throughout the same range as the *toki aa*. A very few examples come from New Zealand. It is entirely lacking in Hawaii although a few chisels from that locality have a slightly similar blade and bit form. Some examples from southeastern Polynesia and New Zealand are completely ground. The type is numerically important only in the Marquesas, and this, coupled with the fact that all Marquesan *toki kouma* show the rough finish characteristic of the group, may indicate that it was developed there. The occurrence of adzes like that shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2, in which a blade and tang of *toki kouma* type are coupled with a broad bit, lend support to this theory.

The *toki kouma* is sharply set off from all other Polynesian adz types by the fact that it was hafted with the base of the cross section triangle against the handle, a reversal of the ordinary practice. Among true adzes the nearest

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oceanic approach to the *toki kouma* form of blade and bit seems to be found in certain shell specimens from Micronesia. 4/2 171

Tangless adzes have been reported from every part of Polynesia for which there is satisfactory information. In New Zealand a well marked local type had been developed, with a thin blade of rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section ground on all surfaces. In Tonga also there appears to have been a distinct local type, characterized by a short, broad blade, relatively thin, and completely ground. The bulk of the Tongan specimens, and of the tangless adzes from all other parts of Polynesia, show such uniformity that one is forced to conclude that all were made after an established pattern. This universal type is characterized by quadrangular to subtriangular cross section, sides which converge toward the poll, and grinding upon the bit and outer face only. (See Pl. XLVII, *A*.)

The dominance of the two main adz types—that is, tanged and tangless—shows the same distinction between Samoa and Tonga on the one hand and marginal Polynesia on the other, which we have already noted in our study of houses and canoes. The tanged adz is dominant everywhere in marginal Polynesia, and lacking in the Samoa and Tonga. The tangless adzes throughout marginal Polynesia may be explained as a result of western Polynesian influence, but their comparative rarity in the Society Islands where western Polynesian influence is strong, and their frequency in the Marquesas, where such influence appears slight, is an argument against this. The wide distribution of tangless adzes, their relative simplicity and ease of manufacture, and their remarkable uniformity wherever found, suggest that they represent a primitive type originally known to all the Polynesians. Specimens collected in the Marquesas link the tangless adzes with both the rectangular and triangular tanged forms and both probably have been developed from the tangless adz.

The Polynesian distribution of the Marquesan adz types would seem to indicate more or less contact with the Society Islands and Southeastern Polynesia in general, while the remarkable similarity of some of the specimens to normal Hawaiian forms suggests an influence from that group also. The importance of the tangless adz may indicate a western Polynesian influence, but is more easily explained as a primitive survival.

METHODS OF HAFTING

Different methods were employed in the hafting of chisels and adzes. No really ancient specimens of either type were seen but the hafted adzes studied agree with the descriptions of informants and are almost identical with the iron bladed adzes still in ordinary use throughout the group, so they are probably good reproductions of the ancient form. The data in regard to the hafting of 4/2

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

expect to find many specimens, whereas perforated stone disks are so rare that 324
most natives had never seen one and could offer no suggestion as to their use. The actual specimens are, moreover, poorly adapted for this purpose as No. 2 is quite asymmetrical while the perforation of No. 1 is much too narrow to admit a drill shaft. Perforated disks of this sort are also found in Hawaii as a rare form.

SINKERS

Stone sinkers were used with at least one of the Marquesan types of fish- 227
net, but specimens deliberately shaped for this purpose are extremely rare. Only one object which could be identified as a net sinker was seen. This was a rather crudely finished specimen of coarse lava having an almost globular body terminating in a short knob with a somewhat expanded outer end, in which a shallow transverse groove was pecked. It was about 2¾ inches long and 1¾ inches in diameter. The neck and the single groove across the center of the top are said to have served for the attachment of cords. According to the owner of this specimen, an unusually intelligent native, sinkers of this type were attached to the lower edge of the long seins used in turtle fishing.

A second specimen, clearly related to this form but of such fine finish that its purpose was probably ceremonial rather than utilitarian, was seen in a collection in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. The body was between 3 and 4 inches in diameter and almost perfectly spherical. The neck was very short and oval in cross section and each of the two parts into which the end was divided had been carved into a flat tiki face directed upward. The specimen appeared to be made of phonolite or some other equally hard and fine grained stone and had been carefully polished on all surfaces. Its heavy patination indicated a considerable age. This sinker, if it is a sinker, bears a remarkable resemblance to certain specimens found near the East Cape of New Zealand, which are identical in out- [171] ●
line and in having two heads carved upon the projections at the top. A crudely made object of the same type, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, is shown in Plate XLIX, *A-B*. The New Zealand sinkers differ from the Marquesan examples in having the body of the sinker covered with elaborate carving.

A stone object in the collection of Mme. Maleius, in Ta'aoa Hiva Oa, can probably be classed as a sinker. It is oval in outline, with one flat and one convex side. Down the center of the convex side a groove has been pecked, giving the whole much the form of a coffee bean. The material is a rather coarse lava, and the whole finish is rough. As far as known no other object of this sort has been reported from the Marquesas and the owner, who was thoroughly conversant with native matters, could offer no suggestion as to its use.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and
171 were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but
324 the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in
[539] burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled
[531] to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

considerable age. Of the carved specimens, one large and one small specimen are from Nuku Hiva and the other two from Hiva Oa. 412 531

In all five pounders the material appears to be local, and as the use of carved decoration on pounders is limited to the Marquesas, the theory of importation may be discarded. The heads carved on the small examples show a slight resemblance to those carved on the rarer type of tiki headed pounders, but the angularity of the features on the larger specimens finds no parallel in other Marquesan work. A similar angularity was noted, however, in some of the wood carvings in the Society Islands. The form of these specimens also finds a fairly close parallel in certain small specimens from Tahiti and in certain pounders of coral rock from the Austral Islands. The similarity of the decoration on all Marquesan conical pounders seems good evidence that it represents a distinct convention which was in some way linked with the conical form. The best explanation of these facts seems to be that the conical pounders are hybrids which owe their shape, and to a lesser degree the convention employed in their decoration, to a Southeastern Polynesian influence. An alternative explanation is that the conical pounders are archaic and that their carving shows a technique which is more primitive than the historic Marquesan convention.

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN POUNDERS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

Stone pounders appear to be entirely lacking in Melanesia unless we include under this head certain heavy, bottle-shaped implements used for cracking nuts in the Solomon Islands and some archaeological finds in New Guinea. In Micronesia, stone pounders were used in the Marshall and Caroline Islands but seem to be lacking in the Gilbert Islands. In the Marshall Islands at least, they were used side by side with wooden pounders of identical shape. All the Micronesian pounders appear to be of one type, with some minor variations in the treatment of the upper surface of the head. They have been frequently described and figured. 412 171

The pounders of Polynesia must not be confused with the pestles which were found in many parts of Polynesia, but seem to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

Stone pounders do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga but are found everywhere in marginal Polynesia with the possible exception of Easter and Chatham Islands. The New Zealand pounders appear to be pestles rather than true pounders and bear little resemblance to the other Polynesian forms. The absence of broad based pounders in New Zealand is of little significance in a comparative study, for these were specialized implements used principally for crushing breadfruit or taro and would have been of little use there,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to in-
171 dicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kauai in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fish-
778 ermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or *umu*. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 [824] According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. [782] Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dispatch human victims for sacrifice.

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 [824] On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear [171] never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 all four sides. Square utensils appear to have been unknown, those which were not round being oval or oblong. In most of the oblong specimens the sides are more or less convex, the difference between them and the oval forms lying in the degree of flattening at the ends.

Two specimens of a very curious oblong type not observed elsewhere were seen in the Valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. These utensils were flat bottomed, with shallowly convex sides and ends which met in well marked angles. The [171] whole form bore a remarkable resemblance to the type of food dish commonest among the Haida of the Northwest Coast of North America. The utensils were evidently of recent manufacture and the natives could give no name for the type and were uncertain whether it was ancient.

Oblong trays and dishes appear to have been in rather common use in ancient times, although few specimens have survived. Those seen were provided with low vertical sides and almost flat interior bottoms. The exterior was smoothly rounded. The troughs for beating *popoi* are really very large oblong trays (p. 352).

Several well marked types of oval dishes may be distinguished, of which the long narrow flat ended containers, called *toto*, are the most important. Except for the proportions of the different parts and the inward curve of the sides toward the rim, the form of these utensils is almost identical with that of the underbodies of the large built up canoes. The ends of the vessel are straight, the sides convex, so that the greatest width is in the center. The sides also show a vertical convexity, and the maximum width of the utensil both internally and externally is about midway between the bottom and rim. (See Pl. LX, *B*.)

Most of the *toto* are large. Bowls long enough for a man to lie in are remembered by the older natives. The smallest example seen was 18 inches long, with a maximum central width of 8½ inches. Usually no handles were used with this type, but this small specimen was provided with a handle consisting of two loops of sennit passed through holes bored vertically in the corners and tied together above the center.

[482] *Toto* are said to have been used principally for the transportation of prepared food at the time of feasts, and according to natives their shape was designed to make them easier to carry upon the shoulders. They were carried transversely, resting upon both shoulders and the nape of the neck, the bearer's head being bowed upon his chest.

Small oval *kava* bowls, with nearly parallel sides and rounded or pointed ends appear to have been fairly common and probably constitute a distinct type. Some of these bowls were provided with a suspension loop or handle attached to the center of one side. (See Pl. LX, *A*, 2-3.)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 European residents of the group and many natives believe that they were copied
177 from them. Other natives declare that the form is ancient. In view of the containers mentioned in the preceding paragraph it seems most probable that this type has been developed from an aboriginal one by the addition of a base and that the obvious resemblance of the resulting utensil to a soup tureen has given rise to the belief that the European utensil was copied entire. The question of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base in primitive Marquesan utensils is of considerable ethnological interest, but the native evidence is conflicting and very few really old utensils have been preserved. In view of the practical absence of this feature elsewhere in Polynesia it seems safest to ascribe it to European influence.

415 Legged containers appear to be entirely absent in the Marquesas, the nearest approach being a low transverse flange carved near either end of the bottom. This feature was observed in only one specimen, and there is good reason to believe that it was not aboriginal. In view of the importance of utensils with legs in the Society Islands and their occasional occurrence in Hawaii, their absence in the Marquesas is rather curious.

Two bowls of unusual form are shown on Plate LXI, *C*. No. 1 seems to be an imitation of a long cupped leaf, the short upturned handle representing the stem. In both specimens there is a deep channel at the smaller end evidently intended to direct the flow of the fluid in pouring. In No. 1 this channel ends in a well marked lip. The interior of No. 2 is coated with *kava* enamel and it is probable that both were used as *kava* bowls.

An end channel similar to that in No. 2 is a common feature of the large four-legged Tahitian bowls, while bowls with lips were occasionally made by the Maori. Elsewhere in Polynesia these features appear to be rare or lacking.

COMPARISON OF CONTAINERS

A comparison of Polynesian containers could not fail to throw a great
415 deal of light on the relations of the different groups, but anything like a satis-
171 factory study is impossible at present. Regions in which the containers are poorly made or undecorated are often entirely unrepresented in Museums, while many others are represented by two or three specimens at most. Under the circumstances it is only possible to point out a few obvious similarities and differences. Long oval boxes with covers were numerous in the Marquesas and New Zealand, but appear to have been unknown in Hawaii and Western Polynesia. Round boxes with tight fitting covers are found throughout Western Polynesia and in Hawaii, but are lacking in the Marquesas and New Zealand. They appear to have been rare in Hawaii, and it seems safe to assign the long

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

box to the marginal, and the round box to the western culture. Vessels with legs are common in Western Polynesia and in the Society Islands, but are rare in Hawaii. They are absent in the Marquesas, and the only utensils which approach this form in New Zealand are certain large gourds used for potting birds which, according to Tregear (82, p. 98), were fitted with three or four legs to make them stand upright. It is probable, therefore, that the use of legs cut in one piece with the utensil was a feature of the western culture, their absence a feature of the eastern. 415 171

A comparison of Marquesan and Micronesian containers yields some interesting results. The Micronesian containers are uniformly flat bottomed and many are provided with bases. The Marquesan containers are round bottomed and the aboriginal use of a base is questionable. The bases of modern utensils appear identical with those used in the Pelew group. (Kubary, 76, Plates 23-7.) Bird shaped containers similar to those of the Marquesas were used in Pelew and the Caroline Islands. (See Finsch, 73, p 321, and Wilson, 83, p. 102.) These bird forms are not found in any other part of Polynesia or Micronesia.

Melanesian containers have never been studied or described as a whole, but it seems certain that the long oval box, which is a feature of eastern Polynesian culture, does not occur in this region. Legged utensils on the other hand are rather common, being most numerous in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji. Bases similar to those of the Pelew and Marquesas Islands seem to have been rather common in the Solomon Islands.

DECORATION OF CONTAINERS

Marquesan containers were decorated by several methods of which carving was the most important. The handles were decorated with seeds and bone tubes, and feathers or locks of hair seem to have been attached to the bodies of some of the containers. The lids of some bowls were covered with an incrustation of red or black seeds imbedded in breadfruit gum. Single red seeds, applied here and there, were used to heighten the effect of the carving, especially when the container was made of the dark colored *mio* wood. These seeds were either wedged in deep grooves of the carving or partly imbedded in the wood. This imbedding of seeds is an approach to inlaying, but it is significant that in spite of the strong aesthetic sense of the Marquesans and their extensive use of bone and mother of pearl in personal ornaments, they appear never to have inlaid wood with these materials. 415 531

The elaborate carved decoration of many Marquesan containers made them much sought after by collectors, and the demand for objects of this sort has led to a persistence of the art, although in a rather decadent form. In pre-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FLORAL DESIGNS

415 532 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 531 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs played a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *koake* are rare, while *pokaa* and *cipuato* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 531 171 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chatham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[1] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Ruth Gruner (75). Only the most important points will be enumerated here.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

development in the Marquesas. A superficial study of the designs employed in the regions of their occurrence shows the following: 415

In southeastern Polynesia, to judge from the few examples available for study, we have a division of the surface to be decorated into a number of small sections or bands which are filled with small angular geometric motifs. These motifs are usually applied in bands, and are not as a rule combined to form larger designs. The only curvilinear form is the concentric circle. 531 171

In the Marquesas we have a division of the surface to be decorated into sections of relatively large size which are often separated by bands of simple design. These sections are treated as units, being filled with large designs formed by the combination of several design elements. Both curvilinear and angular-geometric designs are employed, but curvilinear designs are clearly dominant in container decoration. There is a tendency to give angularity to basicly curvilinear forms, such as the spiral, but there is an equally strong tendency to round the angles of basicly angular forms, such as the oblong.

In northern New Zealand the surface to be decorated is either treated as a whole, or divided into a very few large sections by bands of narrow design. Only curvilinear designs are employed, the dominant motif being the spiral. An important feature of the technique is the use of a beaded interline.

If we compare the southeastern Polynesian carvings with those on western Polynesian weapons, the most elaborately carved objects from that region, we are at once struck by a basic similarity in design and execution. There is the same division of the surface into many bands or sections which are filled with small angular-geometric motifs. The southeastern Polynesian examples show an additional motif, the concentric circle, and show superior workmanship, but the carvings from both regions resemble each other much more closely than they do those of either the Marquesans or Maoris.

The Marquesan and Maori carvings have little superficial resemblance, but they possess two features in common which are foreign to the regions just compared; a predominance of curvilinear designs, and an extensive use of the spiral. The toothed line, important in New Zealand, occurs in the Marquesas but is rare there. The practise of dividing the surface to be decorated into sections, constant in the Marquesas, is rare among the northern Maori, but angular-geometric designs seem to have been used in carving in some parts of New Zealand.

It appears that there existed originally in marginal Polynesia, exclusive of Hawaii, a predominantly curvilinear art which treated surfaces as a whole or in large sections. The original western Polynesian art was angular-geometric, with a division of the surfaces treated into many small sections. In the Cook Islands, Austral Islands and Society Islands, the original marginal art was almost de-

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stroyed by an invasion of western culture. The strong evidences of such an invasion have already been pointed out in the case of other elements of material culture. On the side of pure decoration the original art modified that of the invaders to a very small degree. Northern New Zealand, because of its location, was practically unaffected by the western Polynesian art. The Marquesas, on the other hand, received a moderately strong influence resulting either in the introduction of sectional treatment of surfaces and angular-geometric designs on in the strengthening of these features if they were present in the original complex.

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The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step. 481 526

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. [171]

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen. 526

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wrapped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

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526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says: 524

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks, 411

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727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and passes under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In 171 New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

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The Hawaiian and Micronesian slings are much cruder in construction than the Marquesan slings, and have little in common with them. The Marquesan and Society slings, on the other hand, are practically identical, corresponding not only in form, but even in such minor details as the occasional use of fau bark for the release cord. It is rather curious that such close correspondence should be coupled with the use of prepared stones in the Marquesas and their absence in the Society Islands. 411 171

The information on Marquesan spears is too incomplete to justify extensive comparison, but it is suggestive that the practise of cutting or piercing the shafts of javelines so that the head would break off in the wound appears to have been limited to the Marquesas and New Zealand. The thrusting spear with long easily broken barbs appears to have no Polynesian parallel, but is rather suggestive of certain north Australian forms.

A comparison of Polynesian club forms is especially interesting. The Hawaiians seem to have made only secondary use of the club, and the Hawaiian examples for the most part are short bludgeon-like weapons of rather inferior workmanship. There are some indications that a longer bat-like type was also in use, but it seems to have been numerically unimportant. The Marquesans seem to have entirely lacked short clubs, both their types, the *uu* and paddle club, being heavy and of unwieldy length. The natives of the Society Islands used clubs of two types, one a short bludgeon, the other a long club with a sharp edged lozenge shaped head. Examples of the long club examined strongly resemble the spears of the Cook Islands which in turn, appear to be copies of metal prototypes. The Maoris used several types of club which seem to fall into two classes, long staves and short, sharp edged weapons, such as the mere. The Maori weapons are well known. In Samoa and Tonga we find a great variety of clubs, most of which are of types also found in Fiji. These weapons have been fully described by Churchill (69). As a whole they show little resemblance to the forms found in marginal Polynesia. Even the nuclear Polynesian paddle clubs bear much less resemblance to those of the Marquesas than the Marquesan ones show to some Melanesian weapons, notably those from the Solomon Islands.

No clubs at all resembling the Marquesan *uu* appear in other parts of Oceania, and it seems certain that it is a local development. If we ignore its decoration we find that the *uu* differs from the paddle club only in the thickening of the end and the lateral knobs. The handles of the two types are identical, and in both the head has a rounded outline, flat oval cross section, and sharp edges. It is evident that the *uu* as a whole represents a highly conventionalized face to which the knobs bear the relation of ears. As projecting ears are a common fea- 411 171 532

411 ture of Marquesan figures it is quite possible that the knobs might be added to a paddle form on which a face had been carved with the idea of rendering the ●171 human likeness more complete.[1] The thickening of the end is more difficult to 532 account for, but this also may have arisen from the native artistic convention which calls for wide curves over the eyes. It is but a slight step from the paddle club to the *uu*. Evidence of the priority of the paddle club is offered by the use of small replicas as chiefs' insignia.

411 The distribution of narrow-bladed staves is especially interesting. In Polynesia their use appears to have been limited to two localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand, with a related form in Easter Island. The Marquesan staves are as a rule longer than those from New Zealand, but the blade form is practically identical, the differences between the two types lying in the treatment of the upper end, or head, which in New Zealand was usually carved into a head with a projecting, pointed tongue, and in the Marquesas was finished with a pompom of human hair. In both, the shaft immediately below the head was covered with a woven sleeve. The Easter Island implements are clearly related to these staves, but differ from them in having a broader blade, no sleeve, and an upper end carved into two heads placed back to back. The Marquesan staves grade into the paddle clubs, although they always retain the characteristic decoration of the head. As paddle clubs appear to be lacking in both New Zealand and Easter Island it seems improbable that the stave was developed from this weapon. Certain Melanesian digging sticks now in the Field Museum are identical in blade form with the Maori and Marquesan staves, and there are even a few examples in which the upper ends are carved and decorated. A. B. Lewis of the Field Museum says that he has frequently seen digging sticks employed as staves by the older men in Melanesia, and it would appear not improbable that the staves of the Maori and Marquesans have been derived from some such tool. The fact that the Maori stave was an important weapon does not militate against this assumption, as even among the Maori digging sticks were sometimes used as weapons while many of the Melanesian examples are known to have been used interchangeably as tools and clubs. The Fijian chiefs' staves lack the flattened blade, just as do many of the Fijian digging sticks.

It is rather curious that large weapons edged with sharks' teeth appear to have been entirely lacking in the Marquesas, although at least two forms were in use in the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 297, p. 413).

Weapons resembling the Marquesan double pointed spike (*ake henua*), were rather common in Hawaii, while a related form was important in the Society Islands. Their use in Samoa and Tonga seems doubtful, although the data from those islands is still too incomplete to allow of a definite statement.

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XYLOPHONE

According to Handy, the natives of Nuku Hiva used an instrument called *pahu kou hau* which consisted of ten flat pieces of hau wood resting upon two slender transverse sticks. It was beaten with two sticks held in the hands. This instrument was evidently a primitive xylophone and, if aboriginal, is of considerable interest. 534

COMPARISON

Two quite distinct types of large drum were used in Polynesia. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, the Society and Cook islands, the drums were tubular, with a skin head, and stood on end; most of them were provided with a pierced base cut in one piece with the body. They were beaten with the hand. In Samoa and Tonga, on the other hand, the large drums were canoe shaped, closed at the ends, but with a long opening on one side. They were laid on the side, and were beaten with short clubs. In New Zealand, where one might expect to find the tubular, skin headed drum, the drum was of western Polynesian type. The great wooden gongs of New Zealand appear to have no Polynesian parallel The large tubular drum is unknown in Melanesia, although the principle of this drum is used in small hand instruments. The long slotted drum on the other hand is almost universal. It seems possible, therefore, that the use of the long slotted drum in Samoa and Tonga is due to Fijian influence. 534 171

Wooden trumpets appear to have been used in only two Polynesian localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand. The instruments from these regions have little more than the principle in common, however, the Maori examples being much more elaborate. The wooden trumpet does not seem to have been used in Micronesia, and its Melanesian occurrence is limited to a single locality; the interior of northern New Guinea on the Sepik River.

Shell trumpets were used everywhere in Polynesia. In Hawaii the trumpet was made from a species of Cassis, in the Marquesas of both the Cassis and Triton, and in the Society Islands and New Zealand from the Triton. A separate mouth piece was used in the Marquesas, the Society Islands and New Zealand. In Melanesia trumpets made from the Triton shell are almost universal, and a species of Cassis is used in a few localities, but separate mouth pieces appear to be unknown.

The nose flute appears to have been used everywhere in Polynesia except Samoa. Mouth flutes, on the other hand, are found everywhere except in Hawaii, although Krämer believes their presence in Samoa to be due to Fijian or Tongan influence. Cook noted a tunable nose flute in the Society Islands. In Melanesia the nose flute is found in Fiji and in one or two other localities, but

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it is not common. Mouth flutes are rare in Melanesia, but a type with two holes was used in New Caledonia.

Whistles were used in the Marquesas and in New Zealand. They do not seem to have been used elsewhere in Polynesia.

A Jew's harp practically identical with that found in the Marquesas was used in Hawaii, while a crude form of this instrument also is found in New Zealand. It does not seem to have been used in Western Polynesia. In Melanesia the Jew's harp is important only in the Solomon Islands, but the instrument used there differs so radically from the Marquesan, both in form and method of playing, that relationship seems improbable.

The occurrence of the musical bow in Polynesia seems to have been limited to the Marquesas and Hawaii. The Hawaiian instrument, *ukeke* (Emerson, 72, p. 147), had three strings, and it is possible that the Marquesan "lyres" bore some relation to it. In Melanesia a single stringed musical bow, which was tapped with a stick as in the Marquesas, was used in New Caledonia. A two-stringed bow, quite different in principle from the Hawaiian *ukeke*, was used in the Solomon Islands.

A joint of bamboo slotted along one side, laid on the ground and beaten with two sticks, was used as a musical instrument in Tonga, the Cook Islands and the Society Islands, but was not used in Hawaii or the Marquesas and is naturally lacking in New Zealand. In Melanesia it seems to have been limited to the south coast of New Guinea.

The use of a series of joints of bamboo which were held vertically and beaten upon the ground seems to have been limited, in Polynesia, to Samoa and Tonga. A curious drum made from several joints of bamboo lashed together, the heads covered with matting, seems to have been limited to Samoa. In Polynesia pan pipes of bamboo were limited to Tonga.

Although the distinction between the marginal and western divisions of Polynesian culture is less clearly marked by musical instruments than by houses or stone artifacts, it is possible to distinguish a few features. The large cylindrical drum with a skin head is an element of the eastern or marginal culture; the slotted drum is distinctively western. The reversal of this rule in New Zealand does not seem enough to invalidate the general conclusion. The Jew's harp also appears to be an element of the marginal culture. The wooden trumpet and whistle are limited to New Zealand and the Marquesas. In view of the absence of the nose flute in Samoa it seems possible that this also was originally a feature of the marginal culture and that its presence in Tonga is due to the strong Fijian influence. The slotted bamboo, on the other hand, and the series of joints of bamboo thumped on the ground, appear to be features of the western culture.

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

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CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

There are a number of Marquesan objects which probably had a religious or ceremonial significance. The most interesting of these is a tapa covered object hewn from a single piece of breadfruit wood (Pl. LXXXIV, *A*) which is listed in the Bishop Museum catalog as an idol. 778

The lower part or body is in the form of a thin flat tablet. The upper part, or head, juts out sharply from the body in front and protrudes slightly beyond it in the rear. The two sides of the face are slightly concave, meeting in a sharp longitudinal keel. The interior of the head has been roughly hollowed out from the rear, probably to reduce the weight of the object. Two short double pointed sticks of fau wood, only one of which is now in position, were fastened to the back of the head transversely. They were attached with sennit cords which passed through holes in the edges of the object. The body, and the front, top and sides of the head, are covered with ute tapa, which was evidently put on while moist. The back of the head does not seem to have been covered. The tapa is gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and is glued together on the back of the body so skillfully that the joining is hard to detect. The whole object, exclusive of the back of the head, is covered with designs painted in red and black. It is evident that the designs upon the front of the head are intended to represent two large eyes, while bands along the lower edge of the head and on the upper part of the body represent the upper and lower jaws of an open mouth. The spaces around the eyes and inside the mouth, and the front and back of the body, are filled with decorative designs most of which seem to be tattoo designs. The painting was evidently done free hand, and shows considerable skill.

The rough finish of the back of the head in this figure suggests that it was formerly attached to some object in such a way that this part was concealed, but the body of the figure is painted on both sides. Although we have no information as to the use of such figures, it seems possible that they were attached to the beams of houses in *me'ae*, the back of the head resting against the beam and the body hanging below it. Tapa covered bird effigies, painted red, were placed on the ridge pole of the tall pyramidal sacred house at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The use of effigies covered with painted tapa in the Marquesas brings to mind the similar Easter Island practice. The figures from the two localities have little more than the principle in common, but in view of the complete absence of such figures elsewhere in Polynesia even this is significant. They are not recorded from Micronesia, and even in Melanesia we find no close parallels, except in New Britain where the Baining are said to make huge tapa covered figures thirty feet high (Lewis). [171]

Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post-European. There is no definite information as to their use, but they may have been employed for the same purpose as the small stone figures. (See p. 345.) Plate LXXXIV, *B*, shows a modern wooden figure which is interesting chiefly as an example of the breaking down of the old artistic convention under European influence. The proportions of the body and legs, and the modeling of the legs, are much more naturalistic than in the old stone figures. The arms on the other hand, are smaller in proportion to the figure than those of the old statuettes. The head is more nearly in 778 532

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211 A number of interesting records for songs and stories are also figured and described by Von den Steinen. One record (56, p. 111-113) has a body in the form of a woven sack, as large as a child's head. The knotted record was attached to the edge of the sack, and when not in use was kept coiled up within it. The sack was kept hung up by a handle in the house of the *tuhuna*, and was supposed to contain a great number of spells and stories, all of which could be related by the aid of the single cord. Another record is very elaborate. It has a short body, covered with white tapa and decorated with plaited coconut leaves and bunches of midribs of coconut leaflets. To this are attached seven cords for songs and twelve for *mata*. All of these were recited in regular order. Still other small records, of the general type shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, were used to instruct chiefs' children in chants. One record (56, fig. 5) is woven from fau bark, an unusual material for these objects.

Von den Steinen (56, p. 113) reproduces a drawing by Porter, entitled "God of the Taipis." It is in the form of a human figure, woven from sennit, and from the loops surrounding the top of the head is identifiable as a string record. Von den Steinen says that the use of these records in the Marquesas seems to have been limited to the islands of Tau Ata and Hiva Oa. An incomplete specimen was, however, collected in Fatu Hiva, and the object from Nuku Hiva figured by Porter seems to prove their existence in the northern part of the group.

[71] String records were used to keep record of taxes in Hawaii, of songs in the Cook group, and of geneologies in New Zealand.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONCLUSION

In spite of the large amount of literature dealing with Polynesia, few parts of this vast region have been carefully studied and there is no part for which the information can be considered at all complete. New Zealand is probably the best known locality. Satisfactory, but by no means complete, information is available for Hawaii and Samoa and the present activities of Bishop Museum will contribute additional information regarding Tonga, the Austral Islands and the Marquesas. /2/

Accounts of the culture of single localities are chiefly valuable as a basis for the careful comparative study, which alone can throw light on the relations of the various Polynesian groups and ultimately on the larger questions of Polynesian origin and diffusion. The final solution of Polynesian problems can come only from a correlation of the evidence along all lines. Comparative studies based on a single class of evidence—traditions, religion, material culture or physical type—serve to arrange the data in order and make them available for such correlation. Theories based upon such partial studies can only be tentative but are justifiable on the basis of Bacon's dictum that truth can be brought out of error much more readily than out of chaos.

Recent studies of physical type have proved conclusively that the Polynesians are not a pure race but are made up of at least three racial elements (70). These elements are a dolichocephalic negroid race, a dolichocephalic or mesocephalic race which shows Caucasic affinities, and a brachycephalic race with slight Mongoloid affinities which Sullivan calls Indonesian (79, *b*, p. 18). The frequency and distribution of the two non-negroid races seems to indicate that they entered the region in nearly pure form. All three races are present in most of the Polynesian islands but they vary in the proportion which they bear to the total population of each group. The negroid element is strongest in Easter Island but is important in northern New Zealand and is found throughout southeastern Polynesia. The Caucasic element is strongest in northern New Zealand and the Marquesas. The Indonesian element is strongest in Tonga but is important in Samoa, southern New Zealand, Hawaii and the northern Marquesas. /44

Polynesian material culture shows an even more complex condition. The climate and products of all the Polynesian islands except New Zealand are so nearly the same that local difference in culture can not be ascribed to environmental causes, but it is hard to determine which of them are due to differences in the culture of the original settlers of each group. Many of the Polynesian groups are separated from their nearest neighbors by hundreds of miles of open sea and must have originally been settled by very small parties of immigrants. The *tuhuna* system, which placed the more important industries in the hands of /71/ /101/

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 a few skilled workmen, was highly developed among the historic Polynesians and
101 when an immigrant group included no *tuhuna* of a given trade, that element of their original culture would tend to be lost or considerably modified. Primitive cultures are not static, and isolated populations come, in time, to have distinctive cultures. The legendary history of Polynesia points to long periods of quiescence and comparative isolation interspersed with periods of great nautical activity. Features which had been developed locally during a period of isolation might be carried to far distant groups during a succeeding period of voyages. The Polynesians were not conservative and it would have been possible for an immigrant group, too small to materially affect the physical type of an inhabited island, to profoundly modify its culture. Even during the periods of quiescence there was probably intermittent contact between the Polynesian islands through the medium of castaways. Some of the involuntary voyages which have occurred in Polynesia during the historic period have covered great distances, and the vagaries of winds and currents have sometimes carried canoes past many intervening islands to landfalls thousands of miles from their starting points. Castaways were usually well received and although they could hardly have brought about any major changes in culture they may very well have introduced single features such as folk tales, superior mechanical appliances, or new forms of ornaments. Western Polynesia was exposed to influences from both Micronesia and Melanesia. There is known to have been considerable contact between Samoa and the Gilbert Islands; and both Samoa and Tonga have been strongly influenced by Fiji.

In the preceding chapters of this publication a number of resemblances
171 have been pointed out between the elements of Marquesan material culture and those of other parts of Polynesia. The distribution of the more important cultural traits in the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, the Society Islands, Samoa and Tonga is shown in the accompanying tables. Traits which are everywhere present in identical form, and traits which are limited to a single locality, have been omitted. The distribution of a few of the more important traits of non-material culture is also shown.

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Comparative Table Material Culture

Houses

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Platform	Constant, large, rectangular	Absent	Nearly constant, rectangular	Rare in historic times, rectangular	Limited to temples and chiefs' houses, oval	Rare or lacking
Shape	Rectangular	Rectangular or round (South Island)	Rectangular	Oval or rectangular	Oval, nearly round	Oval
Framework	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts or rigid triangle roof support	Indirect ridge pole support or end posts	Three posts together in center and ridge pole; detachable apses	Indirect ridge pole support, end posts not used
Entrance	Side	End	Side or end	Side	Sides of house open	Side
Door	Wooden slide door or mat	Wooden slide door	No door or mat hung in doorway	No door or mat hung in doorway	———————	Mat door
Interior	Permanent division into floor and bed	Permanent division into floor and bed	Division into floor and bed removed but not constant	No division in historic houses; present in ancient times	No internal division	No internal division
Decoration	Ornamental lashings, posts carved with designs and into Caryatid figures	Posts carved into Caryatid figures, carved panels, woven panels, painted rafters	Rudimentary ornamental lashings, no carved decoration	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving
Furniture	No stools, permanently fixed log pillows, soft pillows	No stools, soft pillows or solid wooden pillows	Stools (rare) soft pillows	Stools, legged pillows	Legged pillows, no stools	Legged pillows, no stools
Houses on posts	(Fata'a) Store house and dwelling for old men; elaborately decorated	(Pataka) Store house for food and tapa objects; elaborately decorated	Men's house, no decoration	Small storage places for sacred objects	No houses on posts	Occurrence of store houses on posts uncertain
Sacred houses	High roofed	No sacred houses except those for instruction, these like dwellings	Like dwellings, also tapa covered pyramidal structures	Like dwellings	Like dwellings	Like dwellings

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

CANOES

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Construction	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe also used as rare form	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; no plank canoes	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe known	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately
Bow	Long projection, horizontal or slightly curved upward; head carved on outer end	Long horizontal projection; head or figure carved on outer end	No projection, small upturned knob	Long projection, horizontal or curved upward; small figure sometimes carved on outer end	No projection, upper surface decorated with shells and carved knobs; figureheads used in ancient times	No projection or decoration
Stern	High upward curving plank	High upward curving plank	Small upturned knob, no ornament	Whole body of canoe curved upward for some feet	No projection; decorated like bow	No projection or decoration
Seams	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Not covered with strips	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams
Lashings	Visible both inside and out	Visible both inside and out	Visible inside, almost concealed outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside
Decoration	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks, also painting	No decoration	Small figures and other carving on bow and stern	Slight use of carved decoration	No decoration
Double canoe	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Rarely used; two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected
Sail	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	Modified form of the inverted triangle sail	Inverted triangle sail and lateen sail suspended from the mast head	Lateen sail suspended from the mast head

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Artifacts

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tanged adz	Dominant form	Dominant form	Over 90 per cent of all adzes	Dominant form	Rare	Not used
Cross section	Triangular or rectangular	Rectangular, triangular forms rare	Rectangular	Triangular	Triangular	————
Finish	Rough, complete grinding rare	Completely ground, rough finish rare	Rough, complete grinding almost unknown	Complete grinding, rough finish rare	Complete grinding unknown, very crude	Complete grinding normal
Tangless adz	Secondary importance	Secondary importance	Very rare	Rare	Normal type	Only type
Axes	Not used	North Island only	Not used	Found archaeologically, historic use doubtful	Not used	Not used
Melanesian forms	Not found	Present, distribution unknown	Not found	Found archaeologically	Not reported	Many adzes of Fijian form or manufacture
Pounders	Flat and phallic tops, flaring base, tops sometimes carved	Tops round or carved into head, no flaring base	Tops flat, or hemispherical, flaring base	Cross grip with projecting ends, flaring base	No stone pounders	No stone pounders
Pestles	Not found	Present	Common	Common	No stone pestles	No stone pestles
Carved sinkers	Rare	Found on north cape, form closely similar to Marquesan one	Not used	Not found	Not used	Not used
Small figures	Fish and human, common	Human, common on North Island	Fish and human, rather rare	Fish and human, rare	Not used	Not used
Large figures	Common	Rare, limited to localities with tuff deposits	Present but rare, crudely made	Not used	Not used	Not used

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

CONTAINERS

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Bowls	Oval, often bird form, tight cover	Oval, tight cover	Round, tight cover	Present, form unknown	Round, tight cover	No data
Bowls with legs	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Oval form common	Common	Common

WEAPONS

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Clubs	Paddle club and axe, no bludgeon or throwing club	Characteristic local forms	Short bludgeon, stone headed club (rare); throwing club	Bludgeon, modified paddle club, sickle club, no throwing club	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important
Short tooth weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Many pronged weapon and sickle	Not used	Not used
Bow	Toy and for fishing	Used traditionally as weapon	Toy and for rat hunting	Used in chief's game	Toy and fishing	Important weapon
Sling	Important	Occasionally used as weapon, also toy	Important	Important	Common	Little used
Sling stone	Double conical	Not shaped	Double conical	Not shaped	No data	No data
Throwing cord	In games only	Stick with cord	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Spear with head cut to break off in wound	Present	Several types	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Chiefs' sleeve	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top decorated with hair	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top carved	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Armor	Not used	Several thicknesses of mats	Thick mats and wicker helmets	Breast plates of heavy fiber, helmets	One piece suit like Gilbert Islands, very rare	Not used

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shape I, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tunable	Important, no tunable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Prompt
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slotted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used

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Comparative Field Material Culture—Continued

Dress and Ornament

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Fiji	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare, women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and [illegible] women on hands and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed entire to knees; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beaters, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	———	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over curved block	Free hand painting and painting over curved block
Feather work	Feathers pressed on horse; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklaces	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by member chiefly	Common, ceremonial (?)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1920 OX6 Marquesas OX6
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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Art

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Carving	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	Poor development, not used on houses, canoes or tools, a few utensils decorated with figures carved in round	Moderate development, applied to canoes and some utensils	Poor development, applied to canoes (rowing) and weapons	Poor development, weapons only
Inlay	Red seed	Eyes of images only	Eyes of images and a few utensils	Bone or shell	Red seed, round designs on weapons filled with lime	Clubs, weapons only
Painting	Practically absent	Applied to houses, canoes and images	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only
Designs	Curvilinear or angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional forms or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Curvilinear, angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional forms or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Angular geometric; designs with a few floral, spiral absent; human or animal forms red and	Angular geometric or circles, no spirals; human and animal figures in tattoo; floral designs on tapa	Angular geometric or floral; no spirals; figures rare or lacking	Angular geometric or floral; no spirals; figures rare or lacking
Treatment	Surface divided into panels or sections which are treated separately, no total representation of designs	Surface divided into a few large sections or treated as a whole; representation of designs common	Designs applied to stripes or over whole surface; tapa only; no design representation	Carved surfaces divided into sections treated separately; tapa surface treated as whole; no design representation	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design representation	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design representation
Figures figures	Conventionalized only	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized, very crude	Not used (see detailed example)	Rare, no detailed forms

Conventions of Human Figures

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Leg	Half bent	Half bent	Half bent	Half bent		
Arms	At sides, hands on shoulder or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on shoulder or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on hips, Hand to mouth practice not used	At sides, hands on shoulder or one hand to mouth		
Hands	Five fingers of equal length, outer fingers connected by grooves behind three inner	Three fingers of equal length	Five fingers when indicated	Five fingers or not indicated		
Body	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles	Simple treatment, rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles or simple treatment with rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles and treatment of simple treatment with rounded contours		
Mouth	Exaggerated, oval, protrusion of tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form, protruding tongue	Exaggerated beaked or figure eight form or oval (non naturalistic figures); protruding tongue, common in oval naturalistic figures	Exaggerated, oval, protruding tongue, or simple uniform mouth		
Nose	Flat, nostrils exaggerated	Nostrils exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in many cases	Nostrils exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in some cases	Higher than Marquesas conventions and more naturalistic, nostrils exaggerated		

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Usually oval to round, restricted by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant, also straight eyes (low cosmos?)	Pointed oval restricted by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Simple stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platforms
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, central forms	Pale o le Fa's only; stone pave	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and enclosures

Mortuary Practices

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practiced, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal; evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil, in special house, exclusively in dwelling	Practiced by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practiced
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or leprous; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves, flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practiced
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in cave	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAMOA	TONGA
Cannibalism	Highly developed	Highly developed	Absent	Absent	Present traditionally	Introduced from Fiji
Headhunting	Highly developed, shells of enemies decorated and preserved	Highly developed, heads preserved	Absent	Heads of enemies taken but not preserved	Heads of enemies taken but not preserved	Enemy heads not preserved
Government	Chiefs of little power, power greater in northern islands; no overlords, loose tribal confederacies	Chiefs, no overlords, loose tribal confederacies	Highly organized, chiefs and overlords; large political units	Highly organized, chiefs and overlords, large political units	Tribal organization, confederacies with high chiefs	Highly organized, whole group a political unit
Personal divinity of chiefs	Suggested in northern islands only	Chiefs god descended	Highly developed	Highly developed	Highly developed, speaker chiefs with real power	Highly developed, divine chief with little secular power
Religion	Ancestor worship, great gods known but ignored	Worship of great gods and a host of minor deities, ancestor worship not important	Worship of great gods and ancestor worship	Worship of great gods, family ancestor worship	Village gods embodied in animals, no true ancestor worship	Worship of dead chiefs; great gods secondary
Priesthood	Organized within tribe, inspirational and ceremonial priests	Priest-chiefs and wizards, no regular organization	Highly organized, ceremonial priests important	Highly organized, ceremonial priests important	Priests and priest-chiefs, no regular organization	No organized priesthood, inspirational priests important
Human sacrifice	Highly developed	Common	Highly developed	Less developed than in Hawaii or the Marquesas	Not used	Not used
Sacred structures	Platforms or terraces with temporary houses, large stone enclosures with both secular and religious functions	No permanent sacred structures; sacred houses for instruction of young men	Stone enclosures taps to all but chiefs and priests, also platforms	Stone enclosures with pyramid at one end; commoners admitted to enclosure but pyramid taps to them.	Village house or small house on platform	House on pyramid containing burial vault
Education	Organized instruction for both men and women in special house	Organized instruction for young men in special house	No organized instruction	No organized instruction	No organized instruction	No organized instruction

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171 It can be seen from the tables that Samoa and Tonga show a closer cul-
174 tural agreement than any other two Polynesian localities. The Marquesas and New Zealand show an almost equally close agreement. The Society Island culture occupies an intermediate position with numerous resemblances to both the Samoan-Tongan and Maori-Marquesan cultures. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan on the material side, but its non-material features are more closely related to those of the Society Islands and western Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures show so many similarities that, in the absence of historic contact, they must be considered as not very divergent developments of a single ancestral culture. The content of the various New Zealand culture areas outlined by Skinner (78) has not yet been established, but most of the traits common to New Zealand and the Marquesas seem either to have been limited to the north island or to have been much more highly developed there. According to Maori traditions the north islanders were descendents of immigrants who came to New Zealand from Tahiti and the Cook Islands in the twelfth century (Smith, 79, p. 223). The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate migration from Tahiti and the Cook Islands, and mention groups still farther to the west. It seems practically certain, therefore, that a culture similar to the historic Maori and Marquesan cultures formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures differ from the Samoan and Tongan cultures in so many respects that the two complexes must have been largely derived from different sources. The original cultures of Samoa and Tonga probably differed considerably from the historic ones. Cannibalism and the use of the bow as a weapon in Tonga, and the elaborate club forms of both Tonga and Samoa were due to Fijian influence. The Samoans ascribe the introduction of tapa making to a Fijian chief and their tapa making implements are almost identical with the Fijian ones. The slotted drum was almost certainly borrowed from Fiji. Legged pillows were probably borrowed from Fiji, where the form of the coiffure made them necessary. Legged utensils may also have been borrowed as such utensils are more numerous and of more diverse form in Fiji than in either Samoa or Tonga. Even the use of round or oval houses may not have been a feature of the original Samoan-Tongan cultures for round houses are practically absent in Indonesia and Micronesia but are found in both Fiji and New Caledonia.

The western Polynesian cultures have many features in common with Micronesia. The resemblances seem to be more marked in the Caroline and Marshall groups than in the Gilbert Islands. Micronesia is still too imperfectly

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

known to permit of detailed comparison, but the Caroline and Marshall cultures have in common with the Samoan-Tongan culture a considerable development of chiefly power with a tendency toward fixed social classes; extended earth burial, often with orientation; the use of many piece canoes and lateen sails; and a high development of mat weaving with the use of mats for clothing. Many other features of the Samoan-Tongan culture are also found in Micronesia but are less universal in their occurrence. Although it is possible that these features were borrowed from Micronesia by the western Polynesians, it seems more probable that the original culture of the Samoans and Tongans was essentially Micronesian in type.

The affiliations of the Hawaiian culture are difficult to establish. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan cultures in the form and internal arrangement of houses; canoe structure and sail; use of the stone pounder and tanged adz; stilts and surf board; in the use of human effigies and in the conventions applied to them; also in the rarity of utensils with legs and absence of legged pillows. It shares with the Marquesas the use of stone house platforms; extensive ceremonial structures of stone; a pounder with a flaring base; prepared sling stones; the musical bow; the large vertical drum with a skin head; and necklaces made from many strands of plaited human hair. These features are lacking in New Zealand. The Hawaiian culture also has a few features in common with the Society Islands which are lacking in the Marquesas. The most important of these are an organized priesthood; a centralized government with divine chiefs; and the use of netted featherwork, helmets, flyflaps, painted tapa decoration and watermarked tapa beaters. Many voyages between Hawaii and the Society Islands were made from 1100 to 1300 A.D. (Smith, 79 *a*, p. 223) and according to Hawaiian traditions the use of enclosed religious structures, the vertical drum, human sacrifice, increased centralization in government and a stronger organization of the priesthood were introduced into Hawaii at that time. It is impossible to tell whether the other similarities of the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures are due to this relatively late contact, but it seems probable that those features which show a very close agreement—such as netted featherwork, tapa painting, watermarked beaters and the conventions employed for human effigies—were brought to Hawaii by the southern immigrants. The similarities in canoes, houses and stone implements, on the other hand, are probably more ancient and point either to an earlier contact or to the partial derivation of both the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures from the same source. The main features which distinguish the Hawaiian culture from the Maori and Marquesan cultures are the high social and religious organization of the Hawaiians and the absence in Hawaii of cannibalism, head

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 174 hunting, organized instruction for young men, curvilinear art and decorative carving. Stone construction was also highly developed in Hawaii although practically absent in New Zealand. If those features which were probably introduced into Hawaii from southeastern Polynesia in comparatively recent times are eliminated, the residual Hawaiian culture is intermediate between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures but seems to be most closely related to the Maori-Marquesan cultures.

The Marquesas and Hawaii have several features in common which are lacking in New Zealand. Although the historic culture of all the Marquesan islands was nearly the same, decorative carving and curvilinear art seem to have been more highly developed in the southern islands of the group, while stone construction was more highly developed in the northern islands. The northern islands also showed an increased tendency toward centralized government and toward a belief in the divinity of chiefs. The resemblance of the Marquesan culture to that of Hawaii was thus more marked in the northern than in the southern islands of the group. The southern islands are more desirable for settlement and lie nearer to the Society group so that immigrants from southeastern Polynesia would be likely to encounter them first. The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate that they did not reach the group until about 1000 A.D. (Handy, personal correspondence). It seems probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend between an original culture somewhat like that of the early Hawaiians and a Maori like culture which entered the group from Southeastern Polynesia at some later time.

The Society Island culture is intermediate in many respects between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures. As it is almost certain that cultures similar to the Maori and Marquesan ones formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia it seems probable that the Society Island culture is a blend between an early culture of Maori-Marquesan type and a culture of western Polynesian type. Society Island culture shows a few distinctive features, the most important of which are an organized priesthood and a considerable centralization of government with suggestions of a feudal system. The historic Samoan-Tongan culture shows a tendency toward centralized government and it seems probable that the distinctive features of the Society Island culture originated in the Society Islands as a result of the contact of immigrants from western Polynesia with a subject population.

It is possible to distinguish three main types of culture in Polynesia. These cultural types correspond in a general way with the culture areas distinguishable in other parts of the world, but their historic distribution was not geographically continuous. One type of culture, linked with populations pre-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX5

dominantly Indonesian, centered in western Polynesia. A second type seems to have centered in southeastern Polynesia, associated with people predominantly Caucasic, but who showed considerable negroid admixture. This type survived into historic times in the Marquesas and New Zealand but had been greatly modified in the Society Islands by immigrants with a culture of western Polynesian type. A third culture, associated with populations of mixed Indonesian and Caucasic type with little negroid admixture, formerly existed in Hawaii and the Marquesas, but had been modified or displaced in the Marquesas by immigrants with a culture of southeastern Polynesian type. Two of the cultural types are, therefore, linked with mixed populations and have either been introduced into Polynesia by mixed groups of immigrants or have been developed from the fusion in Polynesia of races dissimilar in physical type and probably in culture. The evident correlation between culture and physical type in Polynesia points to a relatively recent settlement of the region.

The Samoan and Tongan cultures apparently are not hybrids produced by the complete fusion of originally distinct cultures. They are rather to be considered as developments of a single comparatively simple culture which has been modified by borrowing from several sources. This culture seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses or houses with a rectangular center and apses, many piece canoes and lateen sails; bludgeon clubs and possibly throwing clubs; a high development of mat weaving with a use of fine mats as clothing; an angular geometric art with a poor development of wood carving and a rarity or absence of human effigies; a moderate development of stone construction, extended earth burial for commoners and vault burial for chiefs; a tendency toward centralized government with divine chiefs and social classes; elaborate geneologies, and a worship of gods or dead chiefs. The Samoans and Tongans appear to be racially more homogeneous than the inhabitants of any of the other large Polynesian groups and are predominantly brachycephalic (Dixon, 70 *a*, Pl. XXII-XXV), with a large proportion of the Indonesian race (79 *b*, p. 19). It seems probable, therefore, that the culture just outlined was introduced into Polynesia by immigrants of Indonesian race.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures, which seem to be the historic representatives of the old southeastern Polynesian type of culture, show a number of Melanesian affinities. Maori art resembles that of the Massim region of New Guinea and that of some parts of New Britain, New Ireland and the Solomon Islands much more than it does that of western Polynesia. The five-piece type of canoe construction was used in most of the Melanesian localities where the natives built large craft and the highly decorated bows and sterns of the Maori and Marquesan canoes are suggestive of some Melanesian forms. Cannibalism,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 174 head hunting, preservation of the skulls of ancestors, exposure or preservation of corpses, instruction or initiation of young men, absence of large governmental units and chiefs of little power are all of wide occurrence in Melanesia although lacking in western Polynesia. In spite of the general Melanesian tone of the Maori and Marquesan cultures, analysis shows that they are not closely linked with the culture of any one Melanesian locality. The art resemblances are general rather than specific and the Maori-Marquesan image conventions are practically absent in Melanesia. The non-material traits common to the Maori-Marquesan and Melanesian cultures are of very wide occurrence in Melanesia and are present in cultures which differ considerably on the material side. Single traits of the Maori and Marquesan material cultures are often present in one or two of the Melanesian cultures but the distribution of these traits is so irregular that little can be deduced from it.

171 174 144 Both the culture and physical type of the northern Maori and southern Marquesans indicate that their ancestors had been in contact with some negroid people. It has generally been assumed that this contact occurred in the course of their migration from Indonesia and that the Melanesian elements present in Polynesia reached that region as inclusions in some non-negroid race. Churchill (69, p. 139) advances the theory that the Polynesian immigrants coasted along Melanesia and made many stops to rest and raise crops, in this way coming into close contact with the negroid peoples of the region. The northern Maori and southern Marquesans are predominantly of the Caucasic race and if this race came by way of Melanesia and picked up negroid blood and Melanesian cultural traits in transit, we should expect to find negroid blood and Melanesian traits in all the groups where the Caucasic element is important. It is important in Hawaii, where there is very little of the negroid element (Sullivan, 79, *b*, p. 19) and where the culture shows hardly any Melanesian affinities. It seems probable, therefore, that at least some of the Caucasic immigrants into Polynesia had had little or no contact with Melanesians at the time of their arrival. The population of Easter Island, which lies on the extreme eastern edge of Polynesia, shows a larger proportion of negroid types than that of any other Polynesian locality (Dixon, 70, *a*, p. 370). Stone implements which are of Melanesian type and which differ considerably from those used by the historic population have been found in Tahiti. It seems improbable that a racial element which entered Polynesia as an inclusion would have retained its distinctive implement types or would have been strong enough to dominate physically in the easternmost Polynesian island thousands of miles from Melanesia. It is more probable that the population of central and southeastern Polynesia was at one time predominantly negroid in physical type and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The southeastern Polynesian type of culture probably originated in central and southeastern Polynesia through the fusion in that region of an early negroid population with immigrants of the Caucasic race. The cultures of these two races no doubt differed considerably but it is almost impossible to tell which of the features present in the resulting culture are referable to the negroids and which to the Caucasic immigrants. The presence of a feature of the southeastern Polynesian culture in Melanesia is not sufficient evidence for its ascription to the negroid population, for the Caucasic people probably reached Melanesia as well as Polynesia. The contact of two cultures which are not too widely separated in the scale of development is stimulating to both. Ideas and appliances are borrowed back and forth and worked over to conform to the pattern of the borrowing culture. When dissimilar cultures fuse, the resulting complex is comparable to a chemical rather than a mechanical mixture. Some features of the original cultures may survive with little change but others will be greatly modified and new features may arise which can not be directly traced to either of the ancestral cultures. In view of the general situation in Melanesia and Polynesia the following traits may be tentatively ascribed to the culture of the negroid stratum in the Polynesian population:

Round, oval or canoe shaped houses, five piece canoes with decorated bows and sterns, axes and smoothly ground tangless adzes, staves and sickle or pick clubs, the throwing cord, curvilinear art, cannibalism, spirit worship, initiation or instruction for young men.

The culture of the Caucasic immigrants seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses with permanent beds, special houses on posts, five-piece canoes, double canoes, triangular sails, partially ground angular tanged adzes, stone pounds, stilts, kites, human effigies, stone construction, exposure or preservation of corpses with flexed burial for the very poor or diseased, preservation of skulls of ancestors, head hunting and ancestor worship.

The blending of these two cultures produced a hybrid culture which was richer than either of its parents. There was a considerable improvement of technical processes and a remarkable efflorescence of art. Several new features of material culture seem to have been developed. Among these were the use of wooden slide doors in dwellings, a characteristic form of canoe decoration, fully ground angular tanged adzes, small stone effigies, shell trumpets with separate mouth pieces, wooden trumpets, oval boxes with tight fitting covers, rigid conventions in the pose of human effigies, and probably the practise of mummifying corpses by evisceration and long continued rubbing with oil.

The Hawaiian culture resembles the southeastern Polynesian culture in some respects but lacks most of the features which, because of their wide oc-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 174 currence in Melanesia, are probably referable to the negroid stratum in the southeastern Polynesian population. It also has several features in common with the western Polynesian culture. It seems probable, therefore, that it is a blend between a culture of western Polynesian type and the culture of the Caucasic immigrants who mixed with negroids to produce the southeastern Polynesian culture. The historic Hawaiians are predominantly brachycephalic but Sullivan concludes that they are a thorough mixture of the Caucasic and Indonesian races.

171 174 144 Each of the three races present in Polynesia probably entered the region at a different time and brought with it a distinctive culture but it is still impossible to establish their chronological sequence. The negroid race was probably the first to arrive in central and southeastern Polynesia. The main argument which has been advanced against the presence of a negroid population in this region has been the supposed inability of negroid peoples to make the long voyages necessary to colonize Polynesia. It is improbable that a race able to reach Fiji from the New Hebrides, the nearest Melanesian group to the west, would have been unable to cross the shorter stretch of sea separating Fiji from Tonga or to make the only slightly longer trip from Fiji to Samoa. The central and southeastern Polynesian groups are comparatively close lying and it would not have been difficult for even poor navigators to pass along them as far east as the Austral and Tuamotu Islands. It is not necessary to suppose that the migration of the negroid race was a deliberate or organized movement. It is probable that, like the historic Melanesians, they disliked long voyages but their presence in Fiji proves that they had seaworthy vessels and it would always be possible for a canoe to be blown out of its course and carried to islands unknown before. There is no indication that a pure negroid race reached Hawaii and the negroids probably did not reach New Zealand or the Marquesas except as inclusions in some superior race.

The order of arrival in Polynesia of the Caucasic and Indonesian races must be left an open question. The traditional movements in Polynesia have been from west to east and from southeastern Polynesia to Hawaii, the Marquesas and New Zealand. As the Indonesian stock seems to be strongest in western Polynesia this may indicate that it was the last to arrive. At the same time, the Indonesian element in the populations of New Zealand and the Marquesas seems to be strongest in those localities which are least desirable for settlement and which are farthest from the probable points of arrival of immigrants from the rest of Polynesia. In New Zealand and the Marquesas, therefore, the Indonesian race may have preceded the Caucasic race. It seems probable that the sequence of arrival of the three races in central and southeastern Polynesia was first, Negroid; second, Caucasic; third, Indonesian. The priority

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the Indonesian race in the more distant Polynesian localities may have been due to their greater skill as navigators. The use of many piece canoes and lateen sails, which was apparently a feature of the Indonesian culture, gave them a freedom of movement which the negroid and Caucasic races probably lacked. Polynesian traditions mention long voyages of exploration and the sailing canoes of the Tongans carried complements of over a hundred men and were hardly more dependant upon winds and currents than European sailing vessels. It would not be difficult for a race which used such canoes to pass by islands which were held by hostile populations and establish itself in more distant islands which it found unoccupied or sparsely settled. The Indonesian race may have colonized both western and marginal Polynesia before it succeeded in conquering the large mountainous islands of southeastern Polynesia. The establishment of cultures of western Polynesian type in southeastern Polynesia must be quite recent for cultures of Maori-Marquesan type were still in existence there at the time of the twelfth century migration to New Zealand.

The routes by which the negroid, Caucasic and Indonesian races reached Polynesia can not be fully established until we have fuller information on Micronesia and Melanesia. The historic distribution of races and cultures in Polynesia seems to be best explained by the following hypothesis: The first settlers of central and southeastern Polynesia were negroid in race and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture. They entered the region largely as a result of accidental drifts and settled in Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook, Society, Austral and Tuamotu groups, but did not reach any of the more distant Polynesian localities. They came originally from Melanesia, probably from Fiji. The next immigrants to reach Polynesia were of the Caucasic race and had come from Indonesia by way of Micronesia. They arrived first in Samoa and spread over the territory held by the negroid people, mixing with them to produce a hybrid race and the southeastern Polynesian type of culture. A fairly pure group of the Caucasic race reached and colonized the Marquesas, which they found unoccupied or only partially settled by the negroids. A mixed group, in which the negroid element predominated, reached Easter Island. The Caucasic immigrants did not, at this time, reach either Hawaii or New Zealand. While the main body of the Caucasic immigrants were passing through Micronesia another group of the same race were coasting southward through Melanesia. This wing of the Caucasic migration was probably absorbed or dissipated before it reached Polynesia but it modified the culture of the eastern Melanesian islands to a considerable degree. The last immigrants to enter Polynesia in large numbers were of the Indonesian race. They came from Indonesia, like the Caucasic immigrants, and passed by way of Micronesia. In Micronesia their

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 vanguard met and mixed with the rearguard of the Caucasic immigrants and a
174 group of this mixed people sailed eastward, perhaps from the Marshall group,
144 and discovered and colonized Hawaii. The main body of the Indonesian invaders arrived first in western Polynesia and established themselves most thoroughly in Tonga, where the islands were comparatively small and level. In Samoa, where the islands were large and mountainous, the earlier Caucasic and negroid population held out for a considerable time and was able to somewhat modify the culture and physical type of the conquerors. In Niue, an isolated group of the earlier population survived into historic times. The Indonesians sailed southward from western Polynesia and discovered and colonized New Zealand. They also spread over southeastern Polynesia and reached the Marquesas. In that group they mixed with the earlier Caucasic population producing a culture somewhat like that which had been carried to Hawaii by immigrants of mixed Caucasic and Indonesian race. They were unable to displace the mixed Caucasic and negroid populations of the larger southeastern Polynesian islands but they established colonies on these islands. This first Indonesian invasion was followed by a period of comparative quiescence during which few voyages were made. About the year 1000 A.D. (79, *a*, p. 223) a second period of voyages commenced. It is impossible to tell what caused the resumption of nautical activity, but it seems probable that western Polynesia had become overpopulated and that the culture of the Indonesians in that region had been stimulated by their contact with Fiji. Immigrants from western Polynesia reached the Society group and explored northward from it until they rediscovered Hawaii. There they found a branch of the same people who had been modified by long isolation and so were able to establish themselves as overlords without meeting with serious opposition. They brought to Hawaii a few features of culture which they had acquired during their passage through southeastern Polynesia. In southeastern Polynesia the pressure of the invasion from the west forced some of the population to migrate to northern New Zealand and the southern Marquesas. These migrants were predominantly Caucasic and negroid in race but were probably under the direction of chiefs descended from the earlier Indonesian invaders of southeastern Polynesia. In New Zealand they destroyed the earlier Indonesian population or drove it into the undesirable localities. In the Marquesas they ousted the earlier population from the southern islands of the group but were unable to conquer the northern islands. After the departure of these emigrants from southeastern Polynesia, western Polynesian immigrants established themselves in the region, destroying or modifying the earlier type of culture.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The conditions in Polynesia are extremely complex, and the migration theory just outlined and the theory of the derivation of all the historic Polynesian cultures from three original cultures which were introduced by different races probably err on the side of simplicity. The division of Oceania into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia is, in some respects, an arbitrary one and no final settlement of Polynesian problems will be possible until we have further information on the other two areas. Ingenious theories of cultural stratification have been advanced to account for the historic conditions in Melanesia, but Micronesia is still almost unknown scientifically and has been largely ignored by Polynesian students. Even our present fragmentary knowledge of Micronesia indicates that at least one of the Polynesian races passed through that region. A systematic study of Micronesian culture and physical type would no doubt provide a key to many of the Polynesian problems.

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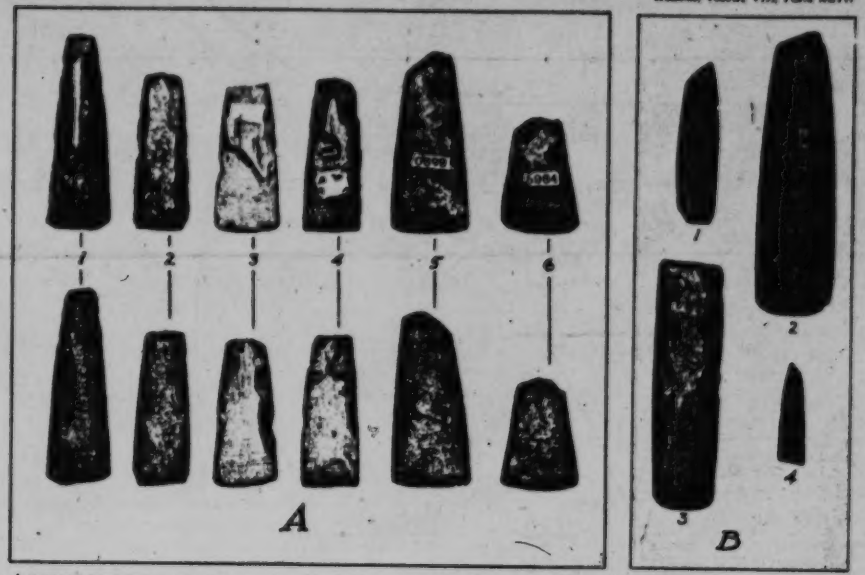

I, TANGLESS ADZES OF POLYNESIA, FRONT AND REAR VIEWS: 1, MARQUESAS; 2, TONGA; 3, SAMOA; 4, EASTER ISLAND; 5, CHATHAM ISLANDS; 6, SOCIETY ISLANDS; B, MARQUESAN GOUGES.

[end plate 8]

T. Lissom E-3 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531 figures in various poses that may well have pictographic significance are 304 shown by Mrs. Handy (18, Pl. xv, C).[1]

SUMMARY

X531 Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: House post designs, which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear; and tattoo designs.

Designs for house posts were extensively used on recent canoe models and were probably used on ancient canoes. The table of design elements (pp. 32-34) shows that bowl designs make use of the largest number of design elements and motifs. They even include most of the house post designs although in subordinate positions. The most important bowl designs not found on house posts are the hook scroll, curvilinear spirals, small tiki faces, floral designs, and representations of insects. The few angular spirals seen on house posts are not typical, but this design is important in bowl decoration. *Mata, kauke,* and pierced ovals are as characteristically bowl designs as tattoo designs. Bowl designs have been freely used in the decoration of canoe paddles, war clubs, treasure boxes, chisel handles, stilts and *pakea.*

X531 171 The designs of ornamental sennit lashings extensively used in the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa are similar to those carved on Marquesan house posts. It seems probable that these designs were originally worked out in the sennit lashings and that in the Marquesas they were later copied in wood carving.

X531 532 The tiki figure has gone through an extensive process of conventionalization, many stages of which are visible in the Marquesan carving. There is a gradual degeneration of design from the complete tiki figure carved in the full round, represented by the large wooden and stone idols and by a few wooden house posts, to tiki figures representing only part of the body, usually the upper half, as found on small bone ornaments. The next step is to omit the body entirely and show only the face which in turn is still further reduced, leaving out one facial feature after another until only the eyes or eyes with ears attached remain. It should not be inferred that the highly conventionalized forms are now used to the exclusion of the more complete tikis. The design is chosen to fit the object and the space to be decorated, but there are far more tiki faces than full tiki figures and more incomplete tiki faces than complete ones.

X531 The *mata* is closely related to the tiki face and may have been derived from it. *Mata* are much more in evidence on canoe models and canoe paddles than on war clubs and bowls; the opposite relation holds for tiki

1 [See 8: Handy, this file.—Analyst]

304 or peaked. There is no evidence of any other kind of wrapping or deformation. The effects of this treatment of infants are very evident in the photographs, particularly in the foreheads of elderly men. The practice is identical with that in [171] Hawaii. It is difficult to say just how much it would affect the cephalic index if at all. Handy also states that the nose was flattened during infancy.

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth. It is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi preserted a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/117 cont./

The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton 114
report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be ac- 114
cepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical 171
for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many 114
of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in 182
Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and 121
culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 174 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special [182]

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161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it[A] fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

●173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

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[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i ao,*" it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a misspelling of *i ao.*

A [i.e., the population. - Analyst]

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and Rarotonga. Again, the story from Hiva Oa of going to Rarotonga for feathers indicates a definite knowledge of that island and of several others, the locations of which the natives apparently anciently knew but which cannot now be identified with the present state of knowledge regarding the ancient names of islands in the eastern Pacific. The occurrence in certain sacred chants of the names Tona Tapu (Tonga-tabu), Vevau (Vavau), Fiti Nui (Fiji-Nui), Havai'i (Hawai'i, Savai'i), Upo'u (Upolu), Po'apo'a (Borabora), and others, as names of *fenua* or lands to the westward (toward Havai'i) indicates a memory, at least, of some geographic region where these were familiar names. Whether these were original for the natives of the Marquesas in the regions in which they were the native names of the islands at the time of discovery or whether their origins must be sought much further back toward Asia, only future investigation can prove conclusively. That names of lands were transplanted in the Pacific is proved in Central Polynesia. Vavau for the Tongan was the largest of the northern islands of this group; for the Tahitian, it was the ancient name of Borabora; for the natives of the Marquesas, it was the great valley on Hiva Oa now called Atu Ona. Fiji to the Tongan was Fiji Nui, "the great land to the west;" Hiti Nui was the ancient name of Tahiti; Fiti Nui to the Marquesan was a region on the western end of Hiva Oa. I have been assured by trustworthy informants that in ancient times Marquesas islanders used to go to Tona Tapu. There is a story from Hiva Oa which relates the voyage of a chief to Tefiti. This may well be the Hiva Oa dialetical variant of Tahiti; but it is to be noted that in the story it is definitely said that this land was toward the rising sun. The distribution of these land names just discussed proves one thing: that the people who used these names extended their possession right across central Polynesia from Tonga and Samoa, through the Society group, to the Marquesas.

No evidence has come to light which would indicate that Marquesas islanders had ever seen white men before the arrival of the historic explorers. In Hiva Oa it is said that Tane and Atea were, respectively, older and younger brothers. Tane was fair with light hair and is said to have been the ancestor of the white race (the Hao'e); Atea was dark like the natives, who are his descendants. This conception of Tane as a fair god I believe to be genuinely native, since it is in line with many similar mythological concepts of deities with fair hair and fair skins in other groups of Polynesia. Whether or not this indicates contact with individuals or groups of the white race prior to the historic discovery of the Marquesas, one cannot say. The beginning of the period when

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Spanish or Portuguese adventurers might have arrived at the group was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, these concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia or in Asia itself, when some of the ancestors of the Polynesians were in concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia ber of early voyagers say that white men who first came to the group were supposed to be gods *(etua)*. Whether this was due to association of the white men with such mythological teachings as are mentioned above, or merely to the fact of the size of their ships, the splendor of their uniforms, and particularly to the sight and sound and effect of their firearms, one cannot tell for certain. All that one may say with assurance is that the Marquesas islands, like the rest of the Polynesians, must, at some time prior to the first recorded visits of Europeans, have known of the existence of a white race, but that there is no evidence of their remembering having seen white men prior to the historical arrival of the earliest European visitors, the Spaniards, under the command of Quiros in 1595. The presence of Caucasian blood in the native physical complex, which is indicated by the descriptions of the early voyagers, and which was brought out also by the anthropological investigations of our expedition, must be borne in mind in connection with these considerations. All of the early voyagers were struck by the lightness of skin of the natives. Quiros (pp. 17, 22, 28) in particular speaks of light skins and refers once to red hair. This fairness of skin was undoubtedly due to some extent to the practice of bleaching; but the custom itself indicates an admiration for light complexion. This admiration is exhibited in many legends, as in that of Tuapu in which the color of the skin of the hero is likened to that of the meat of a coconut. Some credence is certainly due also to the statements of natives of the present day, with many of whom I have discussed this subject. All insist that in ancient times, before the arrival of any Europeans, there were many of their people with very light skin and reddish hair.

Quiros gives a very interesting bit of evidence indicating that the inhabitants of Hiva Oa had a knowledge of some darker complexioned people living in regions to the southward of their island. One concludes that these must have been natives of Tuamotu, some of whom, as a result of their life in the sun, wind, and sea, are very dark. To quote Quiros (25, p. 152):

> The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs toward the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess.

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The most trustworthy evidence as to the immigration of the original natives of the Marquesas comes from genealogies and legends. Some analysis and discussion of the genealogies will be necessary before conclusions can be stated. 173

Evidence of Genealogies

Every genealogy that I possess has in it, doubtless, numerous errors. No native today can recite his genealogy for many generations back. It is only these few that have been laboriously written down in old account books or on sheets of paper that can be obtained now, and in the writing of these by natives many errors have crept in. For instance, one was given me to copy in which all the names of men and of women were transposed in one section of the genealogy without anything to indicate the change. Frequently, too, a list of the children of some man and woman in the direct line is included in a single column, instead of being put into a side column, the children thus appearing as consecutive generations in the direct line. It is evident from the most trustworthy of my records that even in the ancient days one would have found considerable variations. For instance, in the early sections where conformity would be expected, there is wide variation, omission, different names, transposition of superior and inferior, and even of male and female. In other words it seems almost certain that, even in ancient times, the genealogists would not have been found to correspond accurately in detail, but rather to approximate each other. The division of the people into tribes, their separation and isolation, and the transmission of rceords by word of mouth from *tuhuna* to *tuhuna* must necessarily have given occasion for much error.

It does seem, however, that the genealogies may be utilized safely in making approximations of time elapsed. They may be said to furnish trustworthy suggestions at least. In the following tables certain notable names have been selected from the most trustworthy of the genealogies at hand: the numbers of generations following them, down to the last name written, have been recorded and these records have been converted into years, and averages made. Explanatory notes follow the tables.

With regard to Genealogy IV in Table I in which the number of generations is so much less than in the others, it should be remarked that this is the only one of the four of which I have no way of knowing whether or not it is complete down to the recent times. It was recorded by Père Pierre. For a number of reasons I am inclined to think that it is not complete in its latter portion. I should, therefore, be inclined to regard the average figures arrived at by using this genealogy in combination with

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173 the other three as a more accurate minimum than that given by Genealogy IV alone. The figures are self explanatory. In converting the generations into years, twenty-five years has been chosen as the probable average per generation.

TABLE I.—MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

	GENEALOGIES				AVERAGES		EXTREMES			
							MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	I	II	III	IV	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.
Atea and Atanua	90	67	74	46	69	1665	90	2250	46	1150
Ancient lands (Vevau, Fiti, etc.)	82	61	65	39	62	1550	82	2050	39	975
Tiki	69	54	45	32	50	1250	69	1725	32	800
Tana-oa	65	51	41	23	45	1125	65	1625	23	575

Atea and Atanua were traditionally the progenitors of the race. After Atea and Atanua always come names corresponding to those in use elsewhere anciently and in modern times—names which to the Marquesas islanders were at the same time names of ancient, distant lands and ancient names of local regions. Is there justification for concluding the Marquesas islanders were living in lands called by these names perhaps as long ago as two thousand years? No more than for concluding that these names are those of actual human beings. I take the occurrence of these names to mean, not that the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas were living in Vavau, Tonga, Fiji, or Savai'i at that ancient date, but that the region throughout which these names occur—Central Polynesia—was the route by which the natives, who arrived at the Marquesas in about the tenth century, came; and that these were revered names of some kind in still more distant and ancient lands to the northwestward.

Tiki and Tana-oa are deities and legendary heroes, undoubtedly purely mythical, so far as the Marquesans are concerned. There is no reason to suppose that any persons known by that name ever actually lived in the Marquesas.

In Table II is tabulated the antiquity in generations of certain characters, famous in legend, whose names are today the names of tribes or larger divisions of the country. The dates were arrived at by using 1875 as the approximate date of the last generation recorded.

TABLE II.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS

BASED ON FIVE GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES					AVERAGE	YEARS	APPROX. DATE
	I	II	IV	V	VI			
Nuku	35	39	18	—	—	31	775	1100 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	13	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	14	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	—	—	27	31	775	1100 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	8	21	—	17	425	1450 A.D.

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Nuku was, traditionally, one of two brothers who were the first settlers on Hiva Oa. As the name of the settler of the western half of Hiva Oa, Nuku became the name of the whole of that part of the island, or of the people living there in the dual division which is described below. Tiu is said to have been born in the valley of Taha Uku and to have settled in Ta'a Oa—the inclusive name for all the people in the great valley of Ta'a Oa is Tiu. Mo'ota was the name of one of several brothers of Tiu, who went to settle on Fatu Hiva and today is the name of a tribe on that island. There is everything in the legend of Tiu to make one feel justified in regarding it as certainly of local origin, and as a trustworthy piece of traditional history. Mohuta is the name of the tribe which inhabited the valley of Hana Uaua on the south coast of Hiva Oa. Taupo is the name of one of the subtribal divisions in the great valley of Vevau (Atu Ona). As was said above it is not certain that Genealogy IV is complete to recent times. The fact that the figures based on it are so much lower than those based on the others, which I am sure are complete, leads me to think that it is not. I feel justified, therefore, in regarding the averages arrived at by including Genealogy IV as a safe minimum. By using only Genealogies I and II, the two most trustworthy I have—both from Atu Ona—a safe maximum may be obtained.

TABEL III.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS BASED ON THE TWO MOST TRUSTWORTHY GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES I	GENEALOGIES II	AVERAGE	YEARS	DATE
Nuku	35	39	37	925	950 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	37	925	950 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	37	925	950 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	33	825	1050 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	38	950	925 A.D.

Judging from the genealogies, it would seem that one is justified in arriving at the following conclusions, based on the figures given in Tables II and III:

Nuku, a first settler on Hiva Oa, came between 950 and 1100 A.D., perhaps somewhat earlier, certainly not later than 1100; Tiu, a brother of Mo'ota, settled in Ta'a Oa between 950 and 1150 A.D., and founded the tribe inhabiting that valley; Mo'ota was born in Taha Uku, Hiva Oa, between 950 and 1150 A.D., and went to settle in the island of Fatu Hiva, where he founded a tribe; Mohuta founded a tribe in Hiva Oa in about 100 A.D.

The founder of the subtribe of the Na-iki in Vevau (Atu Ona)) called Taupo, was born sometime between 1175 and 1450 A.D. The evi-

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173 dence, which indicates that the small valleys on the northwest coast of Hiva Oa were colonized by the Taupo tribe, this region being called Taupo Tua, or Back Taupo, is given below in the discussion of tribal relations on Hiva Oa. The expansion, which led to this colonization, certainly could not have come about for some centuries, even granting that Taupo may have had a number of followers when he founded his tribe. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the colonization of the northwest coast was, at the earliest, not before the latest date arrived at for Taupo, 1450 A.D. The northwest coast of Hiva Oa was, then, colonized certainly not before the fifteenth century.

On the basis of the evidence from genealogy and tradition presented above, which I consider trustworthy for approximations, it appears that Hiva Oa must have been settled in about the tenth century; that from that century to the twelfth was what we may call the early period of settlement in the islands of the southern group; and that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a period of later expansion. Conclusions based on evidence from these sources and arrived at by this method will be on a sure basis if more genealogies and more traditional evidence can be obtained. It is hoped that future work will make this possible.

First Inhabitants and Places of Settlement

174 According to Père Pierre (4), the natives believed that the names of the first inhabitants of the six main islands were as follows: of Nuku Hiva, Mohuta; of Hiva Oa, Tapu–oko; of Tahu Ata, Toheto; of Fatu Hiva, Mihi-toka; of Ua Huka, Koki-oho; of Ua Pou, Pa-hohe. The name Mohuta is the only one of these which occurs in the genealogies in my possession.

There is good reason to believe that early colonists to the Marquesas would have chosen Hiva Oa in preference to Nuku Hiva for settlement, since it is less rugged and much more inviting. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that they would have chosen as the most desirable location in which to dwell the region made up of what is now Atu Ona with the neighboring and easily accessible valleys of Te Hutu, Ta'a Oa and Taha Uku. This is obvious to one acquainted with the island, since this section presents by far the most expansive and most favored region for human existence. However, that this become a center of cultural development may have been due not to the choice of original settlers, but to the fact that after settlement was general it was the most favorable place for the development of a large population, and hence that its people gradually attained a dominant position politically and culturally. The naming of Atu Ona, Vevau, the claims of its inhabitants and other evidence,

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793 upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

793 The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how im-
173 portant a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

79[illegible] The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the
764 remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be dis-
793 posed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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most of these are generic terms and not merely names of single songs or chants, since Dordillon translates them usually as "kinds of chants." 539

The list is as follows:

Avaavaua, hakaoho, hariki, hehevaihi, hetau, hinatu, hioo, hiperue, ihituki, katumu, kihiouoho, kioe, mahau or mahau'u, mahitete or mahiatete, mahomaho, makemake, maku or ma'u, mauaheretie, nuhe, ori, otu, pikitahi, pona'u, pa'o'e, papakitahi, papo, puhe kava, parirau, paro, patipati, patupatu, pehete, pipiko, potu, puatahii toua, punaiana, putuaka, puko, hono, pututahi, ririraurau, taatita, taho, tahotahoki, tahoki, tahotahoko, tiritauteva, titiei, tuihope, tukihoe.

GENEALOGIES

All the genealogies that are available today are written. I believe no living native knows by heart more than a small number of the later names of his genealogy. In this report only one selected genealogy is given—one that appears to be the best and most trustworthy of those obtained. Others will be published subsequently, after they have been more carefully studied, and compared with others that it is hoped will be forthcoming. In the example given here, it will be seen that Atea and Atanua appear some distance down in the list. Genealogies usually start with these names, these two being regarded as, respectively, progenitor and progenitress of the native people. Modern natives, in explaining the matter, say that Atea and Atanua are like Adam and Eve. That statement is not correct, however, for Atea and Atanua were distinctly deities rather than human beings, and there is nothing to indicate that they are conceived of as having ever inhabited the islands as beings in human form. The genealogy given may be divided into sections as follows: (1) concepts of creation (Nos. 1-53, (2) personified concepts or deities (?) (Nos. 54-60), (3) ancient lands (Nos. 61-63), (4) gods (Nos. 64-108), (5) men (Nos. 109-144). Nos. 75-115 represent a period of legendary heroes and gods. 539 173

CHANTING OF GENEALOGIES

The most important use of genealogies was in some of the family rites. At marriage festivals and at funerary festivals the genealogy was chanted from the beginning. Family genealogies, either in part or from beginning to end, were chanted in the rites of adoption and in connection with the ceremonial chanting of the *vavana* and *pu'e* by family groups. At certain other rites, such as that which initiated the first-born into his

[10] Examples of most of the chants described above were obtained in the native dialect, and the melodies of a few were recorded. The following are subsequently to be published: native texts with translation and melody—*pu'e, uhabi, nato, pope, rori, ru'u, tape'a, pipina, putu,* and *pehi;* native texts with translation—*tona-pou, oho-au no Motuhaiki, vavana, ti'e mato, faufaua, aumeha, hakaoho, menava tupapa'u, puna tohu, vai hakae, tupapa'u, tai, ka'anu, fuku, uta, haikai haena, puko toua, pa'e vii toua, kouaka, viti, pu'u keha, mauta'a, ta'a, ue, koutapa, vahaho, u'i, hapa.*

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

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The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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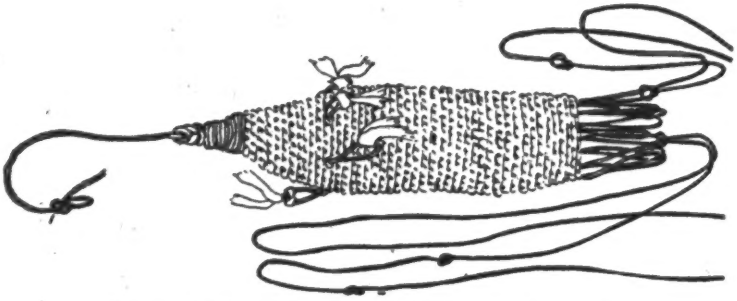

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

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An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

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MALE	FEMALE
Akaoa (Long Root)	Akapoto (Short Root)
Akahuhu	Akaane
Tetinitiniotetoo (The Myridas of Roots)	Temanomanootetoo (The Countless Number of Roots)
Teafeafeotetoo (The Great Length of the Roots)	Tepiimaiotetoo (The Upward Climbing of the Roots)
Tetoopuutia	Tetookokeani (The Useless Root)
Aitetomataetekoie	Tetuhiotokuietekoie
Aiteotikoe memaoane	Titootetoo te Akateaka ihato
Ouia	Toikia
Tepukupuku (The Swelling)	Tetonatona (The Very Agreeable)
Teuhitua (The Back Covering)	Teuhiao (The Front-covering)
Mani	Hapeu
Tehakahua (The Beginning, the Turning-about)	Tehakafenua (The Land-making)
Teninuninu	Kekeeinau
Tetake (The Foundation)	Ahitake (The Fire-Bottom)
Enata iuna	Makaio
Tetake	Haanaenuu
Enata iuna	Hakahotu
Titake	Huoi
Tetie	Tekomanu
Tekomanu	Tepaona
Temu	Hia
Tehau	Moeioto
	Moeivaho
	Anaekea
	Anapiimai
Piimaimeitahi	Papaioona
Tepapau	Tepapahau
Tepapahuia ete tau vave	Tepapakeeaki
Tepapatieikua	Tekuamoehau
Fifiti	Takina
Mapii	Tuatuaea
Tuiuta	Heiei
Tuitetohoa	Ito
Tupuhauhau	Hakaoa
Tuitai	Tepaekuaotane
Haamauaito	Ito
Tetaipupuna (The Sea-sweet-like-sugar-cane)	Tetaifeiai (The Sea-sweet-like-*fei'ai*)
Teakuhua	Teakupapa
Tefanafanatea	Tepapaiuna
Uakekeu	Tepapaiao
Tohaki	Hinatumaomao
(Tetaki)	
Fetoki	Hinahakatohuaani
Tepapauna (The Level Above)	Tepapaao (The Level Beneath)
Vatea (Clear Space)	Atanua
Tepo (The Night)	Mahito
Kuupenu	Teme'ama (The Moon)
Teata (The Reflection)	Nanaii
Teao (The Breath)	Animea
Tenuhi	Uutau

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MALE	FEMALE
Voke	Hanivaa
Vevau [a land]	Havaii [a land]
Fiti [a land]	Tonatapu [a land]
Fititapu [a land]	Tehau [a land]
Teua (The Rain)	Tetai (The Sea)
Tepai (The Wetness)	Kaukau (The Washing)
Paiainu (The Drinking Wetness)	Uavai (Water hole)
Tepu (The Conch Shell)	Koata (Venus Shell)
Tefaa (The Pandanus)	Hoohena (Strong Running)
Tetiu (The North Wind)	Temetani (The Wind)
Tefatu I (The Master, The Rock)	Toupii
Tefatu II	Teea
Tefatu III	Teoi
Tefatu IV	Hukia
Tefatu V	Hinataumiha
Tiki [legendary character]	Kahuone (Pile of Sand)
Tikitapu	Hinaua
Aneane	Tumukee
U	Aniani
Tanaoa [legendary character, a god]	Mutuei
Kootumu	Fatuaho
Tehito	Maanau
Hoi	Uehine
Hoitupu	Hoihoe
Hoikua	Hoimea
Hoimapekau	Na Hoiamua etanaoa
Tepua	Papaheani
Iakau	Teuaheetoitoi
Koopana	Ouhutukatokato
Havini	Matativo
Hoitanaoa	Teatuotu
Hoiavaiki	Nukuepa
Matauapuna	Toitata
Punauunui	Meheua
Punahohonu	Ahuoho
Punafaakua	Tumuii
Punavetea	Fitiei
Punavete	Akamei
Punatea	Tapuainui
Punatefae	Tepuhimeoto
Tupahee	Naonao
Tupavaka	Huihena
Tupahaataniitepu	Paanuimea
Tupatanitetee	Hotie
Temaituitu	Temaitutee
Maituataanaifenua	
Punatope	Oata
Punatutu	Haiko.
Tupaoaiafai	Puhumomo
Nuku [legendary character, a first settler]	Uiaei
Hotu	Moiakau
Oko [legendary character]	Inuvaa.

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MALE	FEMALE
Moota [legendary character, a tribal name]	Niniano [Legendary character]
Tiu [legendary character, a tribe]	Mofitu
Fekei	Maoninua
Tuoa	Hotaei
Mohuta [A tribal name on Hiva Oa]	Vaiatanuu
Meae	Atua
Kahumano	Tanihua
Ahunia	Tiufaa
Tatini	Teepana
Toumata	Tehueo
Nohea	Kaukau
Timoka	Tapuahu
Tuakina	Papeoho
Tepiu	Piinoa
Tinfeaa	Tuhiua
Motootoofenua	Puutini
Teaninuinei	Tiutaha
Kouaehitini	Takeoho
Taupo [A subtribe in Vevau]	Teheva
Tepaapaa	Maotai
Kopaaninatea	Hivapu
Fatukua	Titopu
Kuaiteoho [A subtribe in Vevau]	Homuani
Puatautau	Homutoia
Fatukua	Naeaefitu
Hamihiao	Tiamate
Ututete	Tipeeipuoho
Tekohuotaupo	Natapuotiu
Feuapoenui	Piuiatohetika
Piuhefua	Tuhitaiuta
Vahitete	Temeiu
Tohuputona	Tauahokaani
Ioane [Now living]	Emere [died 1921]

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GENEALOGY OF NATURE

The descent of various growing things, and other elements of nature, from Atea is shown in the following list. As is shown here, each stone, plant or animal, had its particular mother, and was fathered by Atea (Vatea).

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Te'a (Rock)
	Heteuatoto	Te'etu (Red tufa)
	Huumania	Tiva (Beach boulder)
	Uuhoa	Ehi (Coconut)
	Momea	Mei (Breadfruit)
	Pihaei	Ihi (Chestnut)
	Paemo	Fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
	Uamamaenoa	Tohe (Bamboo)
	Maetoitoi	Tuaivi (Mountain)

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FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Metie (Grass)
	Tuotuoo	Kakàho (Reed)
	Tiitiinehu	Tahuna (The seabeach)
	Hopu	Heepo (*Epo:* Soil?)
	Tiipahauoo	Ama (Candlenut)
	Henua	Huatei (?)
	Hinatetepu	Pua (*Carissa grandis*)
		Tiae (*Gardenia tahitiensis*)
	Hinaooifatu	Hefaa (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)
	Veavea	Tatiu (Cucumis)
	Tohiue	Faahoa (Pineapple)
	Tetuhitetano	Mae
	Uinae	Moho (an unidentified plant)
	Teputuohei	Tava
	Tiimaa	Puaa (Pig)
		Vahane (*Corypha umbraculifera*)
		Tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)
		Tavaiti
		Enetae
		Hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*)
		Eva (*Cerebra manghas*)
		Topini (*o kopiti*, a kind of tree)
		Tokuu (Indian lilac)
		Toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*)

GENEALOGY OF MOONS

This list shows the descent of the moons (months) from Atea, by different mothers.

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Upuoo	Takuua (August)
		Mahina (September)
		Avea (October)
		Oaoumanu (November)
	Pukeoo (a star)	Ehua (December)
		Ve'o (January)
		Uaoa (February)
		Mehau (March)
	Tekuteku	Pohe (April)
		Makaiki (May)
		Napea (June)
		Tuhuamatakeo (July)

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MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live. 829

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England. 186

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. 173

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months. 648

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, 173 to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene- 611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that 611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members [517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch *Murex ramosus*, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173] in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

173 dence, which indicates that the small valleys on the northwest coast of Hiva Oa were colonized by the Taupo tribe, this region being called Taupo Tua, or Back Taupo, is given below in the discussion of tribal relations on Hiva Oa. The expansion, which led to this colonization, certainly could not have come about for some centuries, even granting that Taupo may have had a number of followers when he founded his tribe. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the colonization of the northwest coast was, at the earliest, not before the latest date arrived at for Taupo, 1450 A.D. The northwest coast of Hiva Oa was, then, colonized certainly not before the fifteenth century.

On the basis of the evidence from genealogy and tradition presented above, which I consider trustworthy for approximations, it appears that Hiva Oa must have been settled in about the tenth century; that from that century to the twelfth was what we may call the early period of settlement in the islands of the southern group; and that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a period of later expansion. Conclusions based on evidence from these sources and arrived at by this method will be on a sure basis if more genealogies and more traditional evidence can be obtained. It is hoped that future work will make this possible.

First Inhabitants and Places of Settlement

●174 According to Père Pierre (4), the natives believed that the names of the first inhabitants of the six main islands were as follows: of Nuku Hiva, Mohuta; of Hiva Oa, Tapu-oko; of Tahu Ata, Toheto; of Fatu Hiva, Mihi-toka; of Ua Huka, Koki-oho; of Ua Pou, Pa-hohe. The name Mohuta is the only one of these which occurs in the genealogies in my possession.

There is good reason to believe that early colonists to the Marquesas would have chosen Hiva Oa in preference to Nuku Hiva for settlement, since it is less rugged and much more inviting. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that they would have chosen as the most desirable location in which to dwell the region made up of what is now Atu Ona with the neighboring and easily accessible valleys of Te Hutu, Ta'a Oa and Taha Uku. This is obvious to one acquainted with the island, since this section presents by far the most expansive and most favored region for human existence. However, that this become a center of cultural development may have been due not to the choice of original settlers, but to the fact that after settlement was general it was the most favorable place for the development of a large population, and hence that its people gradually attained a dominant position politically and culturally. The naming of Atu Ona, Vevau, the claims of its inhabitants and other evidence,

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about to be discussed, leads me to feel, however, that the balance of evidence is on the side of this being an original center of settlement. 174

The largest and most important valley on Hiva Oa, now known as Atu Ona, anciently called Vevau Tua-kahakaha, or simply, Vevau, is said by informants of Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva, to have been the cradle and source of native lore, the center from which spread most of the traditions of the group, also the chants, the scenes of many of which are laid in its environs. This claim is sustained by other evidence, all of which points to this region as one of original settlement. In the first place, inhabitants of Nuku Hiva admit freely that most traditions came from Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva and Na Pou, the people believed that all souls returned to Kiukiu, the western extremity of Hiva Oa, before starting on their journey to Havai'i. Porter (p. 94) mentions the inhabitants of Tai o Hae speaking of another island named Vavao. The use of Vevau as a name for sacred places was very frequent. It is certain that Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were peopled by colonists from Hiva Oa. So much for this relationship of the other islands of the group to Hiva Oa.

Evidence from within Hiva Oa supports the assertion of Atu Ona natives that their valley (Vevau) was the nest of Hiva Oa culture. The sacred chants (*vavana* and *pu'e,* etc.) and information regarding them secured at Pua Ma'u, have furnished me with what I believe to be conclusive evidence that Vevau (Atu Ona) and the contiguous regions represent the center in which the Hiva Oa culture had its growth. The *vavana* was sung in a special structure called the *fa'e Papa.* What is said to be the *paepae* (platform) of the original *fa'e Papa,* in which lived Atanua, the ancestress of the Marquesas islanders, lies under the sea a little way from the westward end of the beach at Atu Ona. It is said to be visible on clear, calm days from some high points on adjacent shores, but I have never seen it. It is supposed to be built with cut, red-stone blocks *(ke'etu)* of the type used in platform construction. Whether this is a natural formation resembling a house platform, or actually a submerged platform, it is impossible to say. In the *vavana,* there is reference repeatedly to names that are ancient names of regions contiguous to the present Atu Ona: Vevau, Po'apo'a (said to be above Taha Uku), Fiti Nui (a plateau west of Ta'a Oa) and so on. Also in this chant there is reference to Atu Ona and Taha Uku, and to other places in the vicinity that can be definitely located. When working over this chant with informants in Pua Mau, I was told that the reason for such references was that the chants had originated there. There is one further item of evidence that should be presented. In the base of Vevau (Atu Ona) is a small mountain named Kei Ani (Pierce sky). This mountain was regarded

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as a *me'ae* (temple). There is no structure on it, according to informants, but it is called *mouna tuatini etua* (mountain of innumerable gods) or *mouna tautina etua* (mountain which is the landing place of gods). It is said that at certain times the gods of all the valleys and islands used to congregate at Kei Ani. Beyond this statement, I was never able to get any information regarding beliefs or activities connected with this mountain, but the spread of names from Atu Ona supports the evidence. Other names of places and tribes occur in repetition in different islands but none so frequently as the following: Vevau, the ancient name of the valley of Atu Ona, recurs as the name of temple in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Tai-pi Vai, Haka Ehu, and Pua on Nuku Hiva; inVai Paee on Ua Huka. It is the name of feast places in Ana Mi'ai on Tahu Ata, and in Vai Paee on Ua Huka. Na-iki, the name of the tribe of Vevau (Atu Ona), occurs also as a tribal name in Vai Paee on Ua Huka; in Pua Hapa'a, and Hatiheu on Nuku Hiva; and in Haka Hau on Ua Pou. Pou Au, the name of the sacred mount and temple in the base of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), recurs as a tribal name on Hiva Oa in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on Ua Pou in the valley of Haka he Tau; and as a temple name in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Vai Tahu, on Tahu Ata; in Omo'a on Fatu Hiva; in A'a Kapa, Tai o Hae, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva.

The distribution of the name, Pua Ma'u, is also interesting. In the first place it is the name of the great valley at the eastern end of Hiva Oa. We find it recurring as the name of feast places at A'a Kapa, Taipi Vai, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva. That this name recurs only on Nuku Hiva is significant. Pua Ma'u is not the ancient Hiva Oa name for that valley, but a new name. It may indicate the Pa'aha Tai, the tribe that finally drove out the Na-iki living in Pua Ma'u, came from Nuku Hiva. The *vavana* chant obtained in Pua Ma'u from the Pa'aha Tai had its origin in Vevau (Atu Ona); but this chant may have been acquired from the Na-iki before they were driven from Pua Ma'u.

It has been shown that evidence obtained on Nuku Hiva supports the claim of people living in Atu Ona today, that their valley was the ancient center of the culture; but it seems to me entirely within reason to suppose that there was another center of development and distribution on Nuku Hiva. The complete population of eastern Nuku Hiva by Taipi, the great size and advantages for habitation of the valley of Tai-pi Vai, and the unparalleled number of remains of temples and feast places in that valley, lead me to believe that if there was such a center there it was Tai-pi Vai. If there were two centers in the Marquesas, this may be the explanation of certain marked variations which are found among the people and their

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culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[3] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

[3] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

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More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

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Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

166 they were defeated in the war with all eastern Hiva Oa furnishes an example of a tribe taking refuge on another island.

There is every reason to believe that there was also peaceable penetration and settlement. This is probably what occurred in Taupo Tua (Taupo, a tribal name, *tua*, back), the section along the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. Investigation shows that this region was settled by the Taupo tribe, a powerful member of the Na-iki group in Vevau, who occupied the section of that great valley lying nearest Taupo Tua, so that they had easier access to the coast by land than could be had from any other part of the island.

Summary of Evidence

174 The conclusions that have been come to in the above discussion of the peopling of the Marquesas may be briefly summarized as follows: In the thought of the people themselves there is no conception of their forefathers having come to the islands—that is, of their having migrated. There is, however, in genealogies, legends, and chants, indirect evidence that indicates knowledge of lands to the westward in central Polynesia and proves conclusively that the early settlers of the Marquesas were a branch of the people who named the regions in which they lived, Vevau, Fiti, Tona, and so on. The distribution of these names as land names across central Polynesia seems to me to indicate that this was probably the route by which the early settlers of the Marquesas came to their islands. Comparative study of genealogies and traditions with regard to the occurrence of the names of the first settlers leads to the conclusion that the first colonists came about the tenth century; that from that time until the twelfth century was what has been called the early period of settlement; that the time from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries represented a period of later expansion. Evidence from modern informants, legends, sacred chants, and a number of indirect sources indicates that the region on the southern coast of Hiva Oa, including the valleys now called Taha Uku, Atu Ona, Te Hutu, and Ta'a Oa, was the favorable center in which the native culture was nurtured and the indistinctive traits which characterize it throughout the group were developed, and from which the people and their culture expanded. Lastly it was concluded that certain cultural variations in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, which are paralleled by slight physical and temperamental differences in the people of those islands, indicate the presence of another later immigrating group of Polynesian settlers who infused their blood and influences of their culture into the stock and the culture of the settlers already established throughout the group.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

772 commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in
775 their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used
196 these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

772 The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a
775 conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'oi tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justi-
[174] fies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

The hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotce*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou;* Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme;* Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka;* and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

From the point of view of the primitive settler, the Marquesas could hardly be considered desirable country. The mountains everywhere extend to the sea, and the little level ground on the plateaus is rendered uninhabitable by the droughts. The numerous valleys are for the most part small and many of them contain no land suitable for cultivation. Terracing, which might have increased the arable area, is almost useless without some system of irrigation, and this is rendered impossible by the uncertain rainfall. There are no native wild animals larger than the rat, and the absence of a barrier reef decreases the supply of fish, and makes fishing arduous and uncertain. Opposed to these disadvantages are a climate ideally suited to the growth of breadfruit and coconut, and at least partial immunity from attack as a result of the geographical isolation of the valleys. 133 [136]

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION

So far as known there are no native accounts of the original settlement of the Marquesas. The legends collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition show a belief in a local creation. Legendary material and the constant repetition of tribal and place names in the various islands of the group would seem to indicate that the historic inhabitants were descended from a few small parties of settlers who occupied the most fertile valleys of the southern islands first, spreading as their numbers increased until the occupation of the group was complete. There is no legendary evidence of organized conquest or of an early non-Polynesian population. The local differences in culture and physical type which existed in the Marquesas at the beginning of the historic period seem to point, however, to the presence of two originally distinct racial elements. One element, which was dominant in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, showed many affinities with the Maori of New Zealand. The other element, which was dominant in Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka and Ua Pou, showed affinities with western Polynesia. It seems improbable that these two elements arrived in the group simultaneously but it is imposible to say which came first. In historic times the western Polynesian element in the Marquesas was strongest in the localities which were least desirable and farthest from the probable place of arrival of immigrants to the group. This may indicate that this element arrived first and had been ousted from the more favorable localities by the Maori-like element. 174

There seems to have been no important invasion of the Marquesas after their settlement by these two racial elements. The Tuamotus was the only island group near enough to serve as a base for organized attack and these islands were small and sparsely populated. It was not impossible for small bands of invaders to reach the Marquesas from time to time; but even if they were successful in this, the nature of the country would have limited their occupation

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (fig. 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 It can be seen from the tables that Samoa and Tonga show a closer cul-
tural agreement than any other two Polynesian localities. The Marquesas and
174 New Zealand show an almost equally close agreement. The Society Island culture occupies an intermediate position with numerous resemblances to both the Samoan-Tongan and Maori-Marquesan cultures. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan on the material side, but its non-material features are more closely related to those of the Society Islands and western Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures show so many similarities that, in the absence of historic contact, they must be considered as not very divergent developments of a single ancestral culture. The content of the various New Zealand culture areas outlined by Skinner (78) has not yet been established, but most of the traits common to New Zealand and the Marquesas seem either to have been limited to the north island or to have been much more highly developed there. According to Maori traditions the north islanders were descendents of immigrants who came to New Zealand from Tahiti and the Cook Islands in the twelfth century (Smith, 79, p. 223). The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate migration from Tahiti and the Cook Islands, and mention groups still farther to the west. It seems practically certain, therefore, that a culture similar to the historic Maori and Marquesan cultures formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures differ from the Samoan and Tongan cultures in so many respects that the two complexes must have been largely derived from different sources. The original cultures of Samoa and Tonga probably differed considerably from the historic ones. Cannibalism and the use of the bow as a weapon in Tonga, and the elaborate club forms of both Tonga and Samoa were due to Fijian influence. The Samoans ascribe the introduction of tapa making to a Fijian chief and their tapa making implements are almost identical with the Fijian ones. The slotted drum was almost certainly borrowed from Fiji. Legged pillows were probably borrowed from Fiji, where the form of the coiffure made them necessary. Legged utensils may also have been borrowed as such utensils are more numerous and of more diverse form in Fiji than in either Samoa or Tonga. Even the use of round or oval houses may not have been a feature of the original Samoan-Tongan cultures for round houses are practically absent in Indonesia and Micronesia but are found in both Fiji and New Caledonia.

The western Polynesian cultures have many features in common with Micronesia. The resemblances seem to be more marked in the Caroline and Marshall groups than in the Gilbert Islands. Micronesia is still too imperfectly

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

known to permit of detailed comparison, but the Caroline and Marshall cultures have in common with the Samoan-Tongan culture a considerable development of chiefly power with a tendency toward fixed social classes; extended earth burial, often with orientation; the use of many piece canoes and lateen sails; and a high development of mat weaving with the use of mats for clothing. Many other features of the Samoan-Tongan culture are also found in Micronesia but are less universal in their occurrence. Although it is possible that these features were borrowed from Micronesia by the western Polynesians, it seems more probable that the original culture of the Samoans and Tongans was essentially Micronesian in type.

The affiliations of the Hawaiian culture are difficult to establish. The Hawaiian culture resembles the Maori and Marquesan cultures in the form and internal arrangement of houses; canoe structure and sail; use of the stone pounder and tanged adz; stilts and surf board; in the use of human effigies and in the conventions applied to them; also in the rarity of utensils with legs and absence of legged pillows. It shares with the Marquesas the use of stone house platforms; extensive ceremonial structures of stone; a pounder with a flaring base; prepared sling stones; the musical bow; the large vertical drum with a skin head; and necklaces made from many strands of plaited human hair. These features are lacking in New Zealand. The Hawaiian culture also has a few features in common with the Society Islands which are lacking in the Marquesas. The most important of these are an organized priesthood; a centralized government with divine chiefs; and the use of netted featherwork, helmets, flyflaps, painted tapa decoration and watermarked tapa beaters. Many voyages between Hawaii and the Society Islands were made from 1100 to 1300 A.D. (Smith, 79 *a*, p. 223) and according to Hawaiian traditions the use of enclosed religious structures, the vertical drum, human sacrifice, increased centralization in government and a stronger organization of the priesthood were introduced into Hawaii at that time. It is impossible to tell whether the other similarities of the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures are due to this relatively late contact, but it seems probable that those features which show a very close agreement—such as netted featherwork, tapa painting, watermarked beaters and the conventions employed for human effigies—were brought to Hawaii by the southern immigrants. The similarities in canoes, houses and stone implements, on the other hand, are probably more ancient and point either to an earlier contact or to the partial derivation of both the Hawaiian and southeastern Polynesian cultures from the same source. The main features which distinguish the Hawaiian culture from the Maori and Marquesan cultures are the high social and religious organization of the Hawaiians and the absence in Hawaii of cannibalism, head

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 174 hunting, organized instruction for young men, curvilinear art and decorative carving. Stone construction was also highly developed in Hawaii although practically absent in New Zealand. If those features which were probably introduced into Hawaii from southeastern Polynesia in comparatively recent times are eliminated, the residual Hawaiian culture is intermediate between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures but seems to be most closely related to the Maori-Marquesan cultures.

The Marquesas and Hawaii have several features in common which are lacking in New Zealand. Although the historic culture of all the Marquesan islands was nearly the same, decorative carving and curvilinear art seem to have been more highly developed in the southern islands of the group, while stone construction was more highly developed in the northern islands. The northern islands also showed an increased tendency toward centralized government and toward a belief in the divinity of chiefs. The resemblance of the Marquesan culture to that of Hawaii was thus more marked in the northern than in the southern islands of the group. The southern islands are more desirable for settlement and lie nearer to the Society group so that immigrants from southeastern Polynesia would be likely to encounter them first. The traditions of the southern Marquesans indicate that they did not reach the group until about 1000 A.D. (Handy, personal correspondence). It seems probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend between an original culture somewhat like that of the early Hawaiians and a Maori like culture which entered the group from Southeastern Polynesia at some later time.

The Society Island culture is intermediate in many respects between the Maori-Marquesan and Samoan-Tongan cultures. As it is almost certain that cultures similar to the Maori and Marquesan ones formerly existed in southeastern Polynesia it seems probable that the Society Island culture is a blend between an early culture of Maori-Marquesan type and a culture of western Polynesian type. Society Island culture shows a few distinctive features, the most important of which are an organized priesthood and a considerable centralization of government with suggestions of a feudal system. The historic Samoan-Tongan culture shows a tendency toward centralized government and it seems probable that the distinctive features of the Society Island culture originated in the Society Islands as a result of the contact of immigrants from western Polynesia with a subject population.

It is possible to distinguish three main types of culture in Polynesia. These cultural types correspond in a general way with the culture areas distinguishable in other parts of the world, but their historic distribution was not geographically continuous. One type of culture, linked with populations pre-

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dominantly Indonesian, centered in western Polynesia. A second type seems to have centered in southeastern Polynesia, associated with people predominantly Caucasic, but who showed considerable negroid admixture. This type survived into historic times in the Marquesas and New Zealand but had been greatly modified in the Society Islands by immigrants with a culture of western Polynesian type. A third culture, associated with populations of mixed Indonesian and Caucasic type with little negroid admixture, formerly existed in Hawaii and the Marquesas, but had been modified or displaced in the Marquesas by immigrants with a culture of southeastern Polynesian type. Two of the cultural types are, therefore, linked with mixed populations and have either been introduced into Polynesia by mixed groups of immigrants or have been developed from the fusion in Polynesia of races dissimilar in physical type and probably in culture. The evident correlation between culture and physical type in Polynesia points to a relatively recent settlement of the region.

The Samoan and Tongan cultures apparently are not hybrids produced by the complete fusion of originally distinct cultures. They are rather to be considered as developments of a single comparatively simple culture which has been modified by borrowing from several sources. This culture seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses or houses with a rectangular center and apses, many piece canoes and lateen sails; bludgeon clubs and possibly throwing clubs; a high development of mat weaving with a use of fine mats as clothing; an angular geometric art with a poor development of wood carving and a rarity or absence of human effigies; a moderate development of stone construction, extended earth burial for commoners and vault burial for chiefs; a tendency toward centralized government with divine chiefs and social classes; elaborate geneologies, and a worship of gods or dead chiefs. The Samoans and Tongans appear to be racially more homogeneous than the inhabitants of any of the other large Polynesian groups and are predominantly brachycephalic (Dixon, 70 *a*, Pl. XXII-XXV), with a large proportion of the Indonesian race (79 *b*, p. 19). It seems probable, therefore, that the culture just outlined was introduced into Polynesia by immigrants of Indonesian race.

The Maori and Marquesan cultures, which seem to be the historic representatives of the old southeastern Polynesian type of culture, show a number of Melanesian affinities. Maori art resembles that of the Massim region of New Guinea and that of some parts of New Britain, New Ireland and the Solomon Islands much more than it does that of western Polynesia. The five-piece type of canoe construction was used in most of the Melanesian localities where the natives built large craft and the highly decorated bows and sterns of the Maori and Marquesan canoes are suggestive of some Melanesian forms. Cannibalism,

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head hunting, preservation of the skulls of ancestors, exposure or preservation of corpses, instruction or initiation of young men, absence of large governmental units and chiefs of little power are all of wide occurrence in Melanesia although lacking in western Polynesia. In spite of the general Melanesian tone of the Maori and Marquesan cultures, analysis shows that they are not closely linked with the culture of any one Melanesian locality. The art resemblances are general rather than specific and the Maori-Marquesan image conventions are practically absent in Melanesia. The non-material traits common to the Maori-Marquesan and Melanesian cultures are of very wide occurrence in Melanesia and are present in cultures which differ considerably on the material side. Single traits of the Maori and Marquesan material cultures are often present in one or two of the Melanesian cultures but the distribution of these traits is so irregular that little can be deduced from it.

Both the culture and physical type of the northern Maori and southern Marquesans indicate that their ancestors had been in contact with some negroid people. It has generally been assumed that this contact occurred in the course of their migration from Indonesia and that the Melanesian elements present in Polynesia reached that region as inclusions in some non-negroid race. Churchill (69, p. 139) advances the theory that the Polynesian immigrants coasted along Melanesia and made many stops to rest and raise crops, in this way coming into close contact with the negroid peoples of the region. The northern Maori and southern Marquesans are predominantly of the Caucasic race and if this race came by way of Melanesia and picked up negroid blood and Melanesian cultural traits in transit, we should expect to find negroid blood and Melanesian traits in all the groups where the Caucasic element is important. It is important in Hawaii, where there is very little of the negroid element (Sullivan, 79, *b*, p. 19) and where the culture shows hardly any Melanesian affinities. It seems probable, therefore, that at least some of the Caucasic immigrants into Polynesia had had little or no contact with Melanesians at the time of their arrival. The population of Easter Island, which lies on the extreme eastern edge of Polynesia, shows a larger proportion of negroid types than that of any other Polynesian locality (Dixon, 70, *a*, p. 370). Stone implements which are of Melanesian type and which differ considerably from those used by the historic population have been found in Tahiti. It seems improbable that a racial element which entered Polynesia as an inclusion would have retained its distinctive implement types or would have been strong enough to dominate physically in the easternmost Polynesian island thousands of miles from Melanesia. It is more probable that the population of central and southeastern Polynesia was at one time predominantly negroid in physical type and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The southeastern Polynesian type of culture probably originated in central and southeastern Polynesia through the fusion in that region of an early negroid population with immigrants of the Caucasic race. The cultures of these two races no doubt differed considerably but it is almost impossible to tell which of the features present in the resulting culture are referable to the negroids and which to the Caucasic immigrants. The presence of a feature of the southeastern Polynesian culture in Melanesia is not sufficient evidence for its ascription to the negroid population, for the Caucasic people probably reached Melanesia as well as Polynesia. The contact of two cultures which are not too widely separated in the scale of development is stimulating to both. Ideas and appliances are borrowed back and forth and worked over to conform to the pattern of the borrowing culture. When dissimilar cultures fuse, the resulting complex is comparable to a chemical rather than a mechanical mixture. Some features of the original cultures may survive with little change but others will be greatly modified and new features may arise which can not be directly traced to either of the ancestral cultures. In view of the general situation in Melanesia and Polynesia the following traits may be tentatively ascribed to the culture of the negroid stratum in the Polynesian population:

Round, oval or canoe shaped houses, five piece canoes with decorated bows and sterns, axes and smoothly ground tangless adzes, staves and sickle or pick clubs, the throwing cord, curvilinear art, cannibalism, spirit worship, initiation or instruction for young men.

The culture of the Caucasic immigrants seems to have been characterized by the use of rectangular houses with permanent beds, special houses on posts, five-piece canoes, double canoes, triangular sails, partially ground angular tanged adzes, stone pounds, stilts, kites, human effigies, stone construction, exposure or preservation of corpses with flexed burial for the very poor or diseased, preservation of skulls of ancestors, head hunting and ancestor worship.

The blending of these two cultures produced a hybrid culture which was richer than either of its parents. There was a considerable improvement of technical processes and a remarkable efflorescence of art. Several new features of material culture seem to have been developed. Among these were the use of wooden slide doors in dwellings, a characteristic form of canoe decoration, fully ground angular tanged adzes, small stone effigies, shell trumpets with separate mouth pieces, wooden trumpets, oval boxes with tight fitting covers, rigid conventions in the pose of human effigies, and probably the practise of mummifying corpses by evisceration and long continued rubbing with oil.

The Hawaiian culture resembles the southeastern Polynesian culture in some respects but lacks most of the features which, because of their wide oc-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 currence in Melanesia, are probably referable to the negroid stratum in the southeastern Polynesian population. It also has several features in common with 174 the western Polynesian culture. It seems probable, therefore, that it is a blend between a culture of western Polynesian type and the culture of the Caucasic immigrants who mixed with negroids to produce the southeastern Polynesian culture. The historic Hawaiians are predominantly brachycephalic but Sullivan concludes that they are a thorough mixture of the Caucasic and Indonesian races.

171 Each of the three races present in Polynesia probably entered the region at a different time and brought with it a distinctive culture but it is still impos- 174 sible to establish their chronological sequence. The negroid race was probably 144 the first to arrive in central and southeastern Polynesia. The main argument which has been advanced against the presence of a negroid population in this region has been the supposed inability of negroid peoples to make the long voyages necessary to colonize Polynesia. It is improbable that a race able to reach Fiji from the New Hebrides, the nearest Melanesian group to the west, would have been unable to cross the shorter stretch of sea separating Fiji from Tonga or to make the only slightly longer trip from Fiji to Samoa. The central and southeastern Polynesian groups are comparatively close lying and it would not have been difficult for even poor navigators to pass along them as far east as the Austral and Tuamotu Islands. It is not necessary to suppose that the migration of the negroid race was a deliberate or organized movement. It is probable that, like the historic Melanesians, they disliked long voyages but their presence in Fiji proves that they had seaworthy vessels and it would always be possible for a canoe to be blown out of its course and carried to islands unknown before. There is no indication that a pure negroid race reached Hawaii and the negroids probably did not reach New Zealand or the Marquesas except as inclusions in some superior race.

The order of arrival in Polynesia of the Caucasic and Indonesian races must be left an open question. The traditional movements in Polynesia have been from west to east and from southeastern Polynesia to Hawaii, the Marquesas and New Zealand. As the Indonesian stock seems to be strongest in western Polynesia this may indicate that it was the last to arrive. At the same time, the Indonesian element in the populations of New Zealand and the Marquesas seems to be strongest in those localities which are least desirable for settlement and which are farthest from the probable points of arrival of immigrants from the rest of Polynesia. In New Zealand and the Marquesas, therefore, the Indonesian race may have preceded the Caucasic race. It seems probable that the sequence of arrival of the three races in central and southeastern Polynesia was first, Negroid; second, Caucasic; third, Indonesian. The priority

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the Indonesian race in the more distant Polynesian localities may have been due to their greater skill as navigators. The use of many piece canoes and lateen sails, which was apparently a feature of the Indonesian culture, gave them a freedom of movement which the negroid and Caucasic races probably lacked. Polynesian traditions mention long voyages of exploration and the sailing canoes of the Tongans carried complements of over a hundred men and were hardly more dependant upon winds and currents than European sailing vessels. It would not be difficult for a race which used such canoes to pass by islands which were held by hostile populations and establish itself in more distant islands which it found unoccupied or sparsely settled. The Indonesian race may have colonized both western and marginal Polynesia before it succeeded in conquering the large mountainous islands of southeastern Polynesia. The establishment of cultures of western Polynesian type in southeastern Polynesia must be quite recent for cultures of Maori-Marquesan type were still in existence there at the time of the twelfth century migration to New Zealand.

The routes by which the negroid, Caucasic and Indonesian races reached Polynesia can not be fully established until we have fuller information on Micronesia and Melanesia. The historic distribution of races and cultures in Polynesia seems to be best explained by the following hypothesis: The first settlers of central and southeastern Polynesia were negroid in race and Melanesian rather than Polynesian in culture. They entered the region largely as a result of accidental drifts and settled in Tonga, Samoa, and the Cook, Society, Austral and Tuamotu groups, but did not reach any of the more distant Polynesian localities. They came originally from Melanesia, probably from Fiji. The next immigrants to reach Polynesia were of the Caucasic race and had come from Indonesia by way of Micronesia. They arrived first in Samoa and spread over the territory held by the negroid people, mixing with them to produce a hybrid race and the southeastern Polynesian type of culture. A fairly pure group of the Caucasic race reached and colonized the Marquesas, which they found unoccupied or only partially settled by the negroids. A mixed group, in which the negroid element predominated, reached Easter Island. The Caucasic immigrants did not, at this time, reach either Hawaii or New Zealand. While the main body of the Caucasic immigrants were passing through Micronesia another group of the same race were coasting southward through Melanesia. This wing of the Caucasic migration was probably absorbed or dissipated before it reached Polynesia but it modified the culture of the eastern Melanesian islands to a considerable degree. The last immigrants to enter Polynesia in large numbers were of the Indonesian race. They came from Indonesia, like the Caucasic immigrants, and passed by way of Micronesia. In Micronesia their

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171 vanguard met and mixed with the rearguard of the Caucasic immigrants and a group of this mixed people sailed eastward, perhaps from the Marshall group, 174 and discovered and colonized Hawaii. The main body of the Indonesian invaders arrived first in western Polynesia and established themselves most thoroughly in Tonga, where the islands were comparatively small and level. In Samoa, where the islands were large and mountainous, the earlier Caucasic and negroid population held out for a considerable time and was able to somewhat modify the culture and physical type of the conquerors. In Niue, an isolated group of the earlier population survived into historic times. The Indonesians sailed southward from western Polynesia and discovered and colonized New Zealand. They also spread over southeastern Polynesia and reached the Marquesas. In that group they mixed with the earlier Caucasic population producing a culture somewhat like that which had been carried to Hawaii by immigrants of mixed Caucasic and Indonesian race. They were unable to displace the mixed Caucasic and negroid populations of the larger southeastern Polynesian islands but they established colonies on these islands. This first Indonesian invasion was followed by a period of comparative quiescence during which few voyages were made. About the year 1000 A.D. (79, *a*, p. 223) a second period of voyages commenced. It is impossible to tell what caused the resumption of nautical activity, but it seems probable that western Polynesia had become overpopulated and that the culture of the Indonesians in that region had been stimulated by their contact with Fiji. Immigrants from western Polynesia reached the Society group and explored northward from it until they rediscovered Hawaii. There they found a branch of the same people who had been modified by long isolation and so were able to establish themselves as overlords without meeting with serious opposition. They brought to Hawaii a few features of culture which they had acquired during their passage through southeastern Polynesia. In southeastern Polynesia the pressure of the invasion from the west forced some of the population to migrate to northern New Zealand and the southern Marquesas. These migrants were predominantly Caucasic and negroid in race but were probably under the direction of chiefs descended from the earlier Indonesian invaders of southeastern Polynesia. In New Zealand they destroyed the earlier Indonesian population or drove it into the undesirable localities. In the Marquesas they ousted the earlier population from the southern islands of the group but were unable to conquer the northern islands. After the departure of these emigrants from southeastern Polynesia, western Polynesian immigrants established themselves in the region, destroying or modifying the earlier type of culture.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The conditions in Polynesia are extremely complex, and the migration theory just outlined and the theory of the derivation of all the historic Polynesian cultures from three original cultures which were introduced by different races probably err on the side of simplicity. The division of Oceania into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia is, in some respects, an arbitrary one and no final settlement of Polynesian problems will be possible until we have further information on the other two areas. Ingenious theories of cultural stratification have been advanced to account for the historic conditions in Melanesia, but Micronesia is still almost unknown scientifically and has been largely ignored by Polynesian students. Even our present fragmentary knowledge of Micronesia indicates that at least one of the Polynesian races passed through that region. A systematic study of Micronesian culture and physical type would no doubt provide a key to many of the Polynesian problems.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

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648 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more
439 distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

● 174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/79 cont./ 164 175

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This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history: 161 174

Year	Source	Population
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To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population. 175 [161] [165] [731]

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century. 161 175

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115]
them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [789] [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not [182]
be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The 756 856
use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an
aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known [182]
today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due
to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out [797]
all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the
Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained 174
on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty 881
from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two [115]
valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at
least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were [302]
kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the [757]
vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation [826]
for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some [824]
tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank [304]
at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls 174
would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or 88
koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they 826
exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a
genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon
flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the
rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called
ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone
or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to
be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva.
Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside
genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed
sufficiently large, hence the name attached. 881

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus 832
membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair 826
pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan
aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes
were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to con-
siderable derision, being insulted with the appellation of
to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 174 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special 182

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

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OX6 Marquesas OX6

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/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a 757
paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut
(ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times
daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands 757
were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. 797
They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially 177
available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!)

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal 757
diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here.

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may 164
be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 175

/79 cont./ 164 175

crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

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161 174

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/82 cont./

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Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./ 162 175 648
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before.

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 163
1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, 165
however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. 175
In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is 161
definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a 175
number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate [163]
has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century [162]
population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary [197]
constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above con- 114
flict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton 161
(1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating [172]
the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114
165

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175● 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 159 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 ● sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./ 175 ●
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 648
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 864
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported.
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731] very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726] Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439] for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164] diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

175 182 648 797

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

182 648 797 831

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

154 182 648 797 831

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121
natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas
Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178]
and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens
of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to
demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice
of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly
accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history
of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176]
from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from
literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the
practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know
nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 304x
certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556
a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465
work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand
the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the
large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A
father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-
born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*.
Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently,
guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to
the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over
again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely
covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration
necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

000 and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to 115 list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

124 Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

● 177 The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXt

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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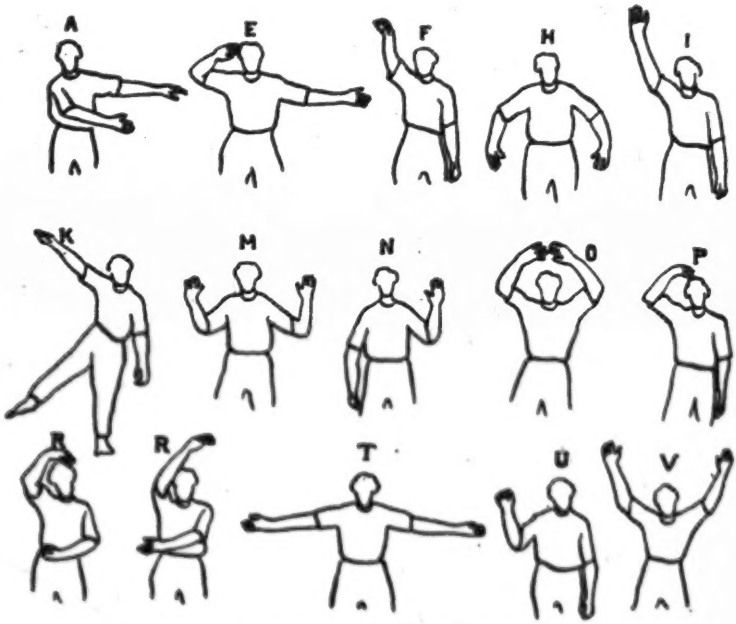

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely paradoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[8] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[8] Dordillon, I. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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music is not the only criterion of musical sense. The inadaptibility of the Marquesans to our music is directly in line with their evident inability to assimilate European culture or any important elements in it, which apparently results from pride and independence of character, and an intense love of their own ways of living.

Individuals sang alone when they chanted spells, or as they accompanied work with a song; priests sometimes intoned the sacred chants alone; and it is probable that a type of love song, called *uta,* of which every individual possessed one of his own, was sometimes sung alone, though it appears usually to have been performed by a chorus. It is the choral singing, however, that distinguishes Marquesans as a musical people. The records of the melodies of a few of the choral chants presented in this paper can give little suggestion of what must have been their effect when sung, with the energy characteristic of the Marquesans, by many voices to the accompaniment of clapping and drums.

When the head of a family or tribe desired to have a song or songs prepared for some festivity, the first step was to employ an adept (*tuhuna*) skilled in composition and teaching. The composer retired into seclusion to evolve from his mind the verses and melody. Sometimes a small house (*oho au*) was especially built for him by his employer, who supplied him with food during the time that he was thus working alone. After his compositions were ready, the next step was the assembling and teaching of the chorus that was to perform them. For teaching the tapu chants for important occasions, a special house was built to accommodate the singers. They dwelt in the singing house, were not allowed any indulgence of their sexual instincts, and were fed by the family for whom the chant was being prepared. The composer himself taught his chants to the chorus, all members of which, like the teacher, were subject to certain restrictions during the period of training. The type of chant determined the nature of the chorus. For example: the *pipine,* performed in honor of a maiden, was sung by a chorus of young girls; the *rari* and *uhaki,* recreational and funeral songs, respectively, by mixed choruses; the *nato* by a chorus of men of all ages; and the *pu'e,* the solemn creational chant, by old men. Every chorus had a leader (*kahua*), a man or a woman with a strong voice and musical ability, who started and directed the singing.

In the native nomenclature three voices (*eo*) are distinguished: *a'o* deep; *vavena,* medium (literally, "middle"); and *ma una,* high (literally, "on top"). There are these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and to contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Registers between these are designated descriptively, as *ma una o te eo i vavena,* just above the medium voice;

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Gracia,[21] one of the first Catholic missionaries, testifies to the impressiveness of the ancient choral chants in these words:

> The most dignified member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed, or which he composes at the moment; it often consists in only two or three words, repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or three vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert; but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a festival of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs, . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The chants referred to by both these writers were probably religious recitations of the same type as the *pu'e*.

RECREATIONAL CHANTS

RU'U

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Ru'u is the term applied in the northern islands of the Marquesas group to the kind of love song that is called *nani* in the southern islands. The *ru'u* (melodic figure 1) was heard on the island of Uahuka and was at first supposed to be Marquesan in origin as the nature of the melody and mode of singing are identical with that of the *nani* on Hivaoa. It was later discovered, however, that one of the singers who performed it, himself a native of Paumau, Hivaoa, had learned the song in the Tuamotu Islands and had taught it to the singers of Hane, Uahuka. About two and a half years after this, while being entertained by a group of Tuamotu singers in Tahiti, this *ru'u* was sung to a woman from Takaroa who instantly recognized the air. After a moment's thought she said it came from the island of Pukapuka. This was a most interesting remark in view of the fact that Pukapuka is one of several small atolls in the Tuamotus which lie nearest to the Marquesas, and that its dialect is known to differ from that of the western Tuamotus to such an extent as to make it difficult for a man from Rangiroa, for instance, to understand one from Pukapuka. Near Pukapuka, its people speaking the same dialect, is Napuka, which is known in Hivaoa as an island to which a number of refugees, defeated in war on Hivaoa, had been blown on rafts of bamboo. The whole group of facts concerning the song, therefore, furnish striking illustration of several points: connection between the northeastern Tuamotu

[21] Gracia, Mathias (Le P.), Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, pp. 64-65, Paris, 1843.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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islands and the Marquesas; the transmission of a melody from one group of islands to another, which is of course occurring continually nowadays; and lastly, the intricate difficulty of discovering ultimate origins of some cultural elements even within Polynesia itself. 533x 177

The song was performed on Uahuka in the following manner: 533x

Two lines of men faced each other, each man resting in a semi-squatting position on the left knee, with his right elbow on his rigl. knee, and his chin resting on his right hand. A line of girls sat in the space between the two lines of men, sang also and accompanied the singing with slow graceful movements of the hands and upper body, the motions being always in unison, and illustrating in vague pantomime the words of the song. One of the men led off always with the first line and refrain, after which the whole group joined in. The very simple harmonization which is illustrated in melodic figure 1 is intentional and more or less fixed. The two parts were repeated as written a number of times, separately and together, by the man and the woman who assisted in writing down the strains. The informants stated, further, that when there was a large group the women sang three different parts but the men only the one. The singing was slow and quiet, the whole effect being one of subdued meditation.

The first occasion of my hearing the *ru'u*—by a group of young friends who, one moonlight night, gathered before our house in Hane—was a most affecting and memorable one.

NANI (RARI)

Most *nani* were composed in honor of a young woman, the words having indirect reference to her. But the song Nani o Kae (melodic figure 2) concerns itself with a legendary subject. The performance of this *nani* was witnessed at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa. The women sat facing the observers, accompanying the song with motions of the upper body and arms. The men were seated in a line at right angles to the several lines of women. This type of song used to be intoned by the group standing. There was no accompaniment for the *nani*, either of clapping or with drums. One woman, referred to as the *kahua*, sang the first line alone, whereupon all joined in. The men's and women's voices appeared to be in unison for the most part, but with occasional simple harmonization. The only place where the harmonization (if it may be so called) was particularly noted, was on the sustained final syllable of both verse and refrain. Here all, both men and women, commenced the syllable in unison, but on the second beat some of the men raised their voices one tone, producing a dissonance which was evidently agreeable to their ears, since the same thing was repeated each time. This furnishes an interesting contrast with the *ru'u* heard on Uahuka, in which the men's voices were dropped and held a tone below the tonic at the end of the first verse.

It will be noticed by students acquainted with the dialects of Polynesia that many Tahitian words occur in the text of this song, intermingled with 533x 191

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 648 241 HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

243 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, tos, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

MODERN CANOES

FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Tahuku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Vaka poti are rarely if ever used for inter-island voyages as most of the villages possess whale boats, which are more suitable for such trips. The natives, however, make fairly long coasting voyages in the *vaka poti*. They keep as close in shore as possible, rowing along the edge of the breakers in the narrow belt of comparatively calm water caused by the backwash from the cliffs. Even when there are large bays along the route they prefer to skirt the shore rather than to cut straight across. This custom of lying close inshore no doubt accounts in part for the indifferent way in which the boats are sailed. When the wind is astern the sheet is paid out on the side away from the outrigger, and as there is no way of reefing in case of a strong wind it is necessary for the occupants of the canoe to lean far out on the outrigger side or even climb out on the outrigger frame to keep the boat from capsizing. When the wind is on the port quarter the sheet is paid out on the outrigger side, but it is dangerous to sail this way as a sudden puff may drive the outrigger under and capsize the boat. When the wind is abeam the natives lower sail and row out against it for some distance, then spread sail and come in at a long slant with the wind on the quarter, repeating the maneuver whenever they get too close to the coast. They do not seem to understand tacking, and never sail except with a following wind. 502

ANCIENT CANOES

THE DUGOUT

Two ancient types of canoe are remembered by the natives, a small fishing canoe, and a built up war canoe. The small canoe is said to have been a simple dugout, identical with the modern fishing canoes already described except that it lacked the plank gunwales and had an outrigger of the ancient form (p. 309). Porter (49), who mentions these canoes, says that they were "commonly nothing more than the hollowed keels of the large ones after the upper works have been taken off." They appear to have been used only around the harbors, all longer voyages being made in canoes of the built up type. 501

BUILT UP CANOES

Large built up canoes have been obsolete for many years, as the Marquesans were quick to see the superiority of the European small craft and soon learned to imitate them. Even in 1838 Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the ancient canoes had been largely replaced by whale boats which the natives obtained from passing ships. Small built up canoes have, however, continued in use until comparatively recent times and a seaworthy example is still to be seen on the island of Fatu Hiva. The form of these smaller craft is well remembered by many living persons and from their descriptions, the numerous early [177]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ⅝ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *vipoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them. 415 [531]

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round. [177]

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3⅛ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact. [177]

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.) 415

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived. [531]

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong. 415 531

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old 415 177

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 European residents of the group and many natives believe that they were copied
177 from them. Other natives declare that the form is ancient. In view of the containers mentioned in the preceding paragraph it seems most probable that this type has been developed from an aboriginal one by the addition of a base and that the obvious resemblance of the resulting utensil to a soup tureen has given rise to the belief that the European utensil was copied entire. The question of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base in primitive Marquesan utensils is of considerable ethnological interest, but the native evidence is conflicting and very few really old utensils have been preserved. In view of the practical absence of this feature elsewhere in Polynesia it seems safest to ascribe it to European influence.

415 Legged containers appear to be entirely absent in the Marquesas, the nearest approach being a low transverse flange carved near either end of the bottom. This feature was observed in only one specimen, and there is good reason to believe that it was not aboriginal. In view of the importance of utensils with legs in the Society Islands and their occasional occurrence in Hawaii, their absence in the Marquesas is rather curious.

Two bowls of unusual form are shown on Plate LXI, *C*. No. 1 seems to be an imitation of a long cupped leaf, the short upturned handle representing the stem. In both specimens there is a deep channel at the smaller end evidently intended to direct the flow of the fluid in pouring. In No. 1 this channel ends in a well marked lip. The interior of No. 2 is coated with *kava* enamel and it is probable that both were used as *kava* bowls.

An end channel similar to that in No. 2 is a common feature of the large four-legged Tahitian bowls, while bowls with lips were occasionally made by the Maori. Elsewhere in Polynesia these features appear to be rare or lacking.

COMPARISON OF CONTAINERS

A comparison of Polynesian containers could not fail to throw a great
415 deal of light on the relations of the different groups, but anything like a satis-
171 factory study is impossible at present. Regions in which the containers are poorly made or undecorated are often entirely unrepresented in Museums, while many others are represented by two or three specimens at most. Under the circumstances it is only possible to point out a few obvious similarities and differences. Long oval boxes with covers were numerous in the Marquesas and New Zealand, but appear to have been unknown in Hawaii and Western Polynesia. Round boxes with tight fitting covers are found throughout Western Polynesia and in Hawaii, but are lacking in the Marquesas and New Zealand. They appear to have been rare in Hawaii, and it seems safe to assign the long

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

203 824 banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe* or string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amaenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amaenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *mauomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

204 177 A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cordage and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in
237 several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they were scoured with fine sand.

321 A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced
[177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kana*, the small discs, *kana momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *packaa* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent
[177] has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view 304x them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones [534] *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* [533] or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done [262] (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must 304x be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty- 177 five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 [177] represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. 1) covering the crown of the head (Pl. v, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

*304 531 There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with [352]
her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline
completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and
cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus
result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp,
the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer
an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?" 881 [183] [197] 304 626

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama). 304

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives. [463] [602] [412] [177] [824]

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process. 304 752 [278]

/34/ 832

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837 heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864 married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183] pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522] some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833 of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836 (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837] the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515] with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind [302] the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177] variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534] soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226] expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/39 cont./

Marquesan		Uhi tua	
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe	198 522 834 883
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki	
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe	
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue	
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio	
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea	

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [197] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and genemally rough conduct 832 883

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177] [797]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further [648]
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers,
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/62 cont./ The 586 197 797

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 179 [578]

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/75 cont./ Having 192 602 831

been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another. [177]

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea 164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked. 192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a 757
paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands 757
were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. 797
They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially 177
available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!)

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal 757
diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here.

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may 164
be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 175

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [197] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together: the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114-
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking [262]
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen 177
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 144
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. 164
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121
natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas
Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178]
and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens
of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to
demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice
of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly
accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history
of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176]
from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from
literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the
practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know
nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 304x
certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556
a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465
work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand
the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the
large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A
father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-
born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*.
Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently,
guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to
the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over
again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely
covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration
necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352] sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177] contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412] rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165] cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825] normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753] do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [416]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts.-- Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178] ●

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 865 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result. 833 836 [178]

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/62 cont./ The 586
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 695
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [966]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in [178]
the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships, [123]

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

[178] 192 177 831 [E78]

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentration on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Appellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

192 831 [191]

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other white ethnic groups.

186 515 648 [538]

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 698
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 839
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/102 cont./

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned 182 74 883 at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe 571 that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [177] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./ 578
intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 831
unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178
been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [648] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183
the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831
the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797
missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831
girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175
sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183
intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923). 462

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178 835
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582] being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604] was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606] tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161] population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [598] that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773] is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction; the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/111 cont./ 178 ●
fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use 895
his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable [622]
warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them
with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the [162]
numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, how- [114]
ever (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records dis-
cussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males
never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among [622]
chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only
one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the
island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige [776]
that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution,
it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ [538]
depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have 837
been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in
modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such [538]
relations, and statements of informants indicate that the [182]
modern situation is quite representative of the former state
of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the
nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also
known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point
of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another 178
form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was 762
often used by women in the past, is no longer found in
Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong
negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against [797]
this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been 121
made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the
sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and
ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal
practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/119 cont./

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by 182 121
mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on.

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior 182
have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and 831
that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt.

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those 178 ●
presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear 831
to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXt

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●181 In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

THE ISLANDS

131 The Marquesas lie between parallels 7°50′ and 10°35′ south of the Equator, and meridians 138°25′ and 140°50′ west of Greenwich (See fig. 1). In other words the group is from one to three degrees north of the latitude of Lima, Peru, and from fifteen to eighteen degrees east of the longitude of the island of Hawaii. The principal islands are Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Nuku Hiva. (See figs. 2-7.)

133 The group lies in the course of the westward equatorial current from the coast of South America. Of currents we read in the Pacific Islands Pilot (28, p. 177):

> The current, impelled by the prevailing trade wind, is usually to the westward, between west-northwest and west-southwest, at a rate of about half a knot an hour, sometimes, however, increasing to three knots. If the wind dies away or changes to the westward, the current slacks, and during persistent westerly winds its direction changes. After a week of northwesterly winds, a current setting to the eastward at the rate of three knots were observed in Bordelais Strait, between Hiva oa and Tau ata.

132 It is the trade winds which bring the islands their rain, the moisture borne by them being caught and precipitated by the high mountains. To quote again the same authority (28, pp. 176-7):

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being im- 291 modest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any 836 648
previously established unions and marriages.

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual [832] potential of the girl.

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits 836 derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the dis- 648 ruptive influence that such a person might wield on native so- 182 cial relations.

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group 836 of the same culture and completely alien groups, which 648 possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic [833] foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" ooo

/59 cont./ 183

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans 831
participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period 836 883
consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into [838]
to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl de- 182
pends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the 836
world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the 182
Marquesans, also have an established role which they can 838
play in the community. 839

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua -- Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 115 159 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts: nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 55 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [747] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together: the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/93 cont./
observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes be- [114]
gan heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the com- [856]
plex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere- [114]
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely,
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [757]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom. 603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body. 291

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 291 797 178 291 797 178 797 834 [291]

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 174 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special [182]

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

Like the statements about the relative power of women vis a vis men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources.

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

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In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

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context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154 seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182 on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797 nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831 ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182 relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831 French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery. 182 831

Conclusions

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The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

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The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be accepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

/119 cont./

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on. 182 121

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt. 182 831

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here. 178 831

/25 cont./ 864 603 [856]

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/26 cont./

rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

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After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the
context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a
number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit
the houses of most of the married women during the temporary
absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys
will often be invited to participate, and the women take spe-
cial pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult
men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, ex-
pressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young
males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of
boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source
of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile
attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to
typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522]
some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric).
These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the un-
married girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays
are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515]
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of com- [302]
mercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534]
soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places
along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few
hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of
information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of
various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available,
and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small
"pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

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Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans 831
participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period 836
consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating 883
in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into [838]
to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl de- 182
pends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the 836
world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the 182
Marquesans, also have an established role which they can 838
play in the community. 839

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The 586 197 797

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

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tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184 619
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

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184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

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same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage. 619 621

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes. 622 631 184

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224): 622 621

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

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565 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva,
622 probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa
[164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and
554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters,
571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution [184] in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red cloth made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 600 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 547

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [551] [128]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565 184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead. 764

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor. 764 768

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva: 764 184

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*. 764

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

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764 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice
778 and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu,* being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on
778 Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the
● 184 same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u (vahi,* place; *tomia,* burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae.* On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae.* As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae,* the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u,* or platform for the dead, is a simple
778 small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

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are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

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252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *koknu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

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585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fañ tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fañ me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 586] there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the 787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was 784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no 778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under [421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one [822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have 834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with 184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

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were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

805
821

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24. O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva [D P] Tanaoa tahi [K] Hee hee ia [L]	O Pukepuke
25. O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati [D] Tanaoa tahi [P] Taukume [L]	O Puke noa
26. O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka [D] Tanaoa vavena [P] Ku mea [L]	O Tahataha
27. O Vehi	Tane [K] Tanaoa haapao [P] Tana hau vaka [L]	O Hatihati
28. O Tane	Moui [K] Tana hau vehi [L]	O Maunoa
29. O Mouikeo	Ononui [D K P] Nunui [L]	O Tau noa
30. O Oko mate	Nu mata [L]	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

[84]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [157] 361 421 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low	[342]
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone	
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent	
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)	
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped	
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)	
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)	
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common	
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used	
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common		
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house		
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare	[4[illegible]]
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used	
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)	[287]
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa	[304]
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)	
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded	[292]
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common	

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
333 Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
346 Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must
[731] agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the
561 father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

304 A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal
184 marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

*304 That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious sea-
881 sons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

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the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the 304x
southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the 531
vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C*), sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A*), while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B*). It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of 304x
this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that 531
prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following de- 184
tails are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen. (11, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

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by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *artu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j)* but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d)* and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k),* with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetoi* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c).* Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A, 2, a;* XXVIII, *D, E).* The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b);* the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *h;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h);* and the *mata hoato* (Pls. XXX, *e,* lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D,* thigh); and what I

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conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'ī* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A, a;* XII, *A, B, D*). 304 531 184

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

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said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke,* distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B, b;* XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g;* XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f;* XXX, *d);* in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d;* possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C, b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E, b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E;* XVIII, *a).* It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

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ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D*, *a*). Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D*; XXXV, *c*).

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E*) are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B*; X, *A*, 2, *a*; the *tavu*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, 7. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a*) and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K*). On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B*, *b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A*, *e*; XXI, *D*, *b*) and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A*, *b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

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to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e)*, would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A*, *c*; XVIII, *b*; XXXIV, *b*; XXXIII, *c*; XXIII, *B*, *f*, *a*; XXIII, *A*, *a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h*; XXX, *i)*; and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B*, *a*, *b*; XIII, *C*, *c* and *d*; XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B*, *b)* and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a)*. Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*; XXVI, *A*, *d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible 304x definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or 531 the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements 184 did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX), Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x304 531 184

geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua,* 304x
back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of 531
the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the 184
present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, *"i te tiki"* means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living 304x
informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old 531
mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their 304x
significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the 531
body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the 552
body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d,* left and right) zigzag: or in terms of

INTER-ISLAND DIFFERENCES

In the seriation tables and the tables of standard deviations and coefficients 141
of variation (Tables II, VII and VIII) there is evidence of non-homogeneity in 142x
this series. Handy suggests from observation and a study of his records shows that there are possibly inter-island differences in physical type correlated with differences in culture. From his own observation Handy concludes that the people of the island of Ua Pou have larger and rounder heads and faces and straighter hair; while the people of Fatu Hiva and Hiva Oa have smaller, longer heads and curlier hair. In this opinion he was confirmed by a settler who had been resident in the islands for about twelve years. Since the series is so small it will be necessary to group the islands in order to get series of dependable size. On this point Handy again helps out with the statement that cultural and traditional evidence points to the possibility of two different subdivisions within the island groups. Some evidence (language for example) points to the grouping of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka in one group and Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva in the other. On [184] ●
the other hand, other evidence (traditional, other linguistic, and also archaeological) groups the western half of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and the western half of Hiva Oa with Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva for one section and eastern Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and eastern Hiva Oa for the second section.

As the first grouping divides the material used for study into almost equal parts, it seems best to adopt it tentatively. Before dealing with the distribution of the differences it seems wise to determine the magnitude of these differences. The southeastern islands of Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa will be called for convenience Group I. The northwestern islands of Ua Pou, Ua Huku, and Nuku Hiva will be called Group II.

The results of such a grouping will be found in Table IX and Table X. In 141
Group I the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, the bigonial diameter is less, the face and also the nose is markedly higher, the nose is narrower, the relative shoulder height is greater, the cephalic index is smaller, the facial index is larger, and the nasal index is smaller. The other differences are contradictory in the two sexes. The results for hair form 142x
are also somewhat doubtful and contradictory. In Group I the hair of the men is somewhat more wavy but for the women the reverse is true. In Group I the axes of the nostrils are more often antero-posterior and oblique; in Group II they are more often transverse. The incisor rim is likewise more frequent in Group I.

Fourteen different colors were given as approaching the skin color of the Marquesans. These colors were arranged into a series of increasing pigmentation. The lighest in color was numbered one, the darkest was given a value of fourteen.

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] ●
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live. 829

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England. 186

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. 173

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months. 648

161 The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[9]

164 The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

144 167 In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

[186] Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

161 TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

162

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[9] Personal communication.

/17 cont./ 856 757

role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832] of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186 believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757 are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856 superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826 contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757 sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856 limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186 515 648 [154]

white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the most common are: 164 192 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore. [136]

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful. 169 578 [833] [763]

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabulary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 192 602 831

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Ena tu u taika i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

islands and the Marquesas; the transmission of a melody from one group of islands to another, which is of course occurring continually nowadays; and lastly, the intricate difficulty of discovering ultimate origins of some cultural elements even within Polynesia itself. 533x 177

The song was performed on Uahuka in the following manner: 533x

Two lines of men faced each other, each man resting in a semi-squatting position on the left knee, with his right elbow on his rigl knee, and his chin resting on his right hand. A line of girls sat in the space between the two lines of men, sang also and accompanied the singing with slow graceful movements of the hands and upper body, the motions being always in unison, and illustrating in vague pantomime the words of the song. One of the men led off always with the first line and refrain, after which the whole group joined in. The very simple harmonization which is illustrated in melodic figure 1 is intentional and more or less fixed. The two parts were repeated as written a number of times, separately and together, by the man and the woman who assisted in writing down the strains. The informants stated, further, that when there was a large group the women sang three different parts but the men only the one. The singing was slow and quiet, the whole effect being one of subdued meditation.

The first occasion of my hearing the *ru'u*—by a group of young friends who, one moonlight night, gathered before our house in Hane—was a most affecting and memorable one.

NANI (RARI)

Most *nani* were composed in honor of a young woman, the words having indirect reference to her. But the song Nani o Kae (melodic figure 2) concerns itself with a legendary subject. The performance of this *nani* was witnessed at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa. The women sat facing the observers, accompanying the song with motions of the upper body and arms. The men were seated in a line at right angles to the several lines of women. This type of song used to be intoned by the group standing. There was no accompaniment for the *nani*, either of clapping or with drums. One woman, referred to as the *kahua*, sang the first line alone, whereupon all joined in. The men's and women's voices appeared to be in unison for the most part, but with occasional simple harmonization. The only place where the harmonization (if it may be so called) was particularly noted, was on the sustained final syllable of both verse and refrain. Here all, both men and women, commenced the syllable in unison, but on the second beat some of the men raised their voices one tone, producing a dissonance which was evidently agreeable to their ears, since the same thing was repeated each time. This furnishes an interesting contrast with the *ru'u* heard on Uahuka, in which the men's voices were dropped and held a tone below the tonic at the end of the first verse.

It will be noticed by students acquainted with the dialects of Polynesia that many Tahitian words occur in the text of this song, intermingled with 533x 191

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X533 191

the Marquesan. This must not be taken as an indication that this *nani* is not a genuinely Marquesan chant. Practically all Marquesans today know how to speak Tahitian, and it is their habit in singing these recreational songs to insert Tahitian words in places where they produce a more graceful effect than the harder and more staccato Marquesan equivalents. It is only in their singing that the natives do this; in conversation among themselves they prefer their own language.

X533 773

The Nani o Kae may be accepted as a genuine ancient Marquesan song since the poetry is based on themes from one of the old legends of Hivaoa, the story of Kae. Hina, the chiefess of Puamau valley, the ancient name of which was Vai Noi, summoned her brother-in-law, who was a great whale, to take Kae to Taaoa. Kae was instructed to kick a certain rocky islet as he passed. This act was in some mysterious way to cause the whale to turn about so that its tail instead of its head would come upon the beach at Taaoa. Kae failed to kick the islet; and, in consequence, the whale came up on the beach head-first, whereupon the people of the valley attacked and killed it.

TAPE'A

X533

The *tape'a* was a companion piece of the *nani*. Three or four *nani* would be sung, and then the *tape'a*, after which the singers would rest. Only the women actually sang the words, the men accompanying them with body and arm motions as in the *nani*, but singing louder and with more spirit. While the women sang, the men accompanied, their part being referred to as *haakoakoa*, which may be translated as "warming up." In rhythm with the singing, the group of men sometimes ejaculated forcibly, "Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!" accompanying these expulsions of breath with vigorous motions of the arms up and down like those made in hauling on a rope; at other times, with tremendous vigor, they ejaculated "Ugh-huh-ugh! Ugh-huh-ugh!" twice, swinging the upper body first to one side, then to the other; then, throwing the right arm forward from the shoulder and striking it at the elbow, they ejaculated with great force "Mahu-mahu," a word which has an erotic meaning. Done by only a small group of about eight men, this male accompaniment was remarkably powerful and rousing. It needs little imagination to conceive the dynamic power of such a performance by a large group of virile natives. (See melodic figure 3.)

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609]
the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522]
come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

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FISH POISONING

226 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women.
278 The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

Fishing Terminology[11]

226 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
●192 **Ahe.** Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auona. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'a.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Huitoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioa, kaimitito, kaimititoa, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

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Keviti. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.
Kehe atu. Rod for bonito fishing.
Kehuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.
Keke'oka. Net to carry fish.
Ketu. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.
Keuneka. Hook.
Kuahou. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.
Makae kou'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.
Mamai upena. Bottom of net.
Mata ve'o ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.
Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.
Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.
Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.
Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.
Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.
Nanao. Small package of fish.
Neupe. Fishing in the night.
Oho au fi'o na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.
Oho au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.
Oho au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.
Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.
Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.
Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.
Pa. Bonito hook.
Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.
Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.
Pa-oa. Seine.
Pati. To chase fish into a net by making a noise in the water. Also **patitave.**
Pehi. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.
Peka. To fish with a line while swimming.
Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.
Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.
Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.
Pokae. Sinker on fish line.
Pokoe. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.
Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.
Putoki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.
Ta i te iha. To fish for the iha.
Ta i te upena. To make a net.
Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.
Ta'aka'a. Dart, harpoon.
Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.
Taiheka. Cords of a net.
Takau, or tanekau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.
Takikeka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koe'ka.

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226 Taka'a. Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
192 Te ika haka. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kaiuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'e. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tihii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tivelvei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
Te'e. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
Te'e pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tena. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Teve'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the matake (hammer-headed shark).
Upena iha. A small net for catching the kaea, a small fish.
Upena kaea or Upena iha. Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutoki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Vetvei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke*, a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

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place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore. 527 476

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau,* would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai,* which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small. 527

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 527 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hei titi. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).
Hutaha. Licentious fete.
Kahau, shau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavepua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

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527 **Mau hei titii. He for whom the feast is given.**
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana. Those who prepare the fete (*tuhaka*).**
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

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[182] ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192]

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or **paepae tahua.** Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehushu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

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held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301

Small ornaments (*taiana, taiata, pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina, tuha maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e*, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

301
192

Hei fa'a ha'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ka'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collors were the favorite garlands of *ha'ioi*.
Hei fa'a hoka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the *pua Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitate. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei otime. Mint family.
Hei atiu. A small green cucurbit.
Hei piuao. The blossoms of the *piuao*.
Hei meia. (?)

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301 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruvania.*
192 **Hei nano.** (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vai-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

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kihi were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.) 535

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu*, *tutaehaveneu*, dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites. [192]

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called "*Ka'oha nui*," which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

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GLOSSARY OF MARQUESAN NATIVE TERMS

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In this glossary and throughout the text the terms used are those of the southern section of the island group unless otherwise indicated. If the term differs in the northern section, the variant is printed in parenthesis following the term of the southern dialect.

A. Day.
Ahana. Husband, male.
Aho. Cord.
Ahui (kahui). Prohibition placed on land, sea, or foods.
Akau. Wood.
Ama. 1. The candlenut tree and its nut. 2. The torch made of the kernels of the nut.
Amo. A carrying pole.
Ava-ika. Fishing.
Ehi. The coconut. Tumu ehi, the coconut tree.
Ehua. Year.
Eita, teita. Herbiage, weeds, foliage.
Ena (eka). The turmeric plant. 2. Curcumin.
Enata (enana, kenana). Native, native people. Syn. mas'i.
Etua, atua. God, spirit.
Fa'e (ha'e). Dwelling house.
Fa'e tukau or tu'a. Inspirational priest's house.
Fa'e tumau. Cooking house, kitchen.
Fainu, haika. Medicine.
Fanaua (hanaua). Female demons.
Fata'a. Sacred store house.
Fata. Food post.
Fau (hau). A tree related to the Hawaiian hau.
Fenua. Land.
Fetu. Star.
Ha'akekai (tekao). Legend.
Ha'a-te-po-'iu (haka-te-pe'iu). Chiefess.
Haina. Utensils, furniture.
Haka. Dance.
Haka-iki. Chief, first-born son.
Hami. Loin cloth.
Hana (haka). 1. Work. 2. Bay.
Heana (heaka). Revenge or sacrifice victim captured in war.
Hei. Necklace or crown.
Hiapo. A young tree of the fig family (Ficus prolixa) the bark of which was used to make the red-brown sacred cloth. (The old tree was called aoa.)
Hoe. A paddle.
Heki. Troupe of dancers and singers.
Honi. To rub noses, to kiss.
Hua's (huaka). Relative, fellow tribesman.
Hue. Gourd or any closed container.
Ihi. 1. A tree (Inocarpus edulis). 2. The nut of the tree.
Ika. Fish.
Ima. Arm, hand.
Inai. Any flesh accompanying the pepoi pudding made of breadfruit.
Inoa. Name e inoa, to be namesakes.
Ipu (kipu). A small container, a bowl.
Ka'avai. Valley.

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Ka'eu. Woman's waist cloth.
Kahu. Cloth, robe.
Kaikai. Food.
Ka'ioi. Youthful libertines.
Kanahu or kanau'u. South wind.*
Kanau'u tokoao. Southwest wind.
Kanau'u tuatoka. Southeast wind.
Kava. 1. A shrub (Piper methysticum). 2. A drink made from the root.
Ke'a. Rock
Ke'etu. A squared block of cut tufa or coral.
Keho. A basalt column planted in the ground to serve as a back rest, a carved stone seat.
Kete. Basket or bag.
Keu. Game, play.
Kiva. Smooth beach pebble or boulder.
Kohe. Bamboo, knife.
Ko'ina (ko'ika). Feast or festival.
Koufau. Poles or sticks or fau with bark peeled off. Used ceremonially.
Ma. Fermented breadfruit paste.
Ma'ama. Month in the northern section.
Mahina. Moon, month in the southern section.
Mana. Power, skill.
Mata. Eyes, face.
Mata. Genealogy.
Mata tetau. Recitation of genealogy.
Mate. Sickness, death.
Mata-ei-nana. Tribe, people.
Matau. A fishhook.
Me'ae. Tomb, temple, sacred place.
Mei. Breadfruit.
Me'ia. Serene, clear, not tabu.
Mi'o. A tree (Thespesia populnea).
Moa. Temple assistant.
Moena (moeka). Mat.
Motu. Island.
Nati, kaha (nani kaha). Sorcery.
Noni. A tree. (Morinda citrifolia.)
Oho au. A special structure erected for some work.
O'ono (o'oko). Chants.
Ouoha. 1. Head hair. 2. Ornaments made of hair.
Pa'e. Headdress.
Paepae. Stone platform.
Pahu. Drum.
Pani. Perfumed coconut oil.
Papa. Board, flat rock, coffin.
Papua. Enclosed place, platform, garden patch, stockade.
Patiutiu. Northeast wind.
Patu tiki. Tattoo.
Pekio. Secondary husband or wife.
Po. Night, darkness.
Pu. Conch shell, musical instrument.

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* The names of winds are from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and from the Lawson Ms. Lawson writes that the natives had thirty-two names for winds, but that when he was in the Marquesas (1867) they remembered only a few. It is probable that most of the other names were those of kinds of winds (such as, gusts causing ripples near the shore, etc.), as is the case with names of winds in Hawaii and Tahiti.

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Pu'a. Flower.
Puna. 1. Coral. 2. Source, origin, spring.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit.
Taetae. Personal possessions, ornaments, clothing.
Tafai. To feed or to adopt.
Taha ko'ina (ko'ika). Festival place.
Tahi'i. A fan.
Tama. 1. Child. 2. Subject of a chief.
Tanu. To plant.
Ta'o. Taro.
Tapa. Bark cloth.
Tapu. Sacred, prohibited.
Tatihi. Doctoring, surgery, medicine.
Tau'a. Inspirational priest.
Teke. Incision of the foreskin.
Temanu. A tree. (Calophyllum inophyllum.)
Ti. A shrub (Cordyline terminalis).
Tiki. Idol, image, representation, design.
Tino. Body.
Tiu. North wind.
Tiu tokeao. Northwest wind.
Toa. Ironwood tree (Casuarina equisetifolia).
Tohua. Paved dance place.
To'i (toki). Adz.
Tokai. Place where women dying in childbirth were buried.
Tokoea. West wind.
Toua. War.
Tou'a. Rope.
Tuaivi. Mountain.
Tuatona. East wind.
Tuhuna (tuhuka). Professional, director, expert.
Tuhuna nui. Master of crafts and learning.
Tuhuna o'ono (tuhuka o'oko). Ceremonial priest and bard.
Tumu. Tree.
Tupapa'u (tupapaku). Corpse.
Uapu, a'anui. Road, path, trail.
Uhane (kuhane). Ghost, spirit, soul.
Upena (upeka). Fishing net.
Upo'o (upoko). Head.
Uta. Paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from the bark of which was made the fine white cloth used for dress and ceremonial purposes
U'u. War club.
Vae. Leg, foot.
Vai. Fresh water, stream.
Vaka. Canoe.
Vehine. Woman, wife.
Vehine hae. Ghost, demon, ogress.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them. 648 727

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. 648

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it* 192 ●

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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• 192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

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648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

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APPENDIX, No. I.

A VOCABULARY

OF

THE LANGUAGE OF NOOCAHIVA.

A.

192 Afterwards . . . . Mamoohé
Angry . . . . . Matatooma
Angry, do not be . . Hakay, hakay, or Eboo-eboo
Away, go . . . . A-dedahatahatoo
Axe, of iron . . . Toké tooé
Axe, of stone . . . Toké maooé

B.

Bad, that is . . . . Ao midaggé
Be, it will . . . . Ena ebo
Bird, a land- . . . Teté
Bottle . . . . . Hooiaki
Boy . . . . . Boiti
Brave . . . . . Toa
Bread-fruit . . . . Mey
Brother . . . . . Toonané
Burying-ground . . Meray
Buttons, or Play-things . . . . Pipi
Buy, to . . . . . Ehogo

C.

Canoe, or Boat . . Evaka
Catch and bring him here . . . Ate hooté my
Chief, a . . . . . Eiki
Cloth, made of bark . Ekagoo
Club, for war . . . Eoo
Cock . . . . . Moa vahana
Cocoa-nut, ... Ehi
Come, do not, here . Ovita my-iné

D.

Day . . . . . Boha mahé
Day, to- . . . . . Kabo
Do, how do you? . Atika
Door, the . . . . Poboo
Dull . . . . . Vivio

E.

Ears . . . . . Pooann
Earth . . . . . Ebo
Eat, will you? . . . A-ky maooté ky
Enemy . . . . . Ebeama
Enemy, do you eat your? . . . . Gigoi nada?
European . . . . Heytoo, or Eytoo
Eye . . . . . Gigo mata

F.

Farewell . . . . . Eba
Father, or Uncle . . Matooa
Fingers . . . . . Eima
Fish . . . . . Ecka
Follow me . . . . Amy tato
Foreign . . . . . Monahi
Friend . . . . . Eboa

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G.

Girl	Pahoé
Give me	Atoomy
Go and bring it here	Adaha kahé mya
Go to the devil	Tororoo
God	Heytoo, or Eytoo
Grandfather	Eta boona
Grandson	Moboona
Grass	Totouha
Gun	Pooi
Gun, do not touch that, it will kill you	Ovhé maochó

H.

Hair	Ovoho
Hand	Eema
He	Oyana
Head	Ehobogoo
Heart	Hoboo
Hen	Moa vaheenee
Hog	Booaga
House	Ehy
Hungry, I am	Maté de oggé

I. J.

I	Oosoo
Joyful	Enavé
Iron	Toké
Iron, a small piece of	Toké
Iron, I will give you some	Toogo ato toké ya-a-o-e
Island	Motoo

K.

Kill	Maté
Knife	Goggi, or Goos

L.

Lips	Kinootoo
Liver	E-até
Lobsters or Crabs, three sorts:	
1	Kyitaké
2	Poto
3	Toe toe

M.

Man	Enata
Man, you are an honest	Ineta mitaggé
Mat	Moin
Month	Ete mahama
Moon	Maheena
Morrow, to-	Oy-oé
Mother, or Aunt	Ekooi

N.

Nail	Poohi-poohi
Neck	Katé ehi
Nose	Eishoo
Nostrils	Ebohama eishoo

O.

Oar	Hoi-hoi

P.

Plantation	Henoo
Priest	Edaoo
Prohibition	Taboo

R.

Rat	Kioré
Red	Kahoogooyar

S.

Saw, a	Heeka
Sea, or Salt water	Itaé
She	Tahova hené
Sister	Tooi heena
Sit down here	Ata nohoo
Sleep, will you, on-board?	Amoynoo devaha
Spear	Paggeo
Step, a	Taboony
Stolen, have you not, something?	Hay kamo goé
Stone thrown from a sling	Kea or Kya
Sun	Eomaté

T.

Take this	Akaveeatoo
Tatooing	Teeka
Teeth	Neehoo

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That is past	Oovayoo
That will be	Ena ebo
They	Ato
Thief, he is a	Ekamoo
Thigh	Pooha
Thou	Koé
Tongue, hold your	Tooi tooi
Tree	Toomoo

W.

War	Etou
Water	Vy
Water, is there no?	Hamtivy
We	Mato
Well, that is	Midaggé
What do you call it?	Ehadené
What is that?	Ea ha
Where do you go?	Anoigé
Where is he?	Ihé
Where is your king or chief?	Ha kyiriké
White *or* Yellow	Tava tava
Who is that?	Ooy
Why	Meyaha
Wife	Evehené
Woman	Vehené
Work	Hanamydehana
Wounded	Vooteo

Y.

Year	Etahetau
You	Taoe
I am	Ooaoo
Thou art	Koé enaeeshoo
He is	Oyana
I was	Ooaoo houné
You were	Koé houné
He was	Oyana houné
She was	Tahova hené houné
I will do it	Ehaooney
You will do it	Atahagoé
He will do it	Tyé hanha aooné
I have	Eia
I had	Iua oo houné
I will have	Eyna ateetahé

Numerals.

1	Eytahé
2	Eynoo
3	Eyto
4	Eyha
5	Eyma
6	Eyono
7	Ehitoo
8	Evahoo
9	Eyva
10	Hanhoo.

N. B. By the inhabitants of Noocahiva the letter *h* is not always sounded. The vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are pronounced as the French pronounce them, except where the *e* is doubled.

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thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years. 415 322

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary: 415 531

Katipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities). 415
Katiha. Dish. 192
Kapuha. Kind of native dish.
Kahauna. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kakipa. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapa. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipa. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kapa. Vase for kava.
Kaipa. All vases.
Ipa. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hua. All vases with large openings.
Hua uaui. Calabash.
Tipani. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahara. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Taoua. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaka. Small dish.
Tahua. Oblong dish.
Tahaha. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hua. Small dish.
Pihara, Piarahara. Native dish.
Papa hatua. Covered dish for popoi.
Maua tapa. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Aiuipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants. 415

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]: 534

[192]

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio*; and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used. [322] [324]

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

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[192]

Puihu. Nose flute. (D.)
Putetue. Nose flute. (D.)
Ivi tahi. Flute. (D.)
Ia piananai, ia piveuveu. Flute. (D.)
Ki kohe puru. Nose flute. (H.)
Ki. Flute. (H.)
Vivo (Nuku Hiva dialect). Flute with three holes.

JEW'S HARPS

Bamboo's Jew's harps are still used in the Marquesas by boys and young men.

The main part of the harp consists of a strip of bamboo six to eight inches long and about one inch wide. It is split from a large joint, so that it is only slightly curved. A deep narrow notch is cut in the center of one end of this strip; a thin flat strip of bamboo, slightly wider than the notch, serves as a vibrator. This vibrator is not attached to the wider strip, but is laid on its concave surface, covering the notch and protruding two or three inches beyond the end of the wider strip. The instrument is held in the left hand, with the convex side of the wide strip against the mouth. The player blows through the notch, meanwhile striking the projecting end of the narrow strip rapidly with the right hand. Jew's harps seem to have been used only as toys.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The only aboriginal stringed instrument now used in the Marquesas is the musical bow called *utete*. (See Pl. LXXII, *E*). At the present time it is practically obsolete. It was seen only once in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The body of the modern bow is made of fau wood, and is flat on the outer, and convex on the inner surface. An average specimen is three feet six inches long, with a central width of one inch, tapering to ⅝ of an inch at the ends. The string is usually made of slender iron wire, but a very thin cord, twisted from the fibers of the leaf sheath of the coconut palm, is still occasionally used. One end of the cord is twisted around the bow, while its opposite end, which is knotted, is caught in a narrow slot in the wood. To increase the tension, small stones or little pieces of wood, like bridges, are placed under one or both ends of the string. In playing the instrument one end is held in the teeth while the body of the bow projects almost horizontally to the left. The bow is supported by the left hand and the string tapped rapidly with a slender baton made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet. Handy was informed that the bow was made of *ofio* and that the string was plucked with the fingers of the right hand.

The musical bow was primarily a woman's toy, but is played by persons of both sexes at the present time. The note is quite faint, being almost inaudible twenty feet away, but being held in the teeth, sounds quite loud to the player.

Dordillon defines the word *hikoua* as a "kind of shell lyre" and *e pukuvo hikoua* as a "lyre." This would seem to indicate the former existence in the Marquesas of stringed instruments other than the musical bow, but no examples of these have survived, and no information in regard to them was obtained.

STICKS FOR BEATING TIME

At dances the men sometimes beat time with two short sticks. One of the sticks is held in the palm of the left hand and tapped with the other, held in the right hand.

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Akatea. Kind of bush for tapa.
Akatoton. Kind of mulberry tree for paper.
Atea. Tree whose bark was used to make cloth.
Hiapo. Young branch of the Banyan, whose bark is used to make cloth, also the cloth made from this bark.
Ike. Tapa beater.
Kokuu. Mallet of wood of this tree (Lily of India).
Kotapa. To even the edges of cloth.
Mapu. Native cloth.
Mata. The right side of pretty cloth.
Nie i te tapa. To equalize the edges of cloth. To cut off the unevenness.
Pahito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahito hitohito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahoa. To beat bark for cloth.
Papo i te tapa. To remake used tapa as new.
Pataka: To peel wood, knocking underneath with a stone or other object.
Peka i te tapa. To beat cloth in cross construction.
Taemani. Said of lustrous, luminous cloth.
Tahotahoki. To beat cloth slowly so that it will be closed.
Tapa kokokoko. Native cloth.
Tapa kookoo. Cloth.
Tapa pia. Clear cloth.
Tapa pokuu. Cloth made from breadfruit bark.
Tihoo. To stretch (a cloth) in beating it, to make it larger and finer.
Tipa. To beat a cloth for the first time.
Titaa. Kind of beater of iron wood.
Titapa. To even the borders of cloth.
Tivaka. To put a length (leaf) in cloth.
Tuaka. Cloth coarsely beaten.
Tapa Tuakahikahi. Clear, thin cloth.
Tumekaka. Cloth poorly beaten.
Tutua. Wood on which tapa is beaten.
Tututini. To rebeat a cloth many times to renovate it.
Ute. A species of tree (*Morus papyrifera*). Bark for tapa. Tapa.
E tapa vakavaka. Strong cloth serving for wrapping.
Uuka. To make cloth into a bundle.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/43 cont./ 192 833
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602] evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609] is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177] tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797] (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833 to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836 different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833 derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836 with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further [648] sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192●
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/51cont./

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[192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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[609]
[571]
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[609]

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192●
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka 585
na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, 192
there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex 195
act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used 585
among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply 833
slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words.

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. 585 833 [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. 159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 179 [578]

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192 831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 169
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 602 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea 164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked. 192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

gaged in the most amicable discussion, about the state of the weather, perhaps, but carried on with a vigor that suggests they may come to blows at any moment. 195

Trick Languages

Some examples were obtained of very interesting trick languages used for amusement and for concealment of meanings. One of these is known on Nukuhiva as *uhi tua*. The term *uhi tua* is derived from a sub-group of the once powerful tribe inhabiting Haa Paa valley, who originated this method of talking. It is said that it was taught to two women by a bird, called by the natives *komako*, that sings very prettily in the tree tops, and that groups of men, women, and children used to gather at times to amuse themselves by talking the *uhi tua*. It was understood only by the inhabitants of Haa Paa valley. Fortunately examples of it have been obtained from a man living in Taiohae, who is said to be the last survivor of this once very powerful tribe. It will be seen that the principle of the language is simple—namely, the transposition of the syllables of words, with the occasional insertion of vowels to make the flow of speech rhythmic. A few examples will suffice. *Pehea oe* (Where are you going?) is in the *uhi tua* language, *hepea oe*. *Te nei kenana* (this man) is *te eni nekaka; tenei ehua* (this year) is *te eni nehua; Pakahio* (old woman) is *kapaiho; poiti* (child) is *hopiti; pahoe* (maid) is *hapoe; ka'oha* (greeting) is *hakoa; mea meitai* (good!) is *e ema hemiati; mea hauhau* (bad) is *me ahuahu*. *Te nei enana no Haa Paa* (this man from Haa Paa) is *te eni ne kaka no Piu Aha; e tuki tenei vehine te popoi* (this woman is pounding *popoi*) is *e kuti te eni hevine te hohopi*. 193

There is another trick language which is talked at the present time in Taiohae, but it is said to be quite old. It seems probable that the basis of this is an attempt to imitate the sound of Tahitian. It is called *e'o hu'i* (language turned over, or upside down). *Pehea oe?* (Where are you going?) is *Peheiherea ooioroe*. *E he'e au i apai* (I am going for a walk) is *E tai taraha ovai varau apaiparai*. *Mea nui te ua* (It is a rainy day) is *Menui murui teui urua*. *Ka'oha oe* (Greeting to you) is *kaoioroha ooioroe*. *Ihea tu'u pae?* (Where is my hat?) is *Iheiherea tu'u paeparae*. *Ua hemo au i te mate* (I am ill) is *Ua heiheremoovaivarau i te maimarate*. *Ena to au kahu hou* (That is my new dress) is *Enainara touaivarau kaikarahu hoihorou*. *Aki me'ie i te a nei* (It is clear to-day) is *Aiaraki meiirie teaneinerei*.

A few words of another trick language of this same kind that used to be talked in Puamau were learned. There, *Apuhi taua i te pake* (Let's have a smoke) was *Vara taua tuvata*. *Kaoha* (greeting) was *karohati*. *Ehoa* (friend!) was *e hopore*.

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THE MARQUESAN LANGUAGE

The language spoken by the Marquesas Islanders is one of the group of related tongues spoken throughout the Polynesian islands, generally called Polynesian. Within the small area of their isolated home, these islanders differentiated their speech into several dialects having distinctive phonetic and tonal traits and variations in vocabulary; but, in comparison with the divergence of Marquesan from other Polynesian languages, these local variations are of minor importance. Marquesan differs from other Polynesian languages so much that the latter are only vaguely comprehensible to an intelligent Marquesan. But, as it is in each of the other main groups of islands in Polynesia, the Marquesan's language, like his culture, was unified throughout the group, so that the speech of a man of any island in the group was plainly understood by one from any other. It is obvious to the student travelling in the islands that local differences are but divergencies from a common original. There is little reason to believe that local variations have resulted from influences or accretions coming from outside the islands. 197

The notes which follow are based on a careful, though not very extensive, study of the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. The grammar and syntax of the language is sufficiently well outlined in the dictionary of Dordillon. For this reason little attention was paid to these subjects other than that required for personal use of the language. No sooner had I reached the islands, however, than I realized that the orthography adopted by Dordillon was totally inadequate for indicating the phonetics of the dialect. In conjunction with the other investigations a short but careful study of the phonetics and vocalization was therefore made in the following way: A list of words covering all the possible combinations of consonants and vowels in the local dialect was made, and various informants in different sections of the group were tested out with these words. The summary of the results of this study as given in the following pages has been published in this collection in the hope that it may contain information directly contributory to the study of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the islanders. 126

Phonetics

The ten consonants (*f, g, h, k, m, n, p, r, t,* and *v*) and the five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*) used by Dordillon are by no means sufficient to cover the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. Dordillon speaks of some variations in the vowel sounds, but there are more and greater variations than he indicates. 194

The following list shows the consonant and vowel variation in the northern and southern sections—called by Dordillon northwestern and southeastern sections of the group (compare Dordillon, pp. 86-89).

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Northern	*becomes*	*Southern*
a	sometimes	*e*
i	in one word	*e*
u	in some words	*o*
h		*f*
k		*n*
k		'
m	in some words	*n*
m	in some words	*p*
n	in some words	*t*
p	in some words	*t*
t	in some words	*n*
v	in some words	'
'	in some words	*t* or *k*

In the consonant changes the most common are the replacement of *h, n, t, k* of the northern dialect respectively by *f, n, t* and the catch or glottal stop (') in the southern islands.

Of the consonant sounds the *f* of the southern section and its variant *h* of the northern offer no difficulty. Another sound—common to both sections—for which Dordillon uses *h*, needs more analysis. (See p. .....) The letters *f, h, k, m, p, t,* and *v* are simply pronounced as in English. The *r* has been for the most part dropped, an *n* being sometimes substituted. Such *r*'s as are retained are pronounced simply as in English by some natives, but by others they are given a roll on the end of the tongue, sometimes slight, sometimes greatly exaggerated. The roll is especially marked when there are several *r*'s in a word. For example in the word, *pěrěre* (stretched), the *r*'s are always rolled; the word *párara* (shattered) sounds like *párrrrra*.

A most interesting variation of consonant sound is that in which *n, ng,* and *k* replace each other in different sections of the island group. For example, the words *iuna* (upon), *mako* (shark), and *puaina* (ear) are pronounced as here spelled, in Hivaoa, Tahuata, and Fatuhiva. On the eastern half of Nukuhiva, including the valleys along the coast from Taipi Vai to Hatiheu—the valleys comprising the eastern of the two divisions of the island that were continually opposed in war—these words are pronounced *iunga, mango, puainga,* and the same consonant sound of *ng* appears in all words of this class. (The *ng* is hard, at the base of the nose, and should perhaps be spelt *ngk*). These three words, on the western half of Nukuhiva and on Uapou, are pronounced *iuka, mako,* and *puaika.* The *ngk* used in a region which is geographically midway between the eastern and western extremes of the island group forms a link between the *n* and the *k*. Uahuka seems to belong to the *n* group, though it is difficult to be certain as there has been much immigration into this island from Nukuhiva, Uapou, and Hivaoa.

In a study of the words in which *h* is common throughout the whole

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group, complications arise. In combination with different vowels there is a variation from a simple *h* sound to a distinct German *ch*, through *sch* to *s*, with a *w* sound often included. In the following examples, capitals indicate that the sounds represented by these letters are subdued, though distinct. The variant *h* sounds are never given quite the full force that they have in English or in German.

Dordillon spelling	Phonetic spelling
ïha (ejaculation)	ICHYá'
ïhea (where?)	iCHyē'ya, iSCHē'ya
ïhi (a kind of nut)	ïhí, iCHI, iSCHI
ïho (descend)	iCHYó', ïhyó
ïhu (nose)	iCHYú, ïhyú
nohea (whence?)	nohē'ya, noCHē'ya, nochē'ya
puha (thigh)	púCHa, púha
púho (shrine)	pucho
o ai ho'i (who knows?)	o waI sHō'i, o waI sō'i
? (expression of disgust)	TSCHIAE
? (expression of exasperation)	asche
nuhe (dog)	nū'chwē, nū'CHWē
ohia (when)	oCHwhī'ya
tiohi (to see)	tióCHWi
tihe (arrive)	tīhye

It is obvious that the sound content of Marquesan is richer than is indicated by the redaction of the language by its earliest students, who, being missionaries, were interested rather in simplifying writing than in accurate phonetic records.

Other examples of these *s*, *ch*, *w*, and *y* sounds that seem to grow out of the *h* could be given, but this will suffice. The examples given above show that there is an *hy* sound between *i* and *o*, and *i* and *u*; an *s* or *sh* sound between *o* and *i*; an *sch* sound between *i* and *e*, and *i* and *i*; a *ch* sound between *i* and *i*, *o* and *e*, *u* and *a*; a *chw* sound between *u* and *e*; a *chy* sound between *i* and *a*, *i* and *e*, *i* and *o*. In many other combinations with vowels *h* has a simple *h* sound: *tahá, tahē', áhi, aho, ahu, ehá'á, ehē''ē, ēhi, ehū'eva, poha, nōhō, pohú'ē, púhī', púhuhu.*

The sounds of consonants and of vowels used singly are shown in Table 1. In this table capitals are used for sounds which are distinct, though not full in force; the accent (') is used to mark the syllable bearing the main stress in words of more than one syllable; prolonged sounding of a letter is indicated by a macron (as ā); the apostrophe (') indicates a glottal catch between vowels, marking the place of a consonant that has been dropped, or, at the end of a word, a vowel sound cut short with a catch of the breath. Dordillon's accents are very confusing as they sometimes indicate a stress and sometimes a catch between the vowel marked with an accent and the preceding vowel.

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TABLE 1.—SOUNDS OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

Dordillon orthography	Orthography adopted here	Sounds represented	Examples	Dordillon spelling
f	*f*	as *f* in English *for*	*fanáU* (to give birth)	*fanau*
h	*h*	*h*; *hy*; *ch* as in German *ach*; *CH*; *CHy*; *CHY*; *sch*; *SCH*; *sH*; *s*; *chw*; *CHW*	(See discussion above)	
k	*k*	as *k* in English *keep*	*kétē* (basket)	*kete*
m	*m*	as *m* in English *man*	*mél* (breadfruit)	*mei*
n	*n*	as *n* in English *nest*	*no* (oil)	*no*
p	*p*	as *p* in English *path*	*po* (night)	*po*
r	*r*	as *r* in English *rat* or with a slight to exaggerated roll, *rrrr*	*rérē* (to flee)	*rere*
t	*t*	as *t* in English *tan*	*te* (the)	*te*
v	*v*	as *v* in English *vat*	*vóhi* (place)	*vuhi*
ng	*ngk*	as *ngk* sound at the base of the nose	*mángko* (shark)	*mako*
a	*a*	as *a* in English *father*	*mána* (branch)	*mana*
	a	like the above, but sustained	*mā'na* (power)	*mana*
e	*e*	as *ay* in English *play*	*te* (the)	*te*
	ē	as *e* in English *yet*	*vēhiyē* (firewood)	*vehie*
i	*i*	as *i* in English *pique*	*pi* (full)	*pi*
o	*o*	as *ow* in English *flow*	*po* (night)	*po*
	ō	as *ou* in English *taut*	*nōhō* (to sit)	*noho*
u	*u*	as *oo* in English *too*	*tu* (erect)	*tu*

Table 1 is sufficient to indicate the vowel sounds in this dialect of the Polynesian language; further discussion seems unnecessary. Sound modifications resulting in juxtaposition of vowels, need, however, some exposition. These are illustrated in Table 2. Vowels separated by a glottal stop (') are not to be regarded as in juxtaposition since the stop, replacing a consonant, makes the vowels as distinct as though the consonant were retained.

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TABLE 2. SOUNDS OF VOWELS IN JUXTAPOSITION

Vowels in juxtaposition.	When the stress falls on:	The combined sound is	As in the word:	Dordillon orthography
a e	*a*	*áE*	*vaEváE* (leg)	*vaevae*
a e	*e*	*aé*	*paémo* (to interrupt)	*paemo*
a i	*a*	*áI*	*háIháI* (food)	*haihai*
a i	*i*	*aí*	*faínu* (potion)	*fainu*
a o	*a*	*áO*	*háOháO* (side)	*haohao*
a o	*o*	*aó*	*taóte* (doctor)	*taote*
a u	*a*	*áU*	*háUháU* (to bathe)	*hauhau*
a u	*u*	*aú*	*maúna* (on top of)	*mauna*
e a	*e*	*éya*	*mahéya* (which way?)	*mahea*
e a	*a*	*eYá*	*eYáha* (what?)	*e aha*
e i	*e*	*éI*	*héI* (necklace)	*hei*
e i	*i*	*ei*	*teína* (younger brother)	*teina*
e o	*e*	*éyo*	*néyo* (mad)	*neo*
e o	*o*	*eYó*	*neYóhe* (spine)	*neohe*
e u	*e*	*éyu*	*héyu* (play)	*heu*
e u	*u*	*eYú*	*neYúwĕ* (move)	*neue*
i a	*i*	*iya*	*i'yáya* (to him)	*iaia*
i a	*a*	*iYá*	*hiYápo* (banyan)	*hiapo*
i e	*i*	*iye*	*vĕhiyĕ* (firewood)	*vehie*
i e	*e*	*iYé*	*piYéI* (dried)	*piei*
i o	*i*	*iyo*	*íyo* (to the house of)	*io*
i o	*o*	*iYó*	*iYóto* (inside)	*i óto*
i u	*i*	*iyu*	*tíyu* (north wind)	*tiu*
i u	*u*	*iYú*	*iYúna* (upon)	*i úna*
o a	*o*	*óua*	*kóua kóua* (content)	*koakoa*
o a	*a*	*oWá*	*koWána* (to be able)	*koana*
o e	*o*	*óue*	*tóuĕ tóuĕ* (crab)	*toetoe*
o e	*e*	*oué*	*kouéhi* (a food)	*koehi*
o i	*o*	*óWi,*	*kóWi* (fast)	*koi*
o i	*ó*	*ó'I*	*popóI* (a food)	*popoi*
o i	*i*	*oui*	*ou'ya* (here is)	*ó ia*
o u	*o*	*óU*	*kóU* (new)	*kou*
o u	*u*	*oú*	*toúfa* (forty)	*toufa*
u a	*u*	*úua*	*túua* (back)	*tua*
u a	*a*	*uuá*	*uuá uuá*—almost *uá uá* (pulse)	*uaua*
u e	*u*	*uué*	*uĕúuĕ* (move)	*ueue*
u e	*e*	*Uué*	*Uuĕ Uuĕ*—almost *uĕ uĕ* (to weep)	*ueue*
u i	*u*	*úui*	*kúui* (mother)	*kui*
u i	*i*	*uuí*	*tuuíya* (fiance)	*tuia*
u o	*u*	*úWo*	*núWo* (knee)	*nuo*
u o	*o*	*uuó*	*óUuóho* (hair)	*ouoho*

In summary, it may be pointed out that *a* stressed tends to absorb a following *e, i, o,* or *u,* and that *e* stressed tends to absorb a following *i.*

The absorbed vowel is pronounced farther forward in the mouth, relatively to the second vowel. A *y* occurs in *éya, éyo, éyu, iya, iye, iyo, iyu*: in other words, when *e* (preceding any vowel except *i*) bears the stress; and when *i* (preceding all other vowels) bears the stress. A *Y* occurs in *eYá,*

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194 *eYó, eYú, iYó, iYé, iYó, iYú*: in other words, when any other vowel except *i* follows *e* and bears the stress; or when any other vowel follows *i* and bears the stress. A *w* occurs in *óuu, óue, oui, úuu, uuú, úue, Uuú, úui, uuí, uuó*: in other words, with *o* bearing stress before *a* and *e*, and with *o* before *i* when the latter is stressed; and with *u* stressed or unstressed with all other vowels. *ó* stressed, followed by *i* forms *óy*. A *W* occurs in *oWó, oWé, óWi, úWo*.

To sum up: When *a* is stressed, it forms a near-dipthong with all other vowels by predominating and making of the second vowel a mere shading of sound; *e* stressed does the same thing with *i*. *E* stressed with all vowels except *i*, and *i* stressed with all vowels except another *i* modify the following vowel with a distinct *y* sound. When the second vowel is stressed, its modification by the preceding *e* is much less noticeable, as indicated by the *Y*. *O* and *u* stressed and unstressed, which modify the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* with a *w* or *W* sound; and *u* similarly modifies a following *o*. In this inclusion of a *w* sound, however, the extent of modification does not seem to follow in the orderly fashion of the *e*'s and *i*'s the stressing of the first or second vowel.

LEGEND OF MAHUIKE RECORDED PHONETICALLY

539 773 The short legend of Mahuike was recited at Atuona, Hivaoa, by Haapuani, who was born in that valley. It was recorded phonetically, exactly as heard, using the conventions described above. A free translation of this legend and the phonetic record are as follows:

Fire in the Marquesas originally came from Mahuike. It is said that formerly there was no fire here, Mahuike having it all. Maui was the great-grandson of Mahuike. In those times the people became disgusted with eating things raw. A rumor spread among them that the food that Mahuike ate in his country was very fine in comparison with what was eaten raw here. How different it was with the chief Mahuike! There was a wise man (*tuhuna*) here who bethought him of the native stories that were told of the delicious food that Mahuike enjoyed. The wise man conceived an idea. The story had it that Mahuike's food was particularly good. Some one asked in what way it was better. "We have breadfruit, banana, breadfruit-paste just like what they have." "This is the difference," said the wise man, "Mahuike's food is prepared with fire." Then the people said to Maui, "What a fine thing it would be if you would go to your great-grandfather Mahuike and get fire for us." Maui was told what to say:

O Mahuike!
Give me some fire. (Chanted).

When Maui approached his great-grandfather with these words, the old man asked, "Who told you Mahuike had fire?" "Why," said Maui. "A report came to us that your food was good, and not indigestible like ours, because you had fire". Mahuike said, "Give me your fire-lighter so that I may give you some fire". "Here it is," said Maui, and unwrapped it from the tail of his loin cloth. Mahuike ignited it from the sole of his foot and gave it back to Maui, saying, "There is some fire for you, my great-grandson". Maui set off along the road. He rubbed the end of the fire-lighter on the ground and put out the fire, then returned to Mahuike, approaching him with the same words as before. The old man demanded, "What put out your fire?" Maui

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More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

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Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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597 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-to[illegible]e'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

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599 773 *tína o te áki, a táhi a ko'óna tá tátóU páE áhi. Uuwa*
ness of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

áki húwa pó'i. te ouwa tína o te áki uuwa ú'a te áhi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te hóU náti. u mahá'o húwa mataélnana o mou'wi.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Maui.

u pe'áU huwa tuhúna, ouiya náI te ápáU i ná'ē ná'ē
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

áI te ó'a a mahUwíkē. a táhi a ha'a pél pél átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te áhi i úna o húwa hóU náti; uuwa tú'u mē te kelkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

mó'o, a táhi a hé'i te ú'a o te áhi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with *"ka'ó-o-o-oha, nú-u-uwi-y-é-e-e-e-e (ka'oha nui e)"* with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

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gaged in the most amicable discussion, about the state of the weather, perhaps, but carried on with a vigor that suggests they may come to blows at any moment. 195

Trick Languages

Some examples were obtained of very interesting trick languages used for amusement and for concealment of meanings. One of these is known on Nukuhiva as *uhi tua*. The term *uhi tua* is derived from a sub-group of the once powerful tribe inhabiting Haa Paa valley, who originated this method of talking. It is said that it was taught to two women by a bird, called by the natives *komako*, that sings very prettily in the tree tops, and that groups of men, women, and children used to gather at times to amuse themselves by talking the *uhi tua*. It was understood only by the inhabitants of Haa Paa valley. Fortunately examples of it have been obtained from a man living in Taiohae, who is said to be the last survivor of this once very powerful tribe. It will be seen that the principle of the language is simple—namely, the transposition of the syllables of words, with the occasional insertion of vowels to make the flow of speech rhythmic. A few examples will suffice. *Pehea oe* (Where are you going?) is in the *uhi tua* language, *hepea oe. Te nei kenana* (this man) is *te eni nekaka; tenei ehua* (this year) is *te eni nehua; Pakahio* (old woman) is *kapaiho; poiti* (child) is *hopiti; pahoe* (maid) is *hapoe; ka'oha* (greeting) is *hakoa; mea meitai* (good!) is *e ema hemiati; mea hauhau* (bad) is *me ahuahu. Te nei enana no Haa Paa* (this man from Haa Paa) is *te eni ne kaka no Piu Aha; e tuki tenei vehine te popoi* (this woman is pounding *popoi*) is *e kuti te eni hevine te hohopi.* 193

There is another trick language which is talked at the present time in Taiohae, but it is said to be quite old. It seems probable that the basis of this is an attempt to imitate the sound of Tahitian. It is called *e'o hu'i* (language turned over, or upside down). *Pehea oe?* (Where are you going?) is *Peheiherea ooioroe. E he'e au i apai* (I am going for a walk) is *E tai taraha ovai varau apaiparai. Mea nui te ua* (It is a rainy day) is *Menui murui teui urua. Ka'oha oe* (Greeting to you) is *kaoioroha ooioroe. Ihea tu'u poe?* (Where is my hat?) is *Iheiherea tu'u poeparae. Ua hemo au i te mate* (I am ill) is *Ua heiheremoovaivarau i te maimarate. Ena to au kahu hou* (That is my new dress) is *Enainara touaivarau kaikarahu hoihorou. Aki me'ie i te a nei* (It is clear to-day) is *Aiaraki meiiriie teaneinerei.*

A few words of another trick language of this same kind that used to be talked in Puamau were learned. There, *Apuhi taua i te pake* (Let's have a smoke) was *Vara taua tuvata. Kaoha* (greeting) was *karohati. Ehoa* (friend!) was *e hopore.*

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka 585
na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, 192
there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex 195
act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used 585
among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply 833
slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words.

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 886 [832]

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 178 [578]

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'oma*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

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The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

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tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

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THE MARQUESAN LANGUAGE

The language spoken by the Marquesas Islanders is one of the group of related tongues spoken throughout the Polynesian islands, generally called Polynesian. Within the small area of their isolated home, these islanders differentiated their speech into several dialects having distinctive phonetic and tonal traits and variations in vocabulary; but, in comparison with the divergence of Marquesan from other Polynesian languages, these local variations are of minor importance. Marquesan differs from other Polynesian languages so much that the latter are only vaguely comprehensible to an intelligent Marquesan. But, as it is in each of the other main groups of islands in Polynesia, the Marquesan's language, like his culture, was unified throughout the group, so that the speech of a man of any island in the group was plainly understood by one from any other. It is obvious to the student travelling in the islands that local differences are but divergencies from a common original. There is little reason to believe that local variations have resulted from influences or accretions coming from outside the islands. 197

The notes which follow are based on a careful, though not very extensive, study of the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. The grammar and syntax of the language is sufficiently well outlined in the dictionary of Dordillon. For this reason little attention was paid to these subjects other than that required for personal use of the language. No sooner had I reached the islands, however, than I realized that the orthography adopted by Dordillon was totally inadequate for indicating the phonetics of the dialect. In conjunction with the other investigations a short but careful study of the phonetics and vocalization was therefore made in the following way: A list of words covering all the possible combinations of consonants and vowels in the local dialect was made, and various informants in different sections of the group were tested out with these words. The summary of the results of this study as given in the following pages has been published in this collection in the hope that it may contain information directly contributory to the study of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the islanders. 126

Phonetics

The ten consonants (*f, g, h, k, m, n, p, r, t,* and *v*) and the five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*) used by Dordillon are by no means sufficient to cover the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. Dordillon speaks of some variations in the vowel sounds, but there are more and greater variations than he indicates. 194

The following list shows the consonant and vowel variation in the northern and southern sections—called by Dordillon northwestern and southeastern sections of the group (compare Dordillon, pp. 86-89).

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [197] 361 521 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51): 778 532

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used. 778

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places. [782]

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuha o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i hauka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant- 782

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173]
in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198● 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [797]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

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alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ha'au*) and left it there (9).

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

[201]

CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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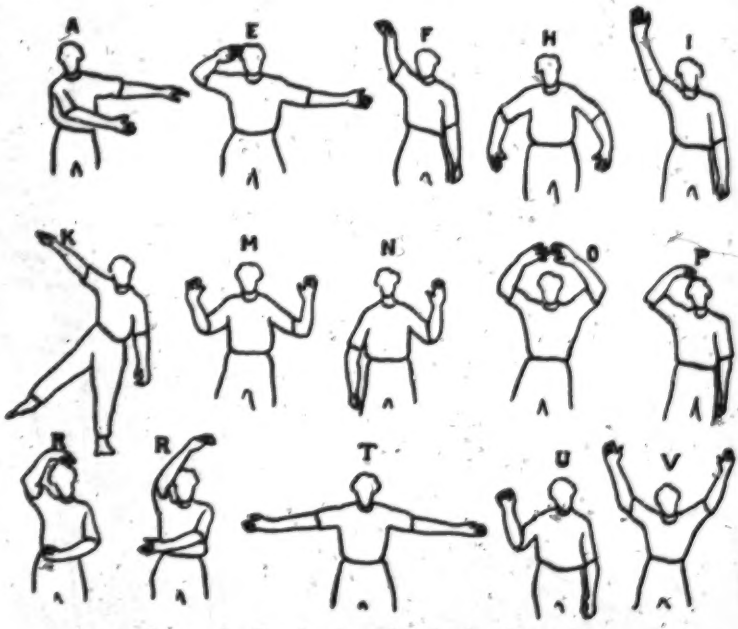

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

539 576 The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bring-
[201] ing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 589 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883 515
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721
according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202] [534]
trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701
appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

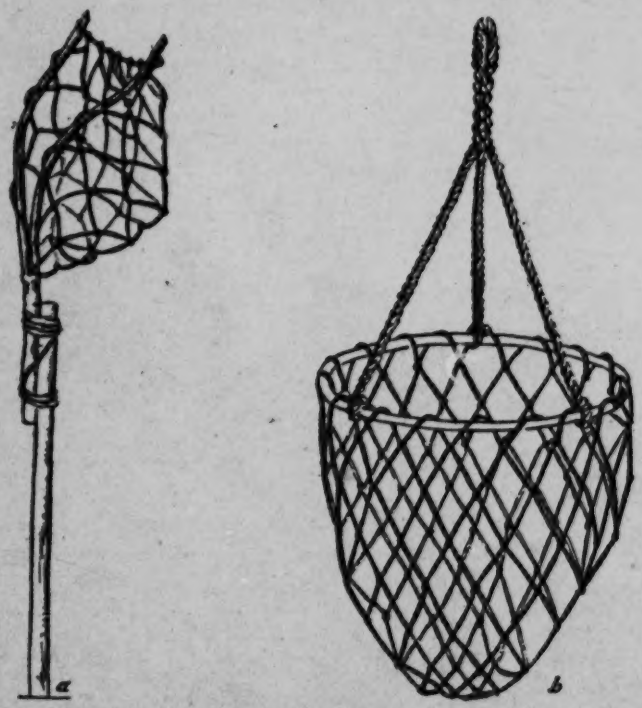

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were erected, one in which the *vovana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vovana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves. 538 796

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vovana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vovana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off [202] [184] [276]

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu.* While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When [202] the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meove*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*. 539 [534]

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*. [202]

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation. 539 [521]

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song. 539 576 [533]

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

[887]

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

539 173 211

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

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An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STRING RECORDS

The use of string records seems to have been more highly developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of Polynesia. Such records served principally to aid the memory in the recitations of chants and geneologies, but Stewart (59, p. 335) mentions a time record consisting of a string of tapa in which a knot was tied at the return of every full moon. One complete string record, and part of a second were collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition. 211 [805]

The complete record, shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, has a cylindrical body and is made from rather small three-strand sennit applied in a wrap weave. The warp strands, which run longitudinally, are placed on a slant so that each strand encircles the cylinder once between the upper and lower ends. The upper end tapers to a point and terminates in a loop. At the juncture of this tapering portion with the body of the cylinder there are five small loops of sennit, placed at equal intervals on the circumference, to each of which is attached a small piece of white tapa. The lower end of the cylinder is open, and its edges are finished with sixteen loops of sennit about one inch in length. To two of these loops are attached long sennit cords which were rolled up, when the object was purchased, and thrust into the interior of the cylinder. The cylinder is six inches long and approximately one and three-quarter inches in diameter. After weaving, it seems to have been blackened with earth. This record was used as an aid in singing the *tuvaa* (Handy).

Plate LXXXIV, *D*, shows a geneological record. It is considerably larger than *E*, the string record just described, and is stuffed with some soft material.

From the sides spring six long pointed flaps, three above and three below. The knotted cords, which served to keep the record, seem to be attached to the body without regular order and vary considerably in length. The knots are all double, one half of the knot standing for the husband, the other for the wife. The long cords sometimes divide at some distance from the body, and the branches represent other lines of descent.

The string records, according to Von den Steinen (56), were purely mnemonic and could only be interpreted by the maker, or by one whom he had instructed. They were used to record geneologies, and also as an aid in chants of a religious nature. Records of both sorts were sometimes attached to a single body. If the record was in the possession of a family, the father made a knot at the birth of each child, and untied the knot if the child died. When a son married, an additional knot was added for his wife. The woven body of a geneological record was called *too*, signifying the tap root of a tree, and symbolized the history of the gods and the legendary period of the world. The flaps attached to the body are said to symbolize the brothers of the god Atea.

Deaths may also have been recorded by knot records. Von den Steinen says (56, p. 113):

"I was told that in ancient times, a post, hung with many string records, stood on the western cape of the island of Hiva Oa. There the souls of the dead sprang from a high rock into the sea to begin, submerged, their journey to the ancient home, Havaiki. A priest was delegated to register each death which came to his knowledge with a knot."

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

211 A number of interesting records for songs and stories are also figured and described by Von den Steinen. One record (56, p. 111-113) has a body in the form of a woven sack, as large as a child's head. The knotted record was attached to the edge of the sack, and when not in use was kept coiled up within it. The sack was kept hung up by a handle in the house of the *tuhuna*, and was supposed to contain a great number of spells and stories, all of which could be related by the aid of the single cord. Another record is very elaborate. It has a short body, covered with white tapa and decorated with plaited coconut leaves and bunches of midribs of coconut leaflets. To this are attached seven cords for songs and twelve for *mata*. All of these were recited in regular order. Still other small records, of the general type shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, were used to instruct chiefs' children in chants. One record (56, fig. 5) is woven from fau bark, an unusual material for these objects.

Von den Steinen (56, p. 113) reproduces a drawing by Porter, entitled "God of the Taipis." It is in the form of a human figure, woven from sennit, and from the loops surrounding the top of the head is identifiable as a string record. Von den Steinen says that the use of these records in the Marquesas seems to have been limited to the islands of Tau Ata and Hiva Oa. An incomplete specimen was, however, collected in Fatu Hiva, and the object from Nuku Hiva figured by Porter seems to prove their existence in the northern part of the group.

[71] String records were used to keep record of taxes in Hawaii, of songs in the Cook group, and of geneologies in New Zealand.

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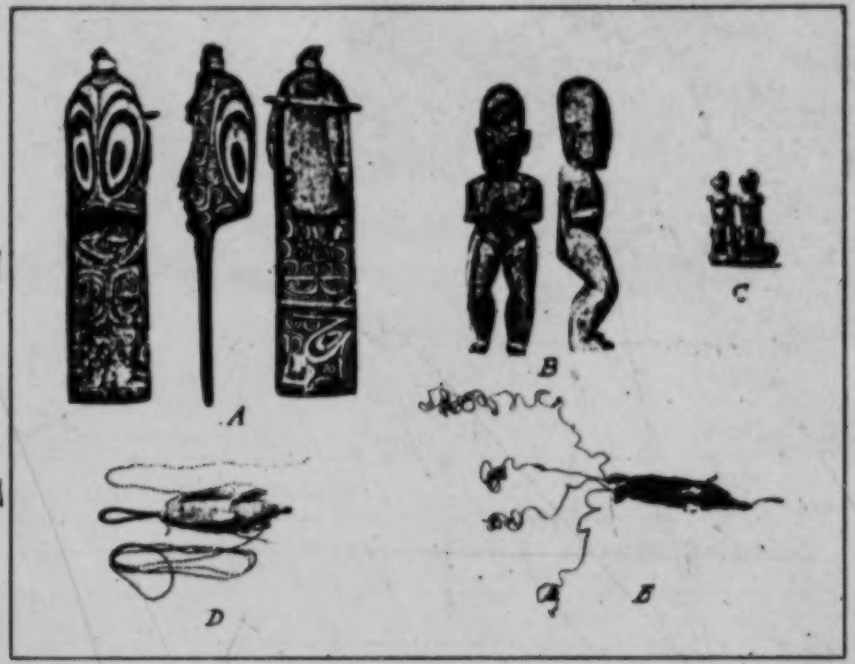

IMAGES AND STRING BELOWS: *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOODEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF TOA WOOD (COURTESY OF MME. MALLIUS); *D*, GENEALOGICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GEORGE LA GARDE); *E*, STRING BELOWS USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

[end plate 45]

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168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonia
priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, bot
teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also a
informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The youn
people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him t
teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted
the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull ou
[211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord some
times woven into a basket shape, the knots representing th
stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants togethe
in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he wa
tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga*, ceremonial pries
or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their fir
menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particula
place long associated with the family line, where the ancestra
spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to b
buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the gir
[304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age o
ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreski
was split along the top. This was a group operation includin
all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all member
of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an impo
tant family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, befo
they became *kaioi*. Tattooing was not regarded as a puber
304 rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained tha
they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process o
growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls wer
tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughte
of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred plac
for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, an
on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above an
below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breast
body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was give
after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl dance

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *kukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'u*), and when he died were buried with him. 778 346 825

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*kukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*kono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *kukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre. 778 776

Within the *fa'e tuhou* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*fiki*) named *tavu* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends. 778 778 212

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212] handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

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Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tau*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua*, *mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

	DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONARY (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1.	Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2.	Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3.	Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4.	Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5.	Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6.	Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7.	Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8.	Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9.	Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10.	Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11.	Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12.	Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.			Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

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Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[25] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[26]

1.	Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2.	Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3.	Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4.	Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

[25] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, meuino te tai*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[26] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

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NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea, katoe,* or *komui.* Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea.*

Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kac'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea [263] water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). [222] *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

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sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

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226 Tatu'e. Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
192 Te ika hahe. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kohuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'e. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tiitii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tiveivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
To'o. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
To'o pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tona. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Tove'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the matake (hammer-headed shark).
Upena ihe. A small net for catching the kaea, a small fish.
Upena kaea or Upena ihe. Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutoki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Veivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke,* a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley. 223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [423 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

Plants Cultivated

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished. [776] [225]

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned. [252]

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle Fishing

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In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

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225 Fenua depended upon the speed with which the necessary number were obtained. During the time of the absence of the turtle fishers, the young men and women of the village gathered the grass on which the turtles (*honu*) fed and carried it up to the turtle tank. The turtles were kept alive for some time, and their flesh was *tapu* to all except the chiefs and priests. Even by these it seems to have been eaten at special feasts and the *popoi* pounders used to prepare the *popoi* eaten with the turtle flesh were *tapu* for other work.

In catching fish for feasts a large, round net was used. It was handled in much the same way as the large, square net described from Atu Ona. For turtles a large net made of fiber from coconut spathes, not the husks, was used. This net, which was straight, was called *fifi*. It was weighted at the bottom, and spread not far from the rocks in a place where the turtles were known to be numerous. The fisher-*tuhuna* dived overboard and drove the turtles toward it. When they had become entangled, they were tied, underwater, with cords of hibiscus bark, brought up, and put in the canoes. Ten to twenty turtles would be captured in a day.

The following notes regarding turtle fishing, also from Pua Ma'u, supplement Linton's description.

Certain professionals, *tuhuna*, devoted themselves exclusively to turtle fishing. Turtles were caught sometimes with a hook and line as well as with a net. Before putting down their net or line, a chant of the kind, called *mauta'a*,[10] a spell to give power, was intoned.

After this spell the lines or net were dropped and a great catch would result. On their return, before they landed they chanted another short chant to Tana-oa, god of the wind and sea.

These turtle fishers had stone images (*tiki*) made in human form. It is said today that they would leave these in their house when they went for the fishing ground, and that when they arrived there and began operations they would see them sitting up on the hillside on the shore near them. It is a belief concerning fishermen's stone *tiki* at Atu Ona that when they used to be taken out in the canoe and thrown into the water to draw the fish they would be found, upon the return of the fishers, to have come back of their own accord to the sacred precinct.

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[10] The text with translation is subsequently to be published. The same *mauta'a* with slight changes in the words was used also in connection with the operation of incision of the foreskin of the male child, and at the funerary festivals. It refers to certain gods, the heavens and lightning, the genitals of the chief, and ends with the words, expressed with great force, "It is the turtle, Ugh!"

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226 stone was let down immediately over the octopus; the stone would attract its attention, and it would feel above for it with its arms. When a hook had taken hold of an arm the octopus was brought out of its hole with a sharp pull. Octopus was eaten both fresh and dried.

SPEARING THE RAY

The large ray fish called *fafa'ua* (*haha'ua*) was speared through one wing. This disabled the creature in such a way that it exhausted itself in trying to get away with one able and one disabled wing. The manner of preserving the flesh of the ray and eating it when partly putrified is described under Preparation of Food.

PORPOISE HUNTING

225 The bay named Vaiehu, in the island of Ua Pou, was the most famous for porpoise (*pa'a-oa*) fishing. The porpoise teeth used on head-dresses and necklaces came entirely, so far as modern informants know, from Ua Pou. At Vaiehu, when porpoises were sighted, many men would go out to seaward of them in canoes carrying stones. The stones were clapped together under water and the frightened porpoises were thus gradually driven toward the rocky shore of the bay, until they would rush and leap up on the shores, striking their noses on the rocks and, according to accounts, bleeding to death. Those that did not die in this way were dispatched with knives.

BONITO AND KUAVENA FISHING

226 The bonito (*atu*) was caught with the special rod and pearl-shell hook shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 18, *a*). Dordillon's manuscript speaks of a line made of *fau* bark and used with four hooks.

Dordillon describes the catching at Taiohae of the *kuavena*, a small fish about two inches long with a large, hard head. The men who were going fishing were obliged to fast from sundown and guard themselves against being contaminated by contact with breadfruit paste, women, or excrement of animals or men. At about three A.M. they went to the entrance of the bay with torches, by the aid of which the fish were lured and drawn gradually to the rocks that border the sea. Here they were caught by means of small nets on the ends of poles. According to Père Siméon (7), the chief fisherman ate in the early morning preceding the expedition, and slept all day. In the evening his limbs were rubbed with pigs' dung and he was carried on a man's shoulders to the shore to insure his not touching any impurity. If he had no one to carry him, he went in the day time.

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ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer. 539

Chants as Spells

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its reciter *mauta'a,* was said to have been used also in connection with the operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals. 539 787 [225]

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue,* to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tataoho.* (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau.* Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u,	eia /u,	eia u,	o Kena.
Here am I,	here am I,	here I,	Kena.

Ai oa, te tau toiki!
Ah, the boys!

A kau! Amai i una o na vaka nei.
Swim! Come on to the canoe.

Miscellaneous Chants

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

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The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

133 [227] 133 171

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle." 292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war. 411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed: [824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

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[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use. 226 778

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds. 226 776

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple. 226

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this [781] line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general 784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4). 226 784

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing 226 796

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the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

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Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This 286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

● 226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.* [778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Ann Lyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *fi'o,* which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

226 When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, *a*).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti,* to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho,* outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna.*

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *kuaho,* was reserved for the women

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred [776] place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be [225] very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished.

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's [252] catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned.

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle Fishing

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In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

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KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net. 226

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiifiii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiifiii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills. 226 [286] [386]

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●226 stone was let down immediately over the octopus; the stone would attract its attention, and it would feel above for it with its arms. When a hook had taken hold of an arm the octopus was brought out of its hole with a sharp pull. Octopus was eaten both fresh and dried.

SPEARING THE RAY

The large ray fish called *fafa'ua* (*haha'ua*) was speared through one wing. This disabled the creature in such a way that it exhausted itself in trying to get away with one able and one disabled wing. The manner of preserving the flesh of the ray and eating it when partly putrified is described under Preparation of Food.

PORPOISE HUNTING

225 The bay named Vaiehu, in the island of Ua Pou, was the most famous for porpoise (*pa'a-oa*) fishing. The porpoise teeth used on head-dresses and necklaces came entirely, so far as modern informants know, from Ua Pou. At Vaiehu, when porpoises were sighted, many men would go out to seaward of them in canoes carrying stones. The stones were clapped together under water and the frightened porpoises were thus gradually driven toward the rocky shore of the bay, until they would rush and leap up on the shores, striking their noses on the rocks and, according to accounts, bleeding to death. Those that did not die in this way were dispatched with knives.

BONITO AND KUAVENA FISHING

226 The bonito (*atu*) was caught with the special rod and pearl-shell hook shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 18, *a*). Dordillon's manuscript speaks of a line made of *fau* bark and used with four hooks.

Dordillon describes the catching at Taiohae of the *kuavena*, a small fish about two inches long with a large, hard head. The men who were going fishing were obliged to fast from sundown and guard themselves against being contaminated by contact with breadfruit paste, women, or excrement of animals or men. At about three A.M. they went to the entrance of the bay with torches, by the aid of which the fish were lured and drawn gradually to the rocks that border the sea. Here they were caught by means of small nets on the ends of poles. According to Père Siméon (7), the chief fisherman ate in the early morning preceding the expedition, and slept all day. In the evening his limbs were rubbed with pigs' dung and he was carried on a man's shoulders to the shore to insure his not touching any impurity. If he had no one to carry him, he went in the day time.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CATCHING PAOKO AND FLYING FISH

Paoko, small fish found in water holes in the rocks by the sea, were shot with the bow (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*) by both men and boys. Boys sometimes used slings for killing fish in holes. The woods used for bows were *koku'u* (?), *tuava* (*Psidium pomiferum*), and *toa.* 226

To catch *ihe,* flying fish, men went out by canoe at night with torches and, paddling about, caught the fish by means of a pole-net especially made for the purpose (fig. 18, *b*). When the fish was seen on the surface the net was slapped quickly over it upside down and then given a quick twist. The present descendants of the first native Hawaiian missionaries say that the natives of the Marquesas were taught this method by their fathers (the Hawaiians). Flying fish were eaten and used as bait for larger fish.

CATCHING EELS

Freshwater eels (*koee*) were sometimes caught at night by the aid of torches, being lured near the stream bank by the light and then flipped out on the shore with a stick having a hook on the end. Another method of catching them (probably used also for salt water eels) was by means of a snare. One person held a stick with a snare on the end of it, the string of which passed up along the stick. The snare was held under water, open, the stick being held in one hand, the snare string in the other. Another person then lured the eel into the snare by means of bait of some kind held under water on the end of another stick, so as to draw the eel through line. At the present time the favorite baits used for fresh water eels are rotten eggs and goat or chicken flesh. A kind of fish called *maha* furnished the best bait for salt water eels (*puhi*).

CATCHING SHELLFISH

The large marine crawfish, the meat of which resembles that of a lobster, were sometimes caught with a hook and line, but usually by men who dived for them from the rocks.

Crabs (*koitano, toetoe, tupa*) were sought in the rocks and on or near the shores at night by men and women carrying torches. They were caught with the hand.

Shrimps (*koua*) were fished for in the streams at night by torchlight or in the day time. They were caught by children with the hand or with the noose called *tona* (fig. 18, *e*) and were caught in larger quantities by women with small hand nets (*to'o* (fig. 18, *c*) or pieces of cloth. Shrimps were sometimes shot by boys with a small bow and slivers of bamboo.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

226 192 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
Aho. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auone. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Hultoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioe, kaimitito, kaimititoe, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

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Keviti. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.
Kohe atu. Rod for bonito fishing.
Kohuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.
Koka'oka. Net to carry fish.
Kotu. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.
Kounoka. Hook.
Kuahou. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.
Makao kou'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.
Mamai upena. Bottom of net.
Mata ve'o ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.
Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.
Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.
Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.
Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.
Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.
Nanao. Small package of fish.
Noupo. Fishing in the night.
Oho au fi'e na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.
Oho au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.
Oho au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.
Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.
Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.
Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.
Pa. Bonito hook.
Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.
Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.
Pa-oa. Seine.
Pati. To chase fish into a net by making a noise in the water. Also patitevo.
Pehi. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.
Peke. To fish with a line while swimming.
Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.
Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.
Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.
Pokae. Sinker on fish line.
Pokoe. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.
Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.
Putoki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.
Ta i te iha. To fish for the iha.
Ta i te upena. To make a net.
Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.
Ta'ake'a. Dart, harpoon.
Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.
Taihoka. Cords of a net.
Takau, or tanokau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.
Takikoka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koo'ka.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 **Tatu'e.** Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
192 **Te ika hahe.** Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kohuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'e. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tiitii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tivaivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
To'e. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
To'e pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tona. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Tove'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the matake (hammer-headed shark).
Upena ihe. A small net for catching the kaoa, a small fish.
Upena kaoa or **Upena ihe.** Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutoki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Veivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke,* a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each ha
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from
286 commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

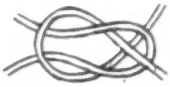

FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

226 The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly
227 made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either fau bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Maa:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohe to'o:** Same as *maa*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohe* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Pafio:** Same as the *ho'ohe to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Pafio Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Pafio ihe:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *ihe*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

(8) **Paoa:** A long seine of fau bark. This form could be used at Pua Ma'u, where the beach shelves gradually, but was useless in most localities. One end of the seine was carried out from the beach by men wading or swimming and then brought back to the beach again at a point 75 to 100 yards away. It was then drawn in from both ends, with all the fish within the circle trapped. Such seines were provided with light wood floats along the upper edge and stone sinkers on the bottom. 226 227

(9) **Fifi:** Probably the same as the *fi'ifi'i* of Dordillon's Dictionary, which he defines as a small net to catch turtles. According to native informants this was a very strong, large meshed seine made of cord twisted from the fiber of the coconut spathe. It was much wider than the *paoa* but like it was provided with floats and sinkers. The method of use was as follows: The net was set a short distance off any rocky place where the turtles were abundant, its line running more or less parallel to the shore. When in place, a number of men jumped into the water between the net and the shore and frightened the turtles, which, in their efforts to escape, became entangled in the net. As soon as it was evident from the movement of the floats that one had been caught a man dived down, disentangled the turtle, and tied it with fau bark cords, bringing it to the surface and giving it to the men in one of the canoes. The net was not drawn until the fishing was ended. From ten to twenty turtles were sometimes caught in this way in a single day.

(10) **Upena:** By far the most important of the Marquesan net forms. Descriptions obtained by Handy in Atu Ona and by the author in Pua Ma'u differ in some details. According to Pua Ma'u informants the cords composing it were made of fau bark twisted by rolling them on a smooth breadfruit log. According to informants of Atu Ona the cords were composed half of fau bark and half of plaited coconut fiber and were rolled upon the thigh. Both agree that at the time of rolling the cords were rubbed with a red earth called *ka'aea* which gave them a permanent color supposed to attract the fish. Ten men with coconut baskets were required to bring the earth for dyeing a single net. The net was woven by women skilled in the art under the direction of a *tuhuna upena*, the labor occupying twenty to thirty women for ten days or more. The work was carried on in a special house and was attended with various religious observances. In Pua Ma'u the *upena* was said to have been circular, about thirty feet across at the rim and decreasing gradually toward the bottom. The whole net was woven in one piece, the mesh being two fingers wide on the sides and somewhat less on the bottom. The upper end was held open by flexible poles or withes of *toa* wood placed about the circumference. The weight of the withes caused the net to sink. The net of Atu Ona is said to have been 30 to 36 feet square, tapering toward the bottom, which was finished by a special piece, "shaped like the crown of a hat," which was called *to'o pu'u*. Along the upper edge of each side was fastened a log of *toa* wood, to either end of which a line was attached.

The method of handling the *upena* appears to have been the same in both localities.

Four canoes set out about four hours before dawn with the net, two of these being large craft which carried eight men each, and two smaller, with a crew of three men each. When the fishing place was reached each of the large canoes put out four anchors, two at the bow and two at the stern. These anchors apparently were placed by the small canoes, one of which, called *tuca iti*, went to the east side while the other, called *tuca tuho*, went to the west. The net was then lowered between the two large canoes. When the net was submerged the *tuhuna* who supervised the fishing dived in and directed whether it was to be moved backward or forward. A skilled *tuhuna* was said to be able to see the fish under water and to hear them when they entered the net. When he considered the net full it was hauled up. The *upena* was drawn several times on a single trip.

Fishing with the *fifi* and *upena*, and probably with the *paoa*, was a community matter, and had associated with it elaborate religious observances. 226

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 This probably holds good also for the organized fishing expeditions to offshore banks and desert islands in which hooks and lines were used. Ordinary fishing, on the other hand, whether with small nets or hook and line, appears to have been a matter of individual initiative. The community fishing was participated in by men only, while individual fishing was done by both men and women.

According to information obtained by Handy, a strong large-meshed net (*upena fi'ifi'i*) was used for catching the hammer-head shark, called by the natives *matake*. The cords of this net were dyed with red earth like those of the regular *upena*. The net was long, one end resting on the bottom while the other was held at the surface of the water by floats. A number of nets of this sort were set in a good locality and left for the sharks to be caught by the gills.

According to another informant, sharks were not caught in nets, but were taken by tempting them alongside a canoe with meat and passing nooses over the head and tail; the nooses were drawn taut and the shark was pulled on board and clubbed. It is probable that both methods were in use, being employed in different localities or for different species of shark. The flesh of the hammer-head was considered the best for eating, but even small tiger sharks are still caught and eaten by the natives.

Dordillon gives a term *auoa*, which he defines as "long braids of leaves to hem in fish." This probably refers to a seine of coconut leaves of the sort still commonly used in the Tuamotus for fishing in shallow water. This method is not used by the Marquesan natives at the present time and there are few places in the islands where it could have been employed. The Tuamotuan seines are simply long ropes of coconut fronds tied together in such a way that the leaflets project in all directions. They are used to surround sections of the reef or lagoon, being gradually drawn in until the fish are confined in a small compass. The fish are then speared. Whole villages assist in this sort of fishing, the seines being in some cases nearly half a mile long.

Octopi are commonly fished for by diving and thrusting a blunt pointed stick into the center of the arms. The animal twines its arms around the stick and is thus easily withdrawn from it hole. The use of octopus hooks in ancient times is doubtful, but according to one informant octopi were formerly caught with three hooks lashed back to back a short distance above which was attached a white stone. This grapnel was let down immediately above the octopus which was irritated by the stone and began to reach for it. As soon as one of the hooks had taken hold, the animal was drawn up with a quick jerk.

At least one form of fish trap is said to have been used in ancient times, but no description of it was obtained.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals
were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages,
funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de-
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the [768]
commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his
death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally,
and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were
used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was
also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear
and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded
the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the
men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden
to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with
anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch
was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside
for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what
remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing
could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was
always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out
alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from
land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies.
Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let
down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were
harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the
flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for
days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human
captive.

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•226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[781] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 796 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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by four canoes for deep-sea fishing and various types and sizes for different kinds of fishing, grading down from these large nets to very small ones for hand fishing used with or without a handle. Lines for making nets and for fishing with a hook were made either of coconut fiber plaited, of fau bark, or of a combination of the two. Fine cord for fish lines was made of the fibers of the pineapple leaf. Hooks were made of pearl shell and of human bone. Simple hooks and also the complex type were used for bonito, bamboo being used for the rods. For spearing fish there was a lance with a single point (*mata ve'o ika*), and a lance with many barbed points (*mata va'u*) (8). Porter (24, p. 113) describes both bone and wood points on fishing harpoons. 227

One of my best informed native co-workers insisted that fishing with rods (*te ika hi*), hooks, and lines (*te ika hahe*), or with spears (*te ika ve'o*) and torches was never practiced in ancient times. I am convinced, however, from the other evidence that hooks and lines and spears were used anciently. Porter describing the implements in use at the time of his visit, says: "Those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl." As to torch-light fishing, it is probable that this was dependent on safety. It would always have been too dangerous in certain bays, where the fishers would have been to obvious bait for enemy canoes seeking victims for sacrifice.

Snares were used for catching eels and shrimps, and fish traps were made of fau bark, but of what form is unknown. Fish were poisoned in rock pools by the sea and in the region of the rock shelves within the bays. So far as I know, fish ponds were never constructed—there were few places in the Marquesas where it would have been possible. Torches for night fishing were made of bamboo, of sugar cane, and of a reedlike grass (*kakao*) (15, p. 54). Fish in pools by the sea were sometimes killed with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts, or with sling stones. An unusual method of fishing consisted in swimming, drawing a hook and line in tow. For the private fishing small individual canoes were used, but for the deep-sea fishing there were special craft, large and small. Porter (24), p. 102) describes fishing canoes as follows: 227 501

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *ñ'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This 286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.* [778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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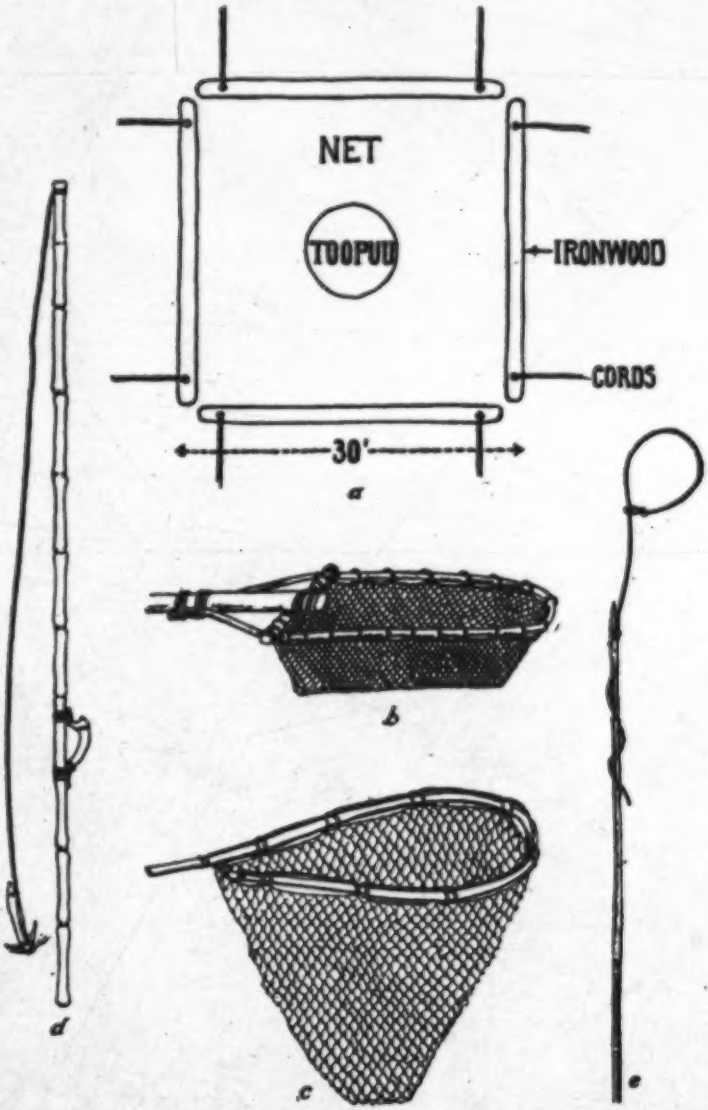

FIGURE 18.—Fishing apparatus: *a*, deep sea net; *b*, pole net; *c*, hand net; *d*, bonito rod; *e*, snare.

expect to find many specimens, whereas perforated stone disks are so rare that 324
most natives had never seen one and could offer no suggestion as to their use. The actual specimens are, moreover, poorly adapted for this purpose as No. 2 is quite asymmetrical while the perforation of No. 1 is much too narrow to admit a drill shaft. Perforated disks of this sort are also found in Hawaii as a rare form.

SINKERS

Stone sinkers were used with at least one of the Marquesan types of fish- 227
net, but specimens deliberately shaped for this purpose are extremely rare. Only one object which could be identified as a net sinker was seen. This was a rather crudely finished specimen of coarse lava having an almost globular body terminating in a short knob with a somewhat expanded outer end, in which a shallow transverse groove was pecked. It was about 2¾ inches long and 1¾ inches in diameter. The neck and the single groove across the center of the top are said to have served for the attachment of cords. According to the owner of this specimen, an unusually intelligent native, sinkers of this type were attached to the lower edge of the long seins used in turtle fishing.

A second specimen, clearly related to this form but of such fine finish that its purpose was probably ceremonial rather than utilitarian, was seen in a collection in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. The body was between 3 and 4 inches in diameter and almost perfectly spherical. The neck was very short and oval in cross section and each of the two parts into which the end was divided had been carved into a flat tiki face directed upward. The specimen appeared to be made of phonolite or some other equally hard and fine grained stone and had been carefully polished on all surfaces. Its heavy patination indicated a considerable age. This sinker, if it is a sinker, bears a remarkable resemblance to certain [171]
specimens found near the East Cape of New Zealand, which are identical in outline and in having two heads carved upon the projections at the top. A crudely made object of the same type, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, is shown in Plate XLIX, *A-B*. The New Zealand sinkers differ from the Marquesan examples in having the body of the sinker covered with elaborate carving.

A stone object in the collection of Mme. Maleius, in Ta'aoa Hiva Oa, can probably be classed as a sinker. It is oval in outline, with one flat and one convex side. Down the center of the convex side a groove has been pecked, giving the whole much the form of a coffee bean. The material is a rather coarse lava, and the whole finish is rough. As far as known no other object of this sort has been reported from the Marquesas and the owner, who was thoroughly conversant with native matters, could offer no suggestion as to its use.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¼ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

283 The cords of the large fish net (upena) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ka'aca* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber.
[824] This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the
[227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as
[534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*. 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract." 411

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long, Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant,

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.) [227]

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this 411 531

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOOK AND LINE

227 Line fishing was carried on both from the rocks and from canoes. On the southern side of Hiva Oa the natives resorted to submerged banks which lay several miles off shore, and fishing expeditions to the various uninhabited islands of the group were not uncommon. The lines used in deep sea fishing were made either of fau bark or coconut fiber; those used by the women in fishing for small fish were made of pineapple fiber. (See p. 379.)

A variety of hooks were used, their size and material varying with the nature of the fishing. A tiny hook, made from a single thorn from the edge of a pandanus leaf, was used to catch the little fish in the rock pools. Larger hooks were made either from pearl shell or human bone or a combination of the two. Simple shell hooks (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 1) were laboriously ground out of a thick [321] pearl shell. The gleam of the nacre served as a lure and made bait unnecessary. Such hooks were barbless with only slightly recurved points and had much the shape of a "J." The upper end was slightly notched on one or both sides for the attachment of the line. A more elaborate form of one piece hook is shown (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 2). A composite hook made entirely of pearl shell was also employed. (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 3.) One section of this hook corresponds to the one-piece hook except for slightly greater angularity at the bend. The second piece consisted of a simple band of shell of the same width and length as the shank of the first piece. It was bound to the shank with lashings near the top and bottom, the nacre sides of the two pieces being brought together so that the surface of the completed hook was dark except at the barb. The type is represented only by several specimens in the Salem Museum, and no information in regard to it was obtained in the Marquesas. This form seems to be a purely local development and does not occur in other parts of Polynesia.

One-piece hooks of human bone were occasionally used, made from the curve of the lower jaw. Desgraz (15, p. 285) says that they were sharper than the pearl hooks and that their form was angular rather than oval, but as no specimens have been preserved in American collections exact description is impossible.

Composite hooks of shell and human bone were used to troll for bonito. The ancient form with only slight modifications continues in use to the present date. (See Pl. LXXI, *B*.)

The body of a hook of this sort consists of a strip of shell 3½ to 4½ inches long and about ⅝ of an inch wide, pointed at one end and square at the other. In making this strip the pointed end is ground from the valve. Some strips are as much as ⅜ of an inch thick at the point while the body of the strip is rarely over 3/16 of an inch thick. The outside of the shell, which forms the bottom of the strip, is ground down until it shows a good luster with a pink, yellow or brown tint. The color is very important, for the strip serves as a lure, and fish refuse to take hooks which are not of the right shade. The thick point of the strip is pierced

by a single horizontal or vertical hole. The square end has along either side two to six notches which are used to facilitate tight lashing of the bone barb. In the specimens examined there was also a short longitudinal groove in the center of the lower surface which served no practical purpose. The point of the hook is of bone, with a slight but well marked barb just behind the tip on the lower side. The modern Tahitian and Tuamotuan hooks of the same type are usually barbless. The base of the bone point is pierced with two holes. The point is attached to the strip by close lashings, formerly of coconut fiber cord. The ends of the lashings are gathered together into a single strand at the forward end of the bone point and carried along the upper surface of the strip to its pointed end, where they are again attached to it by lashings passed through the hole in the strip. The strand is continued beyond the hook and serves to attach the whole to the line. As the lashings at the inner end of the hook are loose enough to allow some play, the pull of the line comes directly at the base of the bone point. When a fish strikes, the pull is said to draw the point slightly downward and inward, making escape more difficult. This movement, if it occurs at all, is negligible, but the pull coming at this point does serve to tighten the lashings and prevent the point from slipping on the strip. The bark upon the point is of little value, and unless a tight line is kept the fish will escape. 227

In some hooks of this type a small bunch of pig's hair is tied transversely at the rear end of the strip as an additional lure but this is not a constant feature (Pl. LXXI, *B*, 1). In one specimen collected an additional strip of shell is tied to the upper side of the main strip, probably with the idea of strengthening and weighting the hook. [23]

That sinkers were employed in line fishing is shown by two terms given by Dordillon (17): *pokau*, which is defined as a sinker, and *pokoe*, which is defined as a stone twisted with a fish hook which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths. It seems probable that such sinkers were unworked pebbles.

Dordillon also gives a term (*pe'etai*) which he translates as "to fish with a line while swimming" but this method is now obsolete and no information was obtained in regard to it.

NETS

Net fishing was probably the most important of the Marquesan methods of fishing, and a considerable variety of nets were employed. Very few of these nets have been preserved in collections, however. The only specimens studied were two imperfect fragments in the Bishop Museum. One of these fragments evidently formed part of a small net in the form of a flat pouch or envelope with square corners. (Pl. LXXI, *C*). 227 286

The net is woven of two-strand fau bark cord hardly more than 1/32 of an inch in diameter with a very small mesh decreasing in size from 3/8 of an inch at the bottom to 3/16 of an inch at the top. The upper edge is finished with a single strand of twisted fau bark cord about three times as heavy as that forming the body of the net. Immediately below this edging a second cord of the same weight runs around the net, apparently serving as a drawstring. The second fragment is so badly torn that the original form of the net cannot be determined. It is woven of extremely fine two-strand pineapple fiber cord scarcely heavier than carpet thread, with a uniform mesh of 5/8 of an inch. The form of knot employed in both nets may be seen from the accompanying drawing (fig. 11).

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from
286 commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

226 The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly
227 made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either fau bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Mas:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohe to'o:** Same as *mas*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohe* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Pafio:** Same as the *ho'ohe to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Pafio Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Pafio iho:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *iho*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

(8) **Paoa:** A long seine of fau bark. This form could be used at Pua Ma'u, where the beach shelves gradually, but was useless in most localities. One end of the seine was carried out from the beach by men wading or swimming and then brought back to the beach again at a point 75 to 100 yards away. It was then drawn in from both ends, with all the fish within the circle trapped. Such seines were provided with light wood floats along the upper edge and stone sinkers on the bottom. 226 227

(9) **Fifi:** Probably the same as the *fi'ifi'i* of Dordillon's Dictionary, which he defines as a small net to catch turtles. According to native informants this was a very strong, large meshed seine made of cord twisted from the fiber of the coconut spathe. It was much wider than the *paoa* but like it was provided with floats and sinkers. The method of use was as follows: The net was set a short distance off any rocky place where the turtles were abundant, its line running more or less parallel to the shore. When in place, a number of men jumped into the water between the net and the shore and frightened the turtles, which, in their efforts to escape, became entangled in the net. As soon as it was evident from the movement of the floats that one had been caught a man dived down, disentangled the turtle, and tied it with fau bark cords, bringing it to the surface and giving it to the men in one of the canoes. The net was not drawn until the fishing was ended. From ten to twenty turtles were sometimes caught in this way in a single day.

(10) **Upena:** By far the most important of the Marquesan net forms. Descriptions obtained by Handy in Atu Ona and by the author in Pua Ma'u differ in some details. According to Pua Ma'u informants the cords composing it were made of fau bark twisted by rolling them on a smooth breadfruit log. According to informants of Atu Ona the cords were composed half of fau bark and half of plaited coconut fiber and were rolled upon the thigh. Both agree that at the time of rolling the cords were rubbed with a red earth called *ke'aea* which gave them a permanent color supposed to attract the fish. Ten men with coconut baskets were required to bring the earth for dyeing a single net. The net was woven by women skilled in the art under the direction of a *tuhuna upena*, the labor occupying twenty to thirty women for ten days or more. The work was carried on in a special house and was attended with various religious observances. In Pua Ma'u the *upena* was said to have been circular, about thirty feet across at the rim and decreasing gradually toward the bottom. The whole net was woven in one piece, the mesh being two fingers wide on the sides and somewhat less on the bottom. The upper end was held open by flexible poles or withes of *toa* wood placed about the circumference. The weight of the withes caused the net to sink. The net of Atu Ona is said to have been 30 to 36 feet square, tapering toward the bottom, which was finished by a special piece, "shaped like the crown of a hat," which was called *to'o pu'u*. Along the upper edge of each side was fastened a log of *toa* wood, to either end of which a line was attached.

The method of handling the *upena* appears to have been the same in both localities.

Four canoes set out about four hours before dawn with the net, two of these being large craft which carried eight men each, and two smaller, with a crew of three men each. When the fishing place was reached each of the large canoes put out four anchors, two at the bow and two at the stern. These anchors apparently were placed by the small canoes, one of which, called *vaca iti*, went to the east side while the other, called *vaca tuhe*, went to the west. The net was then lowered between the two large canoes. When the net was submerged the *tuhuna* who supervised the fishing dived in and directed whether it was to be moved backward or forward. A skilled *tuhuna* was said to be able to see the fish under water and to hear them when they entered the net. When he considered the net full it was hauled up. The *upena* was drawn several times on a single trip.

Fishing with the *fifi* and *upena*, and probably with the *paoa*, was a community matter, and had associated with it elaborate religious observances. 226

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2 74
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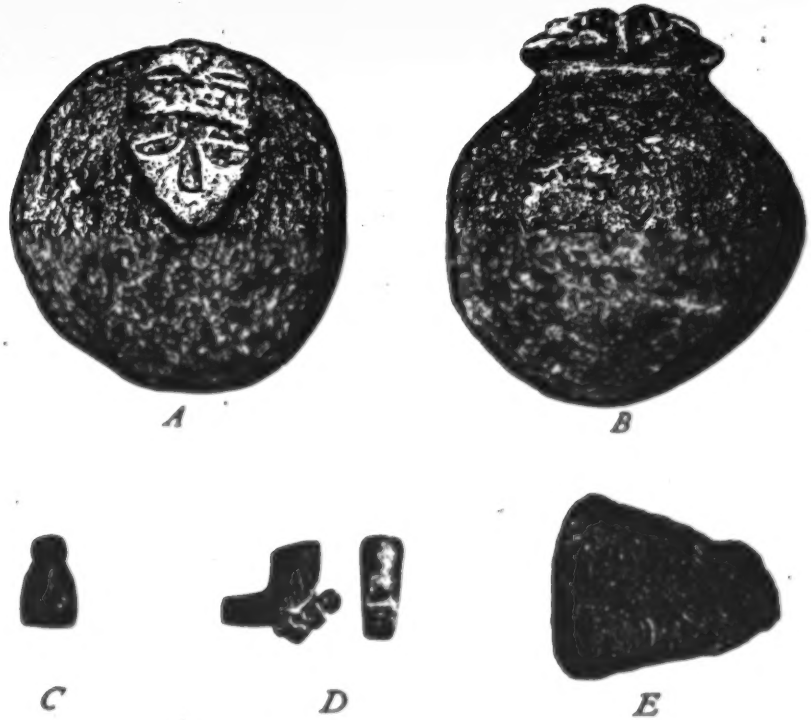
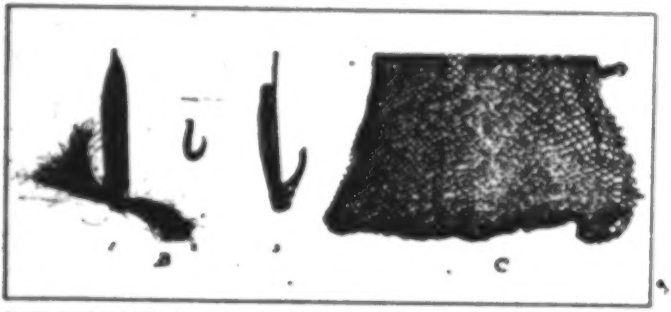
7: Linton E-5 (1928-1931) 1933 OX6 Marquesas OX6



STONE ARTIFACTS AND CERAMICS. *A*, FAR SIDE. *B*, NEAR SIDE OF CURVED NECKLACE (UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA); *C*, PIPE; *D*, PIPE, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *E*, FRAGMENT OF DECORATED BOWL.

End plate 10

227



FISHING APPLIANCES: A, PEARL SHELL FISH HOOKS (PEARSON MUSEUM, SALEM); B, COMPOSITE HOOKS OF SHELL AND OF BONE AND SHELL; C, SMALL FISH NET.

[end plate 32]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described. 754 685 [231]

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it. 754

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

4: Fernandez de Quirós T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make [321 of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 fastened a bunch of bananas, a piece of white cloth manufactured on the island, and a square fan. Being under sail, I did not like to be surrounded by too many of these savages, and I therefore signified that a few only were to come on board. The chief, as soon as he comprehended my orders, jumped out of his canoe into the water, and climbed up the ship with astonishing alacrity. As soon as he was on the quarter-deck, he sat himself down, and presented me with the bunch of bananas, and the cloth that had been fastened to the stick. I was going to put on his head a cap of striped stuff; but he refused the honour, and begged a knife, which was given him with a pair of ear-rings, made of two copeks, which is the smallest Russian copper money. One of my officers made him a present of a small looking-glass, which delighted him so much, that I thought he would have lost his senses. Our new guests behaved with the same familiarity as the preceding ones. They were all perfectly honest in the exchange of articles, and so docile, that no one left the ship without asking my permission. [231] I showed them fowls and pigs; the fowls they called *moa*, and the pigs *boaga*, intimating by signs that there were plenty of both on shore; but, from their surprise at the sight of our sheep and goats, I inferred that they had never till then seen such animals. 1804. May.

600 We steered all the morning of the 9th to the southward, in the hope of reaching the bay of Tayohaia towards evening; but at noon we were becalmed, and gave up the idea of being at anchor before night. 9th.

During the night, the rain was so heavy, that a dozen casks

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signi- [481] fied to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

648 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by 831 a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they [231] wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string. 283 [824]

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tona* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them. [231]

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth [292]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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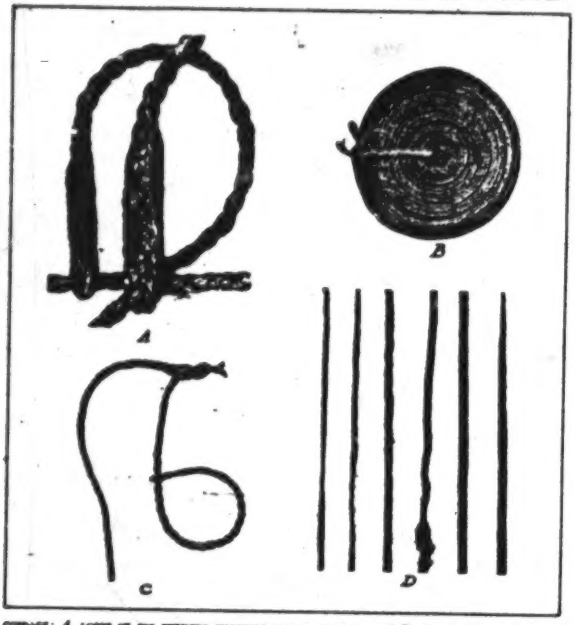

CORDAGE: *A*, LOOPS OF PIG TETHERS SHOWING KINKS OF PLAITING; *B*, ROLL OF CORD USED FOR SNARES; *C*, PIG TETHER OF FAU BARK; *D*, COCONUT FIBER CORD.

[end plate 26]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de- [769]
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291
of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264
so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515
in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252
a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231
that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231
hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when 000
land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342]
to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the [231] ●
dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626]
and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokua* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the 301
effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a [237] large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho, papatu ouoho, tope pu,* or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders.

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and head- 292
dress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs.

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea, tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e kaha* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 237 The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, *e*) headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and bark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a*, which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a*. One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei, peue taki ei, or peue koio* (fig. 23, *b*) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

292 The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*) would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, *d*) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'u I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a*, but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka*. Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka*, or *hei pe'ape'a*.

The *ta'avaha*, sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

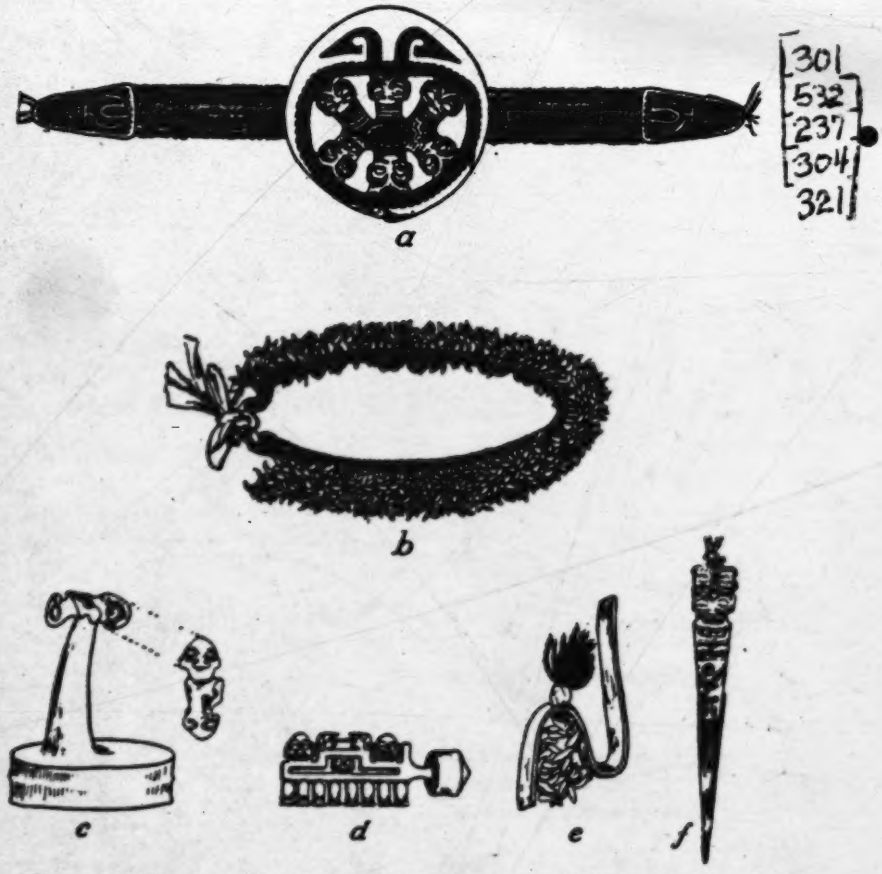

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikona*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hakahai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiona*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and 101
whatever names may be given to them by English or French 114
partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga 133
(so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe 609
coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom
was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some [301]
yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish
and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the [301]
fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, [237]
the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *toya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-
501 102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the
396 triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of
314 coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See
● [237] section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were 501
painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the 531
tevake bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were [237]
held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly
upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds 501
which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower
edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed 531
along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. 824
Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung [237]
on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip 501
of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-* 531
hina (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one [824]
of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any [727]
enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small 502
canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the informa- 501
tion obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The outer end of the fan, which was similar in shape to the coconut fans just described, was finished with a straight band twilled over three and under three. The body of the fan was also twilled, but the weft strands passed under one and over two. The warp strands radiated from the outer end, those next the handle being vertical and parallel while those of the wings diverged more and more as the tips were approached. The exact method of finishing the edges could not be determined. The upper end of the handle was provided with a long spike which was incorporated into the fan, the weft threads being interwoven about it. Near its base it was encircled by ornamental lashings of fine sennit laid on in a simple diamond pattern. The strips used in the woven part of the fan were one-eighth of an inch or less in width. The lower end of the handle might be either a continuation of the wooden spike or a separate piece of human bone or whale ivory. In most cases it was elaborately carved with four small tiki figures arranged in two pairs, superposed upon one another, the figures of each pair being back to back. These fan handles rank among the finest products of the Marquesan artist and it would be difficult for Europeans to better some of them either in design or execution. The woven portion of the fan was whitened by rubbing with lime or with a white clay found in Nuku Hiva, the application being heavy enough in many cases to fill the interstices of the weaving and make determination of the technique and material difficult. The material appears to have usually been the young leaflets of the coconut palm, but it is possible that pandanus was also used in a few instances. 293

These elaborate fans were made by special *tuhuna* and seem to have had a distinct ceremonial significance, being carried by chiefesses at *koina*, and by chiefs and *ta'ua*. Those of chiefesses at least were inherited in the female line, and appear to have been almost insignia of rank.

It seems well to describe here a very curious fan of tortoise shell, collected in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. (See Pl. LXVII, *C*.) [237]

The fan consists of a rather rough wooden handle to which plates of tortoise shell have been attached. The object is in bad condition, but the original shape appears to have been rectangular. The handle is decorated with a few tresses of human hair tied with coconut fiber, like those used in hair ornaments. Fans of this sort are said to have been used to keep flies off a dead body while it was undergoing mummification. The specimen obtained had been partially cut up for the sake of the tortoise shell, a good indication that these objects had no religious significance.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a single horizontal or vertical hole. The square end has along either side two to six notches which are used to facilitate tight lashing of the bone barb. In the specimens examined there was also a short longitudinal groove in the center of the lower surface which served no practical purpose. The point of the hook is of bone, with a slight but well marked barb just behind the tip on the lower side. The modern Tahitian and Tuamotuan hooks of the same type are usually barbless. The base of the bone point is pierced with two holes. The point is attached to the strip by close lashings, formerly of coconut fiber cord. The ends of the lashings are gathered together into a single strand at the forward end of the bone point and carried along the upper surface of the strip to its pointed end, where they are again attached to it by lashings passed through the hole in the strip. The strand is continued beyond the hook and serves to attach the whole to the line. As the lashings at the inner end of the hook are loose enough to allow some play, the pull of the line comes directly at the base of the bone point. When a fish strikes, the pull is said to draw the point slightly downward and inward, making escape more difficult. This movement, if it occurs at all, is negligible, but the pull coming at this point does serve to tighten the lashings and prevent the point from slipping on the strip. The bark upon the point is of little value, and unless a tight line is kept the fish will escape. 227

In some hooks of this type a small bunch of pig's hair is tied transversely at the rear end of the strip as an additional lure but this is not a constant feature (Pl. LXXI, *B*, 1). In one specimen collected an additional strip of shell is tied to the upper side of the main strip, probably with the idea of strengthening and weighting the hook. [23]

That sinkers were employed in line fishing is shown by two terms given by Dordillon (17): *pokau*, which is defined as a sinker, and *pokoe*, which is defined as a stone twisted with a fish hook which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths. It seems probable that such sinkers were unworked pebbles.

Dordillon also gives a term (*pe'ctai*) which he translates as "to fish with a line while swimming" but this method is now obsolete and no information was obtained in regard to it.

NETS

Net fishing was probably the most important of the Marquesan methods of fishing, and a considerable variety of nets were employed. Very few of these nets have been preserved in collections, however. The only specimens studied were two imperfect fragments in the Bishop Museum. One of these fragments evidently formed part of a small net in the form of a flat pouch or envelope with square corners. (Pl. LXXI, *C*). 227 286

The net is woven of two-strand fau bark cord hardly more than 1/32 of an inch in diameter with a very small mesh decreasing in size from 3/8 of an inch at the bottom to 3/16 of an inch at the top. The upper edge is finished with a single strand of twisted fau bark cord about three times as heavy as that forming the body of the net. Immediately below this edging a second cord of the same weight runs around the net, apparently serving as a drawstring. The second fragment is so badly torn that the original form of the net cannot be determined. It is woven of extremely fine two-strand pineapple fiber cord scarcely heavier than carpet thread, with a uniform mesh of 5/8 of an inch. The form of knot employed in both nets may be seen from the accompanying drawing (fig. 11).

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few [531] drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated [531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums [531] seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin, 264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at regular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, [257] threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of hau wood, 534 and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

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hands separately. These locks were made as follows: A long tress was wrapped at the center with a few turns of fine sennit. It was then doubled back upon itself, and the wrapping continued upward, so that the hair was enclosed in a fiber sleeve about half an inch long. The lock was thus reinforced with sennit at the inner end and terminated in a loop. The separate locks were attached to the band by means of strands of fiber which were separated from one of the cords of the plait, passed through the loop, and twisted into the cord again. The processes of twisting the cords, attaching the locks of hair, and plaiting the band must have been carried on simultaneously, an arrangement which called for a remarkable degree of skill on the part of the workman. 301

Hair ornaments were made by a special *tuhuna*, who also made feather-work. When an ornament was made for a child the hair was donated by its mother's brothers and father's sisters. For a chief's child all the men in the tribe contributed hair. According to Handy, the hair of revenge victims was also used. The hair was curled, apparently after it had been made up into locks, by wrapping it tightly around small sticks, doing these up in green leaves, and baking them in an earth oven.

Hair ornaments were worn by both men and women on festive occasions.

A complete costume consisted of a large shoulder ornament, one or two waist ornaments, bands on the wrists and above the elbow, and bands on the ankles and just below the knee. The shoulder ornament was worn like an European boa, the longest part resting in the middle of the back while the ends were tied together on the breast and held down by a whale's tooth or other ornament. The waist pieces were worn over the *hami* (loin cloth). When there was only one, it was placed in the rear, like a bustle, when two, one was worn in front and one behind. Plate LXXVI, *A* shows a shoulder ornament; *D*, a waist or shoulder ornament and *E*, a wrist band. The only knee ornament seen was of long wavy hair, like the waist ornament.

Handy gives the following native names for these ornaments: *titi ouoho*, shoulder ornament; *titi ouoho kei*, waist ornament; *poi ima*, arm ornaments; *motutu ouoho*, wrist ornaments; *poi taiwai*, leg ornaments.

BELTS AND ANKLE ORNAMENTS

Edge-Partington (20, p. 48) figures a belt of seven parallel rows of bird bone beads, strung on sennit. Some of the beads are decorated with diagonal incised lines. 301 237

In Hiva Oa, at least, bands of feather work were sometimes worn around the ankles in place of hair ornaments. No examples of these have been preserved and the information about them is unsatisfactory. They are said to have been made of short black roosters' feathers attached to a broad fiber band. To judge from other feather ornaments they were probably laid on overlapping and pasted to the base.

FINGER ORNAMENTS

Ornaments made from the long tail feathers of the tropic bird were worn by male and female dancers on the second finger of both hands. The ornament

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was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, *C*.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bear for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, *B*. The broader of these is made from the end of a large Conus shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from Tridacna shell, and is unusually well made. As Tridacna shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, *F*) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precatorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, *G*.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouoho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, *A*.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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301 321 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, *B*) gives the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of Conus shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

301 237 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem, the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, *C*, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, 9½ inches; maximum width, 2¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are perforated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds attached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the [824] *Abrus precatorius*. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII, *C*, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered with the shiny red and black Abrus seeds. Along either side of the encrusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

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ornament of this sort, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 2. 232 237

The ornament consists of two feathered bands, of identical construction, placed side by side and fastened together by wrappings of sennit at intervals of three or four inches. The ends of the bands are enclosed in a longer wrapping; each band consists of a heavy core of twisted coconut fiber over which there is a continuous sennit wrapping. The plumes are closely spaced and have been laid on with their quills against the core, each quill being held in place by two or three turns of the wrapping. Great care was taken to place the plumes so that their natural curve caused those on each half of the band to incline outward and away from the center. Heavy sennit cords, probably a continuation of the fiber in the cores of the bands, spring from either end of the ornament. Other cords of fau bark are attached to the ends of the sennit cords.

The *taotuha* was worn across the forward part of the head, a little back of the forehead, with the plumes rising vertically. The cords at its ends were tied under the chin, like bonnet strings. It was primarily a man's ornament, but was sometimes worn by women dancers at fetes.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says that about 500 feathers were required for a *taotuha*, and that each cock had only two feathers which would serve, so that it was necessary to despoil over 200 cocks to make a single ornament. At the time of his visit a *taotuha* was valued at a gun.

A modified form of the *taotuha* is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 1. The bands which form the base of this ornament are like those in the one just described, but the workmanship is not so good. The feathers are much shorter and appear to be cocks' tail coverts. They are made up in small bunches of three to five feathers each, with the quill ends enclosed in short sennit wrappings. The bunches are attached to the cores of the bands by a method resembling that used in attaching the small locks of hair in hair ornaments.

Stewart (59, pp. 247-249) describes still another modification of the *taotuha*. He says:

It [the headdress] consists of a crescent three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, an eighth of an inch wide, ran around the edges in a herring bone pattern of alternate black and white—while the middle was entirely filled with the small scarlet berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the breadfruit tree. [Compare this description with the gorget (?) shown on Pl. LXXVIII, *C*, 2.] The crescent formed the front of a cap, fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long black and burnished tail feathers of the cock—the finest I ever saw; those in the center being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner, as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head—the feathers in the center standing perpendicular, and becoming more and more vertical, till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends—falling, from the highest point above the forehead, one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side—played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. [824]

According to Handy a headdress made from the white feathers of the *tuhi* bird was also called *taotuha*.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says: "Oftentimes a bunch of other more curious feathers of sea birds, in the form of a plume, are worn at the top or back of the

292 head in addition to the large *taavaha*." This probably refers to ornaments of the
297 same general type as that shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 3, which were made of unusually long tail feathers of the tropic bird attached to a smooth stick by wrappings of fine sennit. The principle of attachment appears to be much the same as that used in the large *taavaha* except that the plumes entirely surround the stick instead of running only along one side of the band. The lower end of the carefully smoothed stick projects for some distance, suggesting that the ornament was thrust into a coil of hair.

Perhaps the most beautiful of the Marquesan headdresses was the *packua*, shown on Plate LXXX, *B*. Only two of these ornaments were seen, but these agree so closely in all details of construction and decoration as to suggest that the type was a fixed one. It is rather interesting that one of the specimens contains a few peacock feathers, proving it to be post-European.

The body of the *packua* is made up of three strips of featherwork. Each strip is broadest in the middle and tapers to a point at either end. A piece of large bamboo, flattened and scraped to paper thinness serves as a base for the featherwork. Over this are laid one or more layers of fine white tapa, which fit the bamboo so closely as to suggest that they were put on while the tapa was wet. The feathers, all of which are small, are glued to this tapa with breadfruit gum. To give additional security the whole strip is wrapped with single strands of some stiff white fiber—probably banana fiber. In a perfect specimen these wrappings are concealed by the feathers, but in the one figured the wrappings, tapa pad, and bamboo base are all visible. The feathers are laid on in irregular overlapping rows, the work progressing from both ends and meeting in the middle.

The tapa pad varies in thickness in the different strips composing the ornament, being heaviest in the top and bottom strips, less heavy on the ends of the central strip, and thinnest at the center of the central strip.

The three strips are pasted side by side upon a single large piece of coconut leaf sheath, whose natural stiffness serves to hold the ornament in shape. Along either edge, outside the strips, run three flat bands, or ribbons, plaited from strands of black dyed fau bark and white tapa. At either end of the ornament, between these bands, is a small triangular piece of white tapa which serves to cover the tips of the strips of feather work. Long tying strips, braided from tapa and black fau bark, are attached to either end of the ornament. In the specimen figured two tapa strings are fastened to the inside near the top center, suggesting that there was originally an additional ornament which projected above the *packua*.

Green, yellow and red feathers were used. The first two colors were obtained from a species of dove, the *kuku*. The source of the red feathers is doubtful. The usual native story is that they were obtained from the *manu kua*, a red bird long extinct, which lived on the plateaus of Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. In an account obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, they are said to have been brought from a far off island called Aotona, which Handy identifies as Rarotonga. A species of *kuku* which has a red cap of the same shade as the feathers in the *packua* occurs in Hiva Oa, and it seems probable that at least some of the feathers used were obtained from these birds. (It should be noted that Dordillon defines *packua* as "head ornament of *kuku* feathers.")

The red, green and yellow feathers on each strip were arranged in vertical bands, the center of the middle strip being covered by a large block of red feathers. Two small designs in red, one of which appears in the illustration, were placed on either side of the centers of the outer strips.

The *packua* is said to have been the ancient headdress of Nuku Hiva and also of the valley of Pua Ma'u in Hiva Oa. It is not mentioned by any of the early writers, however, and

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probably was always a rare and greatly valued ornament. A narrow band of featherwork, corresponding to one of the three strips in the large *paekua*, was worn as a headdress in Nuku Hiva. It was also called *paekua*. 292 237

According to Handy the *paekua* was worn by young chiefesses at fetes, and was also sometimes worn as a breast ornament. Its principal use, however, was as a man's headdress.

A few other types of feather headdresses seem to have been in use. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says that some of the natives of Hiva Oa wore "round coronets of the small linguated feathers of the man-of-war bird." Stewart (59, p. 313) says that a *taua* (priest) seen by him in Nuku Hiva wore "a full wreath of red and white feathers, much soiled, in alternate bunches over the forehead and temples." From his notes and from Dordillon's dictionary Handy has compiled names of additional feather ornaments as follows:

Heikua: A wreath of red cock feathers worn by women to dance the *hakapahaka*. The feathers were attached to sennit.

Tua: An ornament of twelve upright *toake* feathers, which was worn on the forehead.

Hei mekameka: Head ornament of long cocks' plumes.

Kohepea: Long cocks' plumes attached to the end of a stick, worn as an ornament.

Koketata: Aigrette of cocks' plumes on the end of a stick.

Pea: Long tail feathers of a cock. Aigrette of these feathers.

Peue: Head ornament of feathers in the form of a visor.

Tua: Aigrette of red feathers of the tropic bird.

A number of striking headdresses of materials other than feathers were also used by the Marquesans. 292 237 321

Wreaths or garlands of porpoise teeth (*peue ei*), worn principally by women, are still obtainable, although their manufacture has been discontinued for a number of years. The base of these ornaments is a band plaited from a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber. (See Pl. LXXXII, *A*.) The technique is identical with that employed for the bands of hair ornaments. The band is widest in the middle and tapers toward the ends, which are turned over and plaited back into the band on the outer side, forming stiff loops. Through these loops the tying strings, usually of white tapa, are passed.

The teeth were drilled through the root, and were attached as follows: A small bundle of fibers was released from every other cord on one half of the plait, threaded with beads and teeth, and its free end twisted into the corresponding cord on the opposite half of the plait. In almost all specimens both teeth and beads are used, each of the loops having six or more beads at each end and from 10 to 15 teeth in the middle. According to one informant, in ancient times small fish vertebrae were used instead of beads. In one specimen the beads are absent, the entire loop being threaded with teeth. It is evident that the twisting of the cords in the plait, the stringing of the loops, and the plaiting were carried on simultaneously.

In all the specimens examined, the teeth had apparently been drilled with metal tools. The perforations are remarkably small, and the teeth fit the cords on which they are strung so tightly that it is difficult to remove them even when the cords have been broken. Most, if not all, of the teeth used in these wreaths were obtained from the island of Ua Pou. An ordinary wreath contains from 1000 to 1500 teeth, and the demand evidently exceeded the supply, for several wreaths were seen which contained imitation teeth made of bone. A unique specimen, made entirely of bone, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *B*.

When not in use the wreath was straightened and a smooth rod, about half an inch in diameter was run through all the loops, between the teeth and the plaited band. The orna-

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292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in
237 several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they
321 were scoured with fine sand.

A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced
[177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kana*, the small discs, *kana momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*paraheua*) was usually attached to the center of the *packaha* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders
[177] met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

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lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhihana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of coconuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhihana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packaha*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American
237 museums were collected.
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The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taeuha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It
292 is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *peuhina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and
[302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Dress and Ornament

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and Tuoba but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	———	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on hair; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de- [769]
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approached only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 951

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley. 223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [423 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

Plants Cultivated

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

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241 Although bananas constituted a food of only secondary importance in the Marquesas, there were, according to Jardin (15, p. 49), twenty-six varieties that were diistinguished by the natives.

Sugar cane was planted in the vicinity of the houses. According to Jardin (15, p. 54) the natives distinguished seven varieties. The cane, according to this writer, was reserved for feast days when it was cut and carried in great bundles to the place of celebration and distributed among the assistants preparing the feast.

Kape (*Colocasia esculenta*) was cultivated to a slight extent. Kava (*Piper methysticum*) was planted and cultivated in patches. Krusenstern (16, p. 164) speaks of seeing plantations of *kava*. In some of the legends recorded, the *kava* plantations of chiefs are described as being far back in the valley. Such plantations were named. In recent times, *kava* has been grown mostly in the uplands, because at one time the French administration prohibited its use.

Ute (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) the bark of which was used for making cloth, was grown in picket enclosures near dwellings. It was planted for the new-born child in order to furnish him or her with the cloth necessary for the various rites to be performed and also in preparation for such festivals as those of tattooing or marriage. The stems were allowed to grow up to ten or twelve feet in height, all the shoots along the length of the stem being carefully removed in order that the bark might be as whole as possible (15, p. 48). According to Dordillon (9) the *ute* trees were allowed to grow to a height of eighteen or twenty feet. After attaining the desired height, the stems were cut down and the bark was prepared for the clothing making. (See Tapa Making.)

The staple food for the natives was made from the fruit of the breadfruit tree. Individuals owned trees in the vicinity of their houses and chiefs owned plantations of them. The planting of breadfruit trees was performed with great care, but as to ceremonial connected with it, I have no information. Young shoots had to be obtained from the earth near the base of the mother tree, and were handled with great care so as not to be bruised. A hole was then dug in the ground with the digging stick, the earth taken from it being broken up and softened. The hole was then lined with leaves, the young shoot was put in and soft earth filled in and trodden down around it. The top of the shoot was broken off, and the remaining stock was then wrapped in bark or leaves held with strips of bamboo tied in place to protect it from pigs; or else a small fence was built around it, the space between the fence and the plant being filled with leaves. Ten days after planting a shoot, the farmer would come to see if it were sprouting (9). Père Pierre (4) speaks of feasts connected with planting.

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The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

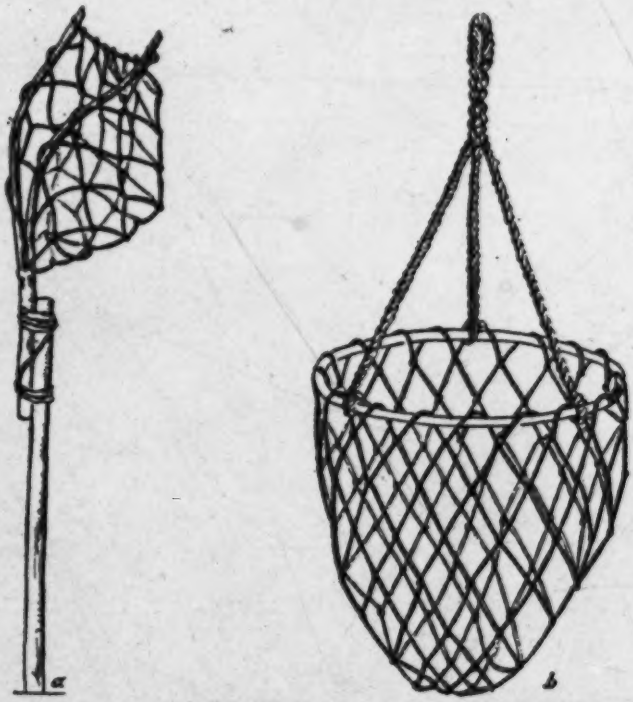

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

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241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pañiko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). [482] It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[12]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley 312 bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

[12] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1862 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

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general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

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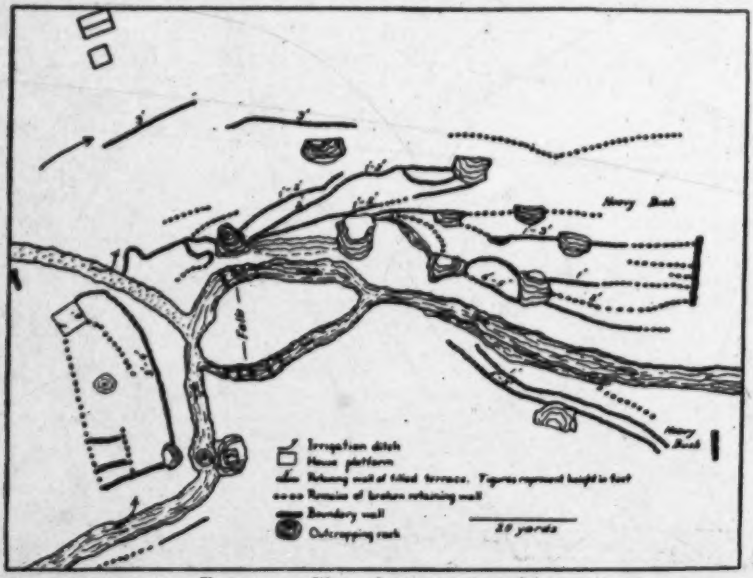

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[18]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

[18] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *ki'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain.

648 [241]

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

23 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the 241
papay.[1]

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, [251]
which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen.

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it 648
was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other.

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[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

[pp. 30-148 not processed.]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

131 648 [142] [231] 241

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 000 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 Having now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship,
648 which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zea-
241 lander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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243 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, tos, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
●241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [789]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*; and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

● 245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245 ●
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many ge- [773]
nerations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to [823]
mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they im- 167
pressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and [505]
water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Noosheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Noosheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 167 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276 employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272 into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263] and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272 several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278 held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245 scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674 front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter, cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ¾ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits.[1] They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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this sort could cut the population by a third.

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steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and 245
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

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ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¾ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ⅝ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

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Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, coconut oil scented with sandalwood. 302

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this purpose. In Hiva Oa this is called *cna*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *cka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *cna*, but it seems certain that the *cka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*cna*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it. 302 386 824 [249]

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says: 302

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house: they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *cna* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

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132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 [134] The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of all the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inaccessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [251] [262] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(oma)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 [784] [251] [417 284]

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The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

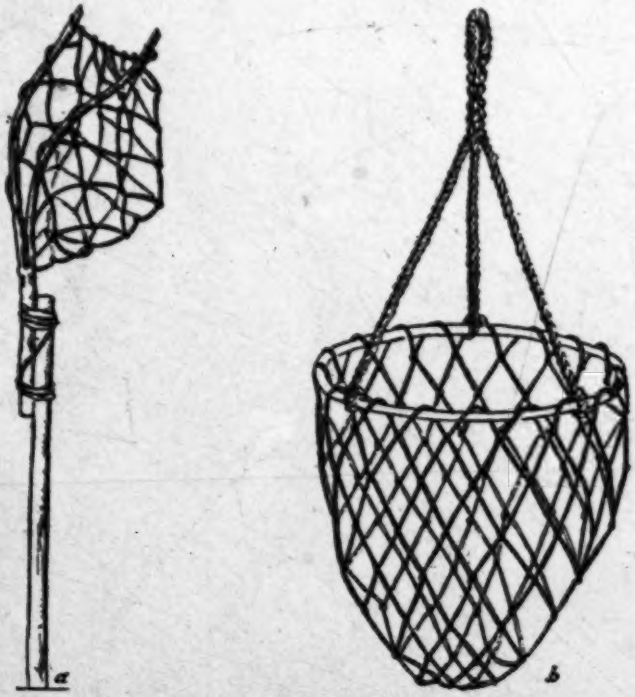

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

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staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *ki'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

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251 when the fruit is sufficiently tender,
252 the women peel it with the *pu kava*, a shell in which two sharp-edged
[412] holes have been filed, and lay it on a bed of fau leaves with a cover of leaves, to ripen further.

The next day, the flesh is so tender that it may be squeezed off the core with the hand. The cores are thrown away, the flesh is put into a temporary, shallow hole, lined with plaited coconut leaves and with banana leaves, or into a *hoa no te ma*, an above-ground basket of plaited coconut leaves attached to a circle of fau pegs driven into the earth (See Pl. v, *A*). Linton describes one of these in detail:

> These containers are made as follows: A number of small saplings are driven into the ground forming a circle four to six feet across. Inside these, mats woven from coconut fronds are placed in pairs so that the walls will be everywhere two or more mats thick. The midribs at the upper edges of the mats are attached to the saplings with strips of *fau* bark. Three tiers of mats are placed one above the other, giving the walls a height of about two feet. The bottom of the container is not covered Inside these mats, a thick layer of banana leaves is placed vertically, covering the floor and sides. The mat walls are called *puru*, the leaf lining *au meika ameika*.
>
> After the container has been filled with pieces of breadfruit, the ends of the leaves forming the inner lining are bent back so as to cover the top, and are weighted with large stones.

When the *mei* has been drained of some of its water in this temporary hole, and fermentation has started, it is transferred to the permanent silo, or *ma* pit.

For daily use, each family has its own *ma* hole. Pits were dug near the house with iron-wood sticks (*ko fenua*). Mr. Handy has seen one family *ma* pit, which was lined with stones; Krusenstern describes them as being paved with stones (16, p. 161); Dordillon gives the word *pakeko* or *pakeho*, to define a hole lined with masonry, in which to put fermented breadfruit; but the usual container seems to have had only earthen walls. High on the mountains, in ancient times, great tribal *ma* pits were dug for storage against famine. These tribal pits are no longer used, as a rule, though Mr. Handy has seen one at Hapa Toni, Tahu, Ata, containing *ma* a hundred years old, which is occasionally eaten at the present time. (See also 15, p. 47.)

Krusenstern also describes a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona valley on the way to Pua Ma'u, which is 15 feet deep on a side, and is at present 25 feet deep. It was formerly 15 feet deeper. The sides are of volcanic clay, with even, ornamental courses made with tools, running around in parallel rows, called *pauao*. The Ati-ku'a had five of these built on hill tops.

Linton says of these tribal pits:

> They are sometimes in or near the feast place, but are more often in the hills where they would be safe in case of attack. Some of them are of great size, the

[i.e., breadfruit.—Analyst]

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largest seen being in Tai-pi, Nuku Hiva, where there is a circular pit fifteen to twenty feet across and at least thirty feet deep. Ordinary household pits average four feet in diameter and three feet in depth and will contain *ma* enough to last the family for a year. 251 252

The *ma* pits are always dug in clay soil [Dordillon (8) gives *tiemo*, to plaster a silo with clay] and are never stone lined, although one or two tiers of stone may be laid around the top to keep earth from falling in. Household pits are round, but some of the large tribal pits are square and the walls of the latter are very smoothly dressed. The walls of one large pit near Po Au, in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, show regular series of broad, shallow, horizontal grooves, as though an effort had been made at decoration. Natives insist that the watertight clay soil is necessary for the preservation of the *ma* and for this reason the pits sometimes seen in house platforms could not have been used for regular storage.

Linton describes the filling of a *ma* silo as follows:

The pits are first lined with dry banana leaves (Pl. v, *B*) and then given a second lining of green banana leaves protruding about two feet beyond the hole all around. (Pl. v, *C*). The *ma* is placed in the hole in bulk, being tramped down from time to time [with the bare feet of the men, until it becomes a solid cake]. After the bottom has been filled, a layer of small mats made of two *ti* leaves pinned together [in three places with bits of the midrib of coconut leaves (*koniko*)] is placed around the sides of the hole longitudinally (Pl. v, *D*). These mats are called *papa o ti*, and are made especially for this purpose. [*Ti* leaves do not rot as quickly as others and hence are always chosen.] As the filling of the hole continues, additional tiers of mats are laid, the lower edges of each succeeding layer being tucked under the upper edges of the layer below. The hole is filled heaping full, and the mound is covered with two or three rows of *papa o ti* laid horizontally (Pl. vi, *A*), some short pieces of banana leaf being put on as a cap piece. The ends of the banana leaves lining the hole are then bent back over the mound, and the whole is covered with a litter of dry banana leaves (Pl. vi, *B*). A layer of large stones is laid over the whole, completing the operation.

The *mei* now becomes *ma*, and it may be said to keep almost indefinitely, the natives considering it improved with age. True, the earth mingles with its substance, it becomes darker and sourer, the *ti* leaves and the outer crust of the *ma* rot; but it is kept in what is considered good condition by adding layers of fresh *mei* (*tii moto i te ma*—8) by digging out the center, throwing away the crust, and adding fresh *ti* leaves. *Ma tahito*, which is considered the best, is about ten years old and is dark brown in color. The *ma* on the different islands varies according to the species of breadfruit and the composition of the soil in which the trees are grown. Nuku Hiva *ma* has the reputation of being very dark and very sour, that of Ua Huka, of being white and not sour.

POPOI

Ma is never eaten plain as taken from the hole, but forms the base for *popoi ma* or *popoi mei*. *Popoi mei* is made during the season of abundance, but since the recipe for it includes *popoi ma*, it is better to treat both 252

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DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kao'e* or *ko'ghua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakovo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea [263] water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with [222] *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

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I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas. 252

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku*, but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower, smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women. [251]

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa*. The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uka*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E iha mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some- [846] [251]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation —boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio*, which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tia*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi*. Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi*. Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi*. The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'aku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

Bananas.—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Some- [251] times they are preserved by drying. Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

251 415

A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

251 252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fan poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fan poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

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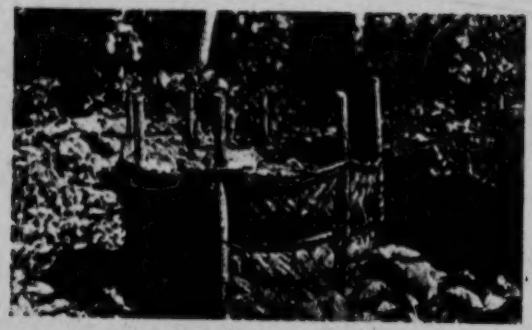
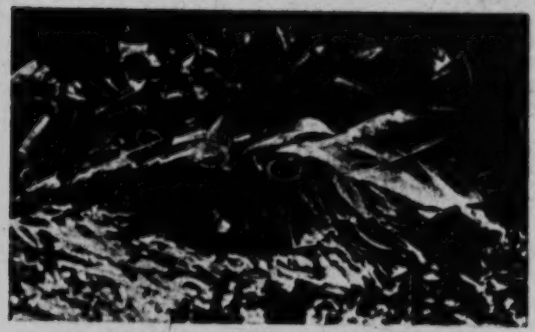
415



A



B

C

D

THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 5]

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

251
252

A B C D

THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKEI MEI PA'A.
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 6]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the 241
papay.[1]

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, [251]
which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit
covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but
each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste.
Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast
and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen.

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear
to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard
and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the
rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened.
It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of
them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and
some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell.
As our people did not go inland, and all the natives
retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that
can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees
appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it 648
was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what
was their intention. For we did not understand them;
and to this may be attributed the evil things that hap-
pened, which might have been avoided if there had been
some one to make us understand each other.

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[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

[pp. 30-148 not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou;* Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme;* Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka;* and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

[713] [823] 167 [505]

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *pacpac* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *pacpac* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group. 342 [251]

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *pacpac*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures. 342 333

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *pacpac*, but a few *pacpac* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *pacpac*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor. 342

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details. 342 335 [824]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling.
No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately
and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection
with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

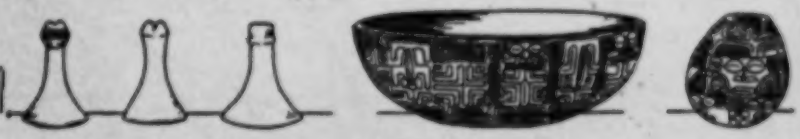
1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
● 252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
378 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415 531]



a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nana ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[1] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished . [776] [225]

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned. [252]

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[2]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

TURTLE FISHING

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In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[1] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[2] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological references; the most important god addressed is Tenaua, god of the sea and fishing.

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staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *ton motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *hi'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

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251 When the fruit is sufficiently tender,
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the women peel it with the *pu hava*, a shell in which two sharp-edged holes have been filed, and lay it on a bed of fau leaves with a cover of leaves, to ripen further.

The next day, the flesh is so tender that it may be squeezed off the core with the hand. The cores are thrown away, the flesh is put into a temporary, shallow hole, lined with plaited coconut leaves and with banana leaves, or into a *hoa so te ma*, an above-ground basket of plaited coconut leaves attached to a circle of fau pegs driven into the earth (See Pl. v, *A*). Linton describes one of these in detail:

> These containers are made as follows: A number of small saplings are driven into the ground forming a circle four to six feet across. Inside these, mats woven from coconut fronds are placed in pairs so that the walls will be everywhere two or more mats thick. The midriba at the upper edges of the mats are attached to the saplings with strips of *fau* bark. Three tiers of mats are placed one above the other, giving the walls a height of about two feet. The bottom of the container is not covered Inside these mats, a thick layer of banana leaves is placed vertically, covering the floor and sides. The mat walls are called *pava*, the leaf lining *ao meiha ameiha*.
>
> After the container has been filled with pieces of breadfruit, the ends of the leaves forming the inner lining are bent back so as to cover the top, and are weighted with large stones.

When the *mei* has been drained of some of its water in this temporary hole, and fermentation has started, it is transferred to the permanent silo, or *ma* pit.

For daily use, each family has its own *ma* hole. Pits were dug near the house with iron-wood sticks (*ko fenua*). Mr. Handy has seen one family *ma* pit, which was lined with stones; Krusenstern describes them as being paved with stones (16, p. 161); Dordillon gives the word *pakeko* or *pakeho*, to define a hole lined with masonry, in which to put fermented breadfruit; but the usual container seems to have had only earthen walls. High on the mountains, in ancient times, great tribal *ma* pits were dug for storage against famine. These tribal pits are no longer used, as a rule, though Mr. Handy has seen one at Hapa Toni, Tahu, Ata, containing *ma* a hundred years old, which is occasionally eaten at the present time. (See also 15, p. 47.)

Krusenstern also describes a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona valley on the way to Pua Ma'u, which is 15 feet deep on a side, and is at present 25 feet deep. It was formerly 15 feet deeper. The sides are of volcanic clay, with even, ornamental courses made with tools, running around in parallel rows, called *pouao*. The Ati-ku'a had five of these built on hill tops.

Linton says of these tribal pits:

> They are sometimes in or near the feast place, but are more often in the hills where they would be safe in case of attack. Some of them are of great size, the

a [i.e., breadfruit.—Analyst]

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largest seen being in Taipi, Nuku Hiva, where there is a circular pit fifteen to twenty feet across and at least thirty feet deep. Ordinary household pits average four feet in diameter and three feet in depth and will contain *ma* enough to last the family for a year. 251 252

The *ma* pits are always dug in clay soil [Dordillon (8) gives *tiema*, to plaster a silo with clay] and are never stone lined, although one or two tiers of stone may be laid around the top to keep earth from falling in. Household pits are round, but some of the large tribal pits are square and the walls of the latter are very smoothly dressed. The walls of one large pit near Po Au, in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, show regular series of broad, shallow, horizontal grooves, as though an effort had been made at decoration. Natives insist that the watertight clay soil is necessary for the preservation of the *ma* and for this reason the pits sometimes seen in house platforms could not have been used for regular storage.

Linton describes the filling of a *ma* silo as follows:

The pits are first lined with dry banana leaves (Pl. v, *B*) and then given a second lining of green banana leaves protruding about two feet beyond the hole all around. (Pl. v, *C*). The *ma* is placed in the hole in bulk, being tramped down from time to time [with the bare feet of the men, until it becomes a solid cake]. After the bottom has been filled, a layer of small mats made of two *ti* leaves pinned together [in three places with bits of the midrib of coconut leaves (*honito*)] is placed around the sides of the hole longitudinally (Pl. v, *D*). These mats are called *papa o ti*, and are made especially for this purpose. [*Ti* leaves do not rot as quickly as others and hence are always chosen.] As the filling of the hole continues, additional tiers of mats are laid, the lower edges of each succeeding layer being tucked under the upper edges of the layer below. The hole is filled heaping full, and the mound is covered with two or three rows of *papa o ti* laid horizontally (Pl. vi, *A*), some short pieces of banana leaf being put on as a cap piece. The ends of the banana leaves lining the hole are then bent back over the mound, and the whole is covered with a litter of dry banana leaves (Pl. vi, *B*). A layer of large stones is laid over the whole, completing the operation.

The *mei* now becomes *ma*, and it may be said to keep almost indefinitely, the natives considering it improved with age. True, the earth mingles with its substance, it becomes darker and sourer, the *ti* leaves and the outer crust of the *ma* rot; but it is kept in what is considered good condition by adding layers of fresh *mei* (*tii moto i te ma*—8) by digging out the center, throwing away the crust, and adding fresh *ti* leaves. *Ma tahito*, which is considered the best, is about ten years old and is dark brown in color. The *ma* on the different islands varies according to the species of breadfruit and the composition of the soil in which the trees are grown. Nuku Hiva *ma* has the reputation of being very dark and very sour, that of Ua Huka, of being white and not sour.

POPOI

Ma is never eaten plain as taken from the hole, but forms the base for *popoi ma* or *popoi mei*. *Popoi mei* is made during the season of abundance, but since the recipe for it includes *popoi ma*, it is better to treat both 252

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252 dishes here. The *ma*, almost like clay, is dug out of its hole, carried to the house in a bowl, and placed on the *hoaka* or long, wooden trough to be kneaded. If it is very old and hard, it must be softened with water. Indeed throughout the preparation of *popoi*, water as a lubricant is used so freely as to become an important ingredient. When it is kneaded into a soft dough, it is wrapped in small packages, enveloped in fau leaves and tied with the bark. Today these packages are boiled in water in kerosene cans or large iron pots, but it is the earth oven in which they were originally baked, that we should include in this description.

354 252 [415]

The average oven is a hole dug in the ground, about two feet deep, three feet wide, and four feet long. In the bottom of it is placed the firewood (*vehie*), and on top of this, stones deeply pitted, which do not burst with heat. Fire was made originally by rubbing a small stick along a groove in a larger stick. (See description under The Dwelling, The Cook House.) In this oven (*umu*) the stones are heated thoroughly, part of them then removed with a *kipo* (which is a kind of long-handled dipper made with a stick passed through a coconut shell), or with the *koke mei* (tongs of two sticks bound together with fau bark which, as its name indicates, is primarily designed to lift roasted *mei* from the fire.) A thin layer of earth is spread over the remaining stones, their heat tested by the bare foot of the cook; the packages of *ma* are put in on a criss-cross of green guava sticks or petioles of fau leaves, to keep them from burning; the remaining stones are heaped about the packages, and the whole is covered with fresh *mi'o* leaves and then overlaid with earth.

252 *Ma* is tested like cake, by thrusting a small stick into a package to see if the dough still adheres to the stick. When it does not, the *ma* is cooked. The packages (*koumu*, Hiva Oa, *vahima*, Nuku Hiva—8) are taken out of the oven and unwrapped; the *ma* is placed on the kneading trough and pounded into a smooth paste with the stone *popoi* pounder (*kea tuki popoi*). It is pounded when hot preferably, since fermentation follows quickly when it is pounded cold and the *ma* does not keep so well. After pounding, it is again wrapped in leaf packages and kept until needed. In time it collects maggots and must be washed in salt water before being eaten, but it keep this way for some time.

It is this *popoi ma* which is mixed with the fresh breadfruit to make *popoi mei*. The fresh breadfruit has been ripened with a green guava stick and is now roasted on a wood fire. The blackened and charred skin is peeled off, the core removed, and the flesh mixed with water and pounded on the board until quite soft. Then a hole is scooped in the middle of the white *mei*, the brown *ma* is taken from its package and put into it, the two are kneaded together, with the constant addition of water to make

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the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. 252 The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily. [853]

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions 264 for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 362).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and 252 they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

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252 satisfies hunger for so long a period that it was often eaten on long voyages (14, p. 142).

The preparation of the coconut milk for this and other dishes proceeds as follows: Coconut flesh is grated on a low wooden stool with a long neck on the end of which are iron teeth, but in ancient times a sharp shell was used instead. Moistened in water, the grated flesh is caught up in a *tauaka* and the milk squeezed out. The *tauaka* is an ingenious manufacture, an excelsior-like substance made by flattening the stalks of the reed called *mouku* between two sticks, and then shredding it under water, so as to wash out all the gluey sap. When it is balled up, it becomes a kind of coarse cloth, excellent for straining out the milk from the coconut flesh.

Melville's appreciative description of the whole process (23, p. 132) should be included here:

> There is one form, however, in which the fruit is occasionally served, that renders it a dish fit for a king. As soon as it is taken from the fire the exterior is removed, the core extracted, and the remaining part is placed in a sort of shallow stone mortar, and briskly worked with the pestle of the same substance. While one person is performing this operation, another takes a ripe coconut and breaking it in half, which they also do very cleverly, proceeds to grate the juicy meat into fine particles. This is done by means of a piece of mother-of-pearl shell, lashed firmly to the extreme end of a heavy stick, with its straight side accurately notched like a saw. The stick is sometimes a grotesquely-formed limb of a tree with three or four branches twisting from its body like so many shapeless legs, and sustaining it two or three feet from the ground.
>
> The native, first placing a calabash beneath the nose, as it were, of his curious-looking log-steed, for the purpose of receiving the grated fragments as they fall, mounts astride of it as if it were a hobby-horse, and twirling the inside of one of his hemispheres of coconut around the sharp teeth of the mother-of-pearl shell, the pure white meat falls in snowy showers into the receptacle provided. Having obtained a quantity sufficient for his purpose, he places it in a bag made of the net-like fibrous substance attached to all coconut trees, and compressing it over the breadfruit—which being now sufficiently pounded, is put into a wooden bowl,—extracts a thick, creamy milk. The delicious liquid soon bubbles round the fruit, and leaves it at last just peeping above its surface.
>
> This preparation is called "kokoo," and a most luscious preparation it is. The hobby-horse and the pestle and mortar were in great requisition during the time I remained in the house of Marheyo, and Kory-Kory had frequent occasion to show his skill in their use.

Makiko or *ma pou*.—Another dish that utilizes the fast ripening *mei* is *makiko* (northern name) or *ma pou* (southern name). At present, it is made in the following manner: The breadfruit (*mei*) is picked one day, ripening the next with the aid of a guava stick piercing it; peeled and cored the next day. The ripe flesh is then kneaded in a bowl with coconut milk, until of the consistency of soft dough, when it is wrapped in small packages in fau leaves and tied with a strip of the bark. The packages are baked for an hour in the usual way in the earth oven, when they are

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removed and eaten immediately. I am told that the truer native process of *makiko* is to ripen the breadfruit by digging a hole about two inches long in the fruit, where the stem has been knocked off, and filling it with the juice and pounded leaves of the *papa vahana* (*Phaseolus amoenus*). The breadfruit (*mei*) is left standing on end, so that the juice runs down the core and ripens the flesh. When it is thoroughly ripe, the skin may be peeled off with the fingers. After kneading the flesh and removing all the lumps, it is mixed with cooked *ma*. The whole is wrapped in *ti* leaves in long bundles and baked in the usual oven. *Makiko* is often fed to new-born children. 252

Feikai mei.—In the old days Marquesans seem not to have been very fond of sweets—nor indeed of any marked seasonings for that matter. The *feikai mei*, however, which they make today and have made for some time, utilizes the honey of bees and seems distinctly to take its place as a dessert, though the natives make a meal of it when they eat it. The milk is squeezed from the grated flesh of about forty coconuts and mixed with sufficient honey to turn the liquid a rich brown. Meanwhile, about thirty breadfruit have been roasted on the wood fire, peeled of their charred skins, and wrapped in fau leaves to keep them hot. Baskets of coconut leaves, about two and a half feet deep by a foot and a half in diameter, are plaited and lined with banana leaves, those of the *meika mao'i* (one of the native bananas) being the best. It should be explained that these leaves are always laid across the hot coals for a short while to scorch and temper them, and after the midribs are shaved thin the leaves are as pliable as rubber. Into these baskets, layer by layer, is laid the flesh of the breadfruit, broken away from the hearts (which are of course thrown away), and gradually the mixture of coconut milk and honey is added until each basket is filled. A few taro, halved or quartered, are placed on top, and the whole is covered with a banana leaf tied tightly around the mouth of the basket. The baskets are placed in the oven and left for about six hours. When removed, the confection is hard, and covered with a coagulated sweet sauce. [263]

Feikai vaihopu.—Slightly different is the making of the *feikai vaihopu*, also a confection of the *mei* picking time—there are local variations of method in Nuku Hiva. After the breadfruit has been picked and left three days, until the skin can be stripped off with the fingers, the flesh is put in *fau* bark (*apoa*) to ripen, the gluey sap of the bark penetrating the flesh and coloring it a beautiful brown. When soft and ripe it is mixed with coconut milk, and put in square-meshed nets made of green fau bark. These are about two feet deep and a foot and half in diameter and are lined with banana leaves. When they are full, they are pulled up at the

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252 mouth with strips of the fau bark and are hung on green poles across a trench in the ground, three or four feet deep and sometimes long enough to accommodate twenty nets of *feikai*. For many hours large fire-wood has been burning in the trench, and there is now a hot bed of stones in the bottom. These are covered with green sticks, leaves, and a layer of earth. Across the trench are placed the poles with their burden of nets hanging just so as to escape the covered stones. The *feikai vaihopu* is steamed all night under a cover of leaves and earth and bark. When it is taken out, the coconut is all absorbed, except for a coating of sweet, curdled sauce called *kahikahi*. *Feikai* will keep for days in an unopened basket, but must be eaten at once when opened. In Atu Ona, this *feikai* is called *feikai mei pa'a*. Mr. Linton watched the process there and described it as follows (in words and pictures):

Making *feikai* is an elaborate process requiring six days as a minimum. In pre-preparing it, small breadfruit, although apparently not of any special species, are pierced at the stem end with a bamboo, the fragment being broken off in the hole. These pierced breadfruit are then placed in special containers made by removing the bark from a fau log about eight inches in diameter, allowing it to keep its original form. These bark troughs are then lined with fern and the breadfruit laid in them in a single line, (Pl. VI, *C*) the bark being bent back and tied with numerous strings in such a way as to form a closed tube(Pl. VI, *D*). The breadfruits are left in this tube for four days, by the expiration of which time they have become so soft that they are easily peeled and the pulp can be separated from the core with the fingers.

In the meanwhile, several holes about eighteen inches in diameter and a foot deep, have been dug, and these are now lined with a layer of fau leaves. Within the fau leaves, four *ti* (*Cordyline australis*) leaves, tied in pairs by the tip, are laid so that they form a cross, and over these, three or four sections from the center of banana leaves. The banana leaves are wilted before use, to give greater flexibility, and a piece of the midrib about five inches long is left protruding at either end. The successive linings of the hole provide a bucket-like container, and in this is placed the pulp of three or four breadfruit, depending on their size, and about a quart of water. To this is then added sweet juice made by grating and squeezing the kernels of sprouted coconuts and a little coconut meat (Pl. VII, *A*). The ends of the *ti* and banana leaves are then brought up together and tied with a long strip of fau bark, whose ends are twisted together above the hole (Pl. VII, *B*) and attached by means of the rope to a second similar bundle, the pair being hung on a pole supported some distance above the ground (Pl. VII, *C*). Occasionally, a single pair of *ti* leaves is used instead of the four, and there are individual differences in the tying, that enable the owners to identify their bundles in the large oven.

[354] The bundles are cooked in an unusually elaborate earth oven. These ovens are generally used in common by several families, all of whom assist in their construction. The largest seen was over ten feet in diameter and about three feet in depth, and would hold one hundred bundle of *feikai*. The oven is filled with a mixture of large stones and logs, and a fire kept going for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time the boulders are red-hot. The stones and the embers are then raked out, and the oven is lined with an even layer of hot stones, which are covered with a layer of moist earth about three inches thick. A number of peeled *fau* logs six to eight inches in diameter, are then laid across the depression, and the bundles, in pairs, are hung across these so that their weight is partly supported by them (Pl. VII, *D*). Immediately above the logs a single layer of unpeeled fau poles, about an

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inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). 252 Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours.

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an 853 ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by 252 piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth.

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were 252 weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the bread- 862 fruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies.

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DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *pópoi kao'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* [263] Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with [222] *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas. 252

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku,* but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower,smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women. [251]

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa.* The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uka*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E ika mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some- [846] [251]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'ā* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation —boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio*, which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tia*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi*. Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi*. Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi*. The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'áku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

Bananas.—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Sometimes they are preserved by drying. [251] Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles [*ama*]. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time they are taken out perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour. 252

Certain other fruits, besides bananas, were eaten raw: a very juicy, sweet apple called *kehia* (*Eugenia jambosa*); a native pineapple (*fa'a noka*); the *katiu*, a kind of melon; the *maii* (*Terminalia* sp.), the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*), and *Papaya carica*, which is also called *vi* by the natives. The papaya was also cooked. Uncut and unpeeled, it was wrapped in *fau* leaves, and left for two hours in the earth oven, after which it was peeled and mashed in a bowl with coconut milk.

There is no doubt that the constantly feared famine days often came to the Marquesas, when the great *ma* holes on the mountains were opened and their contents partitioned among the families; when *ma* was made of abortive breadfruit, even of their skins and cores which were ordinarily thrown away; when *fau* leaves and the roots of the tree-fern (*tukuu*) were baked in the oven; when wild yams (*puauhi*) were given a quick five-minute roasting in dry leaves on hot coals; when *ti* roots were baked for a long time in an oven with a very hot fire of large wood, then peeled, and chewed for the juice, which is rich and thick like maple syrup; when the kernels in the pandanus made into a paste (15, p. 51) and the small fruits of the fern *pu'u manini* or *moina* were eaten. 252 261

But sooner or later the *tou motua* (eldest breadfruit children)—the first fruits—appeared again; another bread fruit season opened, and the rotation of cookery started again.

ADDITIONAL CULINARY TERMS

Some of the terms relating to food, given by Dordillon (8) may be suggestive: *iaia*, little balls of *ma* not well ground; *kaeo*, to cut breadfruit and extract the heart; *kereuu*, *popoi* not diluted with water, not ready to eat; *ko*, to knead breadfruit with the hand; *mei kotoa*, breadfruit dried by the sun; *oomu*, cooked many times; *nahi*, small package of leaves; *pope*, package of coarse *ma*; *pihueu*, to salt meat to preserve it; *pokii*, small package in leaves; *puihi*, dish of native chestnuts; *taahu*, cooked on one side only; *tihuru i tihuu*, to salt meat; *tikohi*, to take out the stones from a hot oven to put in the *ma*; *tiohu*, wrapped in leaves; *tiumu*, small pack- 252

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 age of *ma; tipo,* to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma,* to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *toueva,* small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoo,* to put coconut milk on *popoi.*

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava,* being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak [266] in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

251 415

A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

251 252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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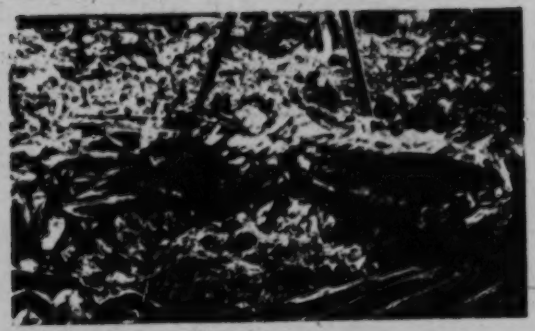

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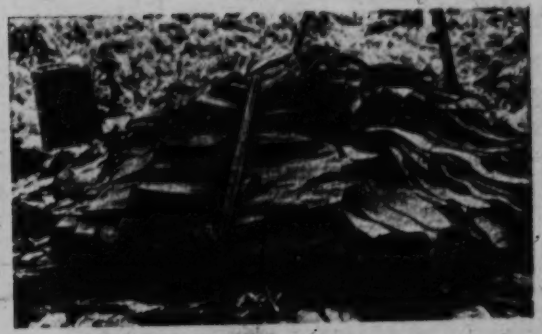

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THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKEI MÉI PA'A.
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 6]

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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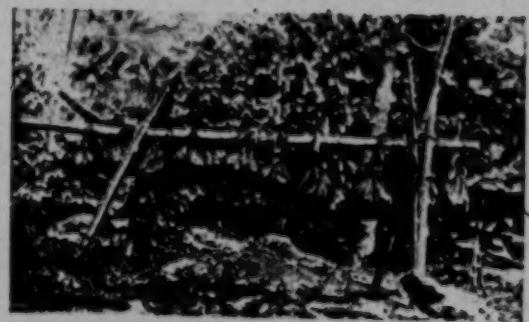

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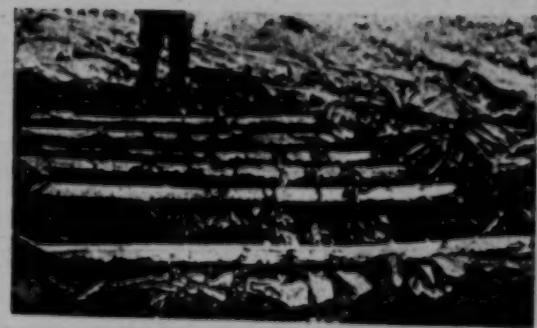

D

THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 7]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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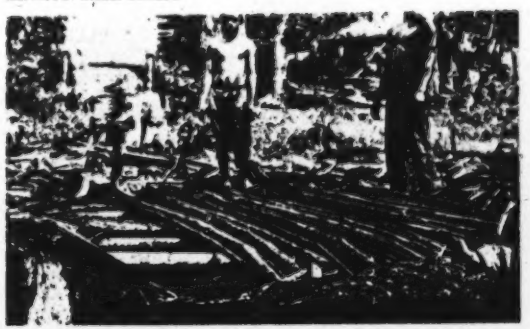

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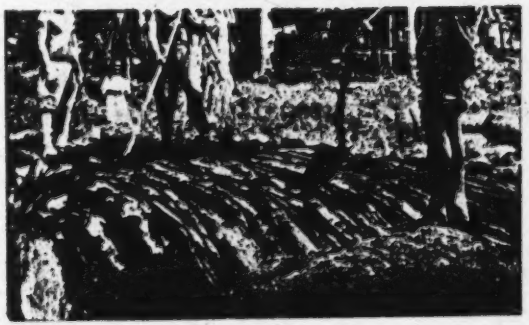

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THE PREPARATION OF FEIKÁI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 8]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 167 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

● 252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Carpé. This root is about three feet long. The greater part of it grows out of the ground. It takes twelve months to ripen, and is made into puddings, or prepared like yams. 1804. May. 137 [250]

Hoé. A kind of wild potatoe, which has a bitter taste, and affords but little nourishment. It is only used by the islanders in times of famine. [731]

Titou. A root that grows wild in the fields, and resembles our turnip.

Togoogoo. A root of the size of a cocoa-nut without its husk: when boiled, it turns to a sort of pudding. [252]

There is only one species of salad herb on the island, that is calculated for the table. It is called *emahé*, and considerably resembles our field-mustard.

Knowing from experience how necessary the language of a country is to a person who travels in it, especially where no assistance can be obtained, except what some lucky chance may present, as, for instance, our interpreter Roberts; I endeavoured to collect as many words and sentences of the language of this island as possible, which I shall give in the Appendix, in the hope of their being useful to future navigators. 000

During our stay at Tayohaia, I could make no observations on shore: however, having taken a great many lunar distances the day before our arrival at the island of Noocahiva, we were enabled to lay down with great precision the island of Motané. 131

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *mà* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or *umu*. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

415 The *popoi* trough is usually made from breadfruit wood. An average specimen is 5 feet long and 16 inches wide, with square ends, straight sides, and a rounded lower and slightly ex-
● 252 cavated upper surface. In new specimens the depth of the hollow rarely exceeds 1½ inches but in old specimens it may be as much as 3 inches deep in the center, due to wear. In one very old *popoi* trough, evidently made with stone tools, the interior had been hollowed with fire. The dimensions of individual *popoi* troughs vary considerably, but those used in Nuku Hiva are on the whole shorter and broader than those used in the southern islands.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING COCONUTS

412 Coconuts rank next to breadfruit in the Marquesan dietary, but they seem to have been somewhat less important in pre-European times. They are
252 gathered by hand, without special appliances. The first step in their preparation is to remove the thick husk. This is done by means of a pointed stake, about two inches in diameter, which is fixed rigidly in the ground, point up. To husk the nut it is grasped in both hands, struck sharply upon the point of the stake, and twisted away from it, removing a sliver of the husk, the process being repeated until only the inner shell remains. The process appears easy, but it calls for a considerable skill in manipulation. Nuts are usually husked where gathered, to avoid carrying unnecessary weight.

Nuts other than the thinnest shelled drinking nuts are opened by a few sharp blows of a stone given along the line of greatest diameter, an expert being able to break a nut into two almost equal halves in this way. The water in the cavity of old nuts is thrown away, and the flesh itself, rarely eaten, is grated to extract the milk. Coconut graters vary considerably in the details of form, but are all made upon a single principle.

The graters consist of a stool, or seat of some sort, from one end of which an arm projects more or less horizontally. At the end of the arm the actual scraper is fastened. In ancient times this consisted of a piece of rough coral, or of a strip of shell with the upper edge cut into teeth. Much care is expended upon the seat portion of some of these scrapers, which appears the more remarkable as the furniture of a Marquesan home rarely includes stools or other raised seats. To use the scraper the workman places himself astride the seat, and rubs the nut rapidly over the end of the arm, with a downward and outward motion. A bowl placed below catches the fragments of meat as they fall. When a sufficient quantity of the grated meat has collected, water is added and the whole mixed to a paste.

A strainer is then brought into play to separate the milk from the meat.

This strainer is nothing more than a thick bundle of fiber, about one foot in length and two to three inches in diameter, which is spread out and drawn across the bowl toward the workman, gathering up part of the paste. The ends of the strainer are then twisted in opposite directions, enclosing the paste, and the whole lifted from the bowl and wrung out, the liquid expressed falling back in the bowl. The dry meat remaining in the strainer is thrown away and the process repeated until only a thick creamy white fluid remains in the bowl. Two species of fiber are used for strainers, the commoner is that from the husk of the coconut. The finer strain-
[824] ers are made from the fibers of the stem of a long-leaves plant, which in leaf form and habit of growth resembles large garlic, and from a reference in Jardin (33) is probably *Cyperus macrolema*. No attempt is made to separate the fiber from the substance, the stems are simply split into long strips. (This fiber is also commonly employed for kava strainers, but there is a con-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ⅜ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
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and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291
of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264
so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515
in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252
a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231
that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231
hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when 200
land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

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The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles [*ama*]. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time they are taken out perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour. 252

Certain other fruits, besides bananas, were eaten raw: a very juicy, sweet apple called *kehia* (*Eugenia jambosa*); a native pineapple (*fa'a noka*); the *katiu*, a kind of melon; the *maii* (*Terminalia* sp.), the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*), and *Papaya carica*, which is also called *vi* by the natives. The papaya was also cooked. Uncut and unpeeled, it was wrapped in *fau* leaves, and left for two hours in the earth oven, after which it was peeled and mashed in a bowl with coconut milk.

There is no doubt that the constantly feared famine days often came to the Marquesas, when the great *ma* holes on the mountains were opened and their contents partitioned among the families; when *ma* was made of abortive breadfruit, even of their skins and cores which were ordinarily thrown away; when *fau* leaves and the roots of the tree-fern (*tukuu*) were baked in the oven; when wild yams (*puauhi*) were given a quick five-minute roasting in dry leaves on hot coals; when *ti* roots were baked for a long time in an oven with a very hot fire of large wood, then peeled, and chewed for the juice, which is rich and thick like maple syrup; when the kernels in the pandanus made into a paste (15, p. 51) and the small fruits of the fern *pu'u manini* or *moina* were eaten. 252 261

But sooner or later the *tou motua* (eldest breadfruit children)—the first fruits—appeared again; another bread fruit season opened, and the rotation of cookery started again.

ADDITIONAL CULINARY TERMS

Some of the terms relating to food, given by Dordillon (8) may be suggestive: *iaia*, little balls of *ma* not well ground; *kaeo*, to cut breadfruit and extract the heart; *kereuu*, *popoi* not diluted with water, not ready to eat; *ko*, to knead breadfruit with the hand; *mei kotoa*, breadfruit dried by the sun; *oomu*, cooked many times; *nahi*, small package of leaves; *pope*, package of coarse *ma*; *pihueu*, to salt meat to preserve it; *pokii*, small package in leaves; *puihi*, dish of native chestnuts; *taahu*, cooked on one side only; *tihuru i tihuu*, to salt meat; *tikohi*, to take out the stones from a hot oven to put in the *ma*; *tiohu*, wrapped in leaves; *tiumu*, small pack- 252

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796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

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261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was [721] in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [332]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; [134] and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [251] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of ● 262] breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered." 844

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used; but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house. [753]

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind. 846 [262] 833 846 [841]

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in 851

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
● 242 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made
by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut
milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before
suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutoi putona* (juices) come
out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very
early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation
of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means
of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its
skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
[602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the
father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have
it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According
to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and
another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog
was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry
presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all
the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee*
as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born
child. *Umouma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her
first child, *ovu ovu*, a present given a woman after her child had been
born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the
newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time
an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth
and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu.*

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u,* the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.) [769]

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[18]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

[18] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

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staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *ki'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

784 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman em-
778 bodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 *Tapu*, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to
784 certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his 142
countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing 648
their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived [262] [415]
they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head [142]
and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

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[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.
[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, 565 as I have before observed in describing 342 the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for [356] their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351 the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [287] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804. May.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes [264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, [266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

*304 262

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki* (*patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view 304x them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones [534] *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* [533] or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done [262] (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must 304x be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty- 177 five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de- [769]
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human
captive.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling.
No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately
and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection
with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe 847
pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the [824]
abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted.

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is 843
certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea).

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often re- [262]
quested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua).

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse [522]
during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby."

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease 844
the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative [656]
edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the [743]
Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives.

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

removed and eaten immediately. I am told that the truer native process of *makiko* is to ripen the breadfruit by digging a hole about two inches long in the fruit, where the stem has been knocked off, and filling it with the juice and pounded leaves of the *papa vahana* (*Phaseolus amoenus*). The breadfruit (*mei*) is left standing on end, so that the juice runs down the core and ripens the flesh. When it is thoroughly ripe, the skin may be peeled off with the fingers. After kneading the flesh and removing all the lumps, it is mixed with cooked *ma*. The whole is wrapped in *ti* leaves in long bundles and baked in the usual oven. *Makiko* is often fed to new-born children. 252

Feikai mei.—In the old days Marquesans seem not to have been very fond of sweets—nor indeed of any marked seasonings for that matter. The *feikai mei*, however, which they make today and have made for some time, utilizes the honey of bees and seems distinctly to take its place as a dessert, though the natives make a meal of it when they eat it. The milk is squeezed from the grated flesh of about forty coconuts and mixed with sufficient honey to turn the liquid a rich brown. Meanwhile, about thirty breadfruit have been roasted on the wood fire, peeled of their charred skins, and wrapped in fau leaves to keep them hot. Baskets of coconut leaves, about two and a half feet deep by a foot and a half in diameter, are plaited and lined with banana leaves, those of the *meika mao'i* (one of the native bananas) being the best. It should be explained that these leaves are always laid across the hot coals for a short while to scorch and temper them, and after the midribs are shaved thin the leaves are as pliable as rubber. Into these baskets, layer by layer, is laid the flesh of the breadfruit, broken away from the hearts (which are of course thrown away), and gradually the mixture of coconut milk and honey is added until each basket is filled. A few taro, halved or quartered, are placed on top, and the whole is covered with a banana leaf tied tightly around the mouth of the basket. The baskets are placed in the oven and left for about six hours. When removed, the confection is hard, and covered with a coagulated sweet sauce. [263]

Feikai vaihopu.—Slightly different is the making of the *feikai vaihopu*, also a confection of the *mei* picking time—there are local variations of method in Nuku Hiva. After the breadfruit has been picked and left three days, until the skin can be stripped off with the fingers, the flesh is put in *fau* bark (*apoa*) to ripen, the gluey sap of the bark penetrating the flesh and coloring it a beautiful brown. When soft and ripe it is mixed with coconut milk, and put in square-meshed nets made of green fau bark. These are about two feet deep and a foot and half in diameter and are lined with banana leaves. When they are full, they are pulled up at the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kao'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea [263] water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with [222] *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276 employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272 into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263] and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272 several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278 held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245 scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674 front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings. 531

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
193 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the
574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. 252
The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily. [853]

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions 264
for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 362).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and 252
they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and #15 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, 565 as I have before observed in describing 342 the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior [356] of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, 351 of the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [289] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
●[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
[266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[1] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[1] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291
of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins
like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of
the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264
so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515
in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252
a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231
that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had
been but that moment eating, without giving it the least
washing, or even washing their hands which were equally
dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231
hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem
to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and
fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when
land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer
approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected
together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923.OX6 Marquesas OX6

551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[547] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika [266] (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 421

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

628 tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge
721 unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward
[302] the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and
[266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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Treatment of Captives Taken in Raids

727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish.* Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu.* Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

Torture of Captives

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus-
[302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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252 age of *ma; tipo*, to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma*, to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *toueva*, small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoa*, to put coconut milk on *popoi*.

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava*, being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*haka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk [266] as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the 776 *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par- [481 ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each 526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human victims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that 266

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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796 266

seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415

I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

796 266 415 [482]

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

304 574

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721 This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766 its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782 deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837 women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585 with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583 session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes [264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, [266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 216 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 675

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal, but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a [824] large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *ηio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

415 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *huc po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

[266] This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and 245
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women 853
took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their [832]
breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; [514] they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child 865 doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum [276 or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, 261] observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was 854
under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, [176]
who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the 855
child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 266

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace [558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
727 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images
266 of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous [411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation —boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio,* which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tia*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi.* Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi.* Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi.* The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'aku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

Bananas.—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Some- [251] times they are preserved by drying. Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

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252 age of *ma; tipo,* to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma,* to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *toueva,* small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoo,* to put coconut milk on *popoi.*

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava,* being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*koko a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak [266] in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god. 272 [776] [755]

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lásting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas. [753]

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead. 527

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[i.e., Kava.—Analyst]

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796 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while
266 at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results.
[261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims.
[272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type
266 of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while
415 it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276 employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272 into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263] and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272 several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278 held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245 scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674 front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the house-
[793] hold. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
● 273] that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 897 864 [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 882 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

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were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411]
length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276]
intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276 employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272 into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263] and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272 several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278 held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245 scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674 front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

By far the most elaborate pipe seen was in the possession of Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. It is shaped like the bowl and fore-stem of an ordinary straight brier pipe, but has a tiki figure carved against the curve of the bowl in three-quarter round. (See Pl. XLIX, *D.*) The convention of this little figure is curious; the eyes are indicated by raised circles on either side of the head, and there is no distinct mouth or nose. A small beak-like projection at the bottom of the head, between the eyes, suggests that it may represent a bird. A hole has been drilled between the figure and the pipe bowl at about the level of the waist. This pipe is known to be very old and has been in the possession of a single family in Atu Ona for at least three generations. 276 532

BOWLS AND TRAYS

Stone bowls and trays are rare in the Marquesas, and the few specimens extant vary greatly in form and finish. The larger objects of this sort are usually quite crude. Some of the smaller bowls, on the other hand, show great skill in manufacture and are well finished and even decorated. 415 [324]

The largest object of this sort seen was a so-called tray which was built into the upper edge of a small platform in the *tohua* of Hutuhu'u, valley of Taipi-Vai, Nuku Hiva. It appeared to be a large fragment of a lava bubble which had been smoothed and slightly excavated on the inner surface, the outside being left rough. It was 3 feet, 6 inches long, with an average width of 2 feet, and an external depth of from 6 to 9 inches. Its form was likened by the natives to that of a canoe, a small natural projection at one end being pointed out as the prow, but the depression was really roughly rectangular. It is said that the bodies of victims who were to be eaten were laid upon this tray, but no other data could be obtained.

Another large bowl or tray of an altogether different form and use, was seen in the island of Tahu Ata. It apparently had been made from an oval water-worn bowlder, the outer surface left unworked. It was seen in the course of a visit so brief that exact measurements were impossible but the dimensions were approximately as follows: length 2 feet, 6 inches, width 20 inches, external depth 18 inches. The depression was circular, narrowing toward the bottom, and was about 14 inches in diameter and one foot deep. The rim was flat and rather carefully smoothed. Upon one end of the rim there was a cylindrical projection about 3 inches in diameter, and of the same height, which was said to be the base of a small tiki figure about one foot in height which was carved in one piece with the bowl. This little figure had been broken off and carried away many years ago. The bowl was built into the pavement of a large dwelling *paepae*, but informants were not certain that this was its original position. It

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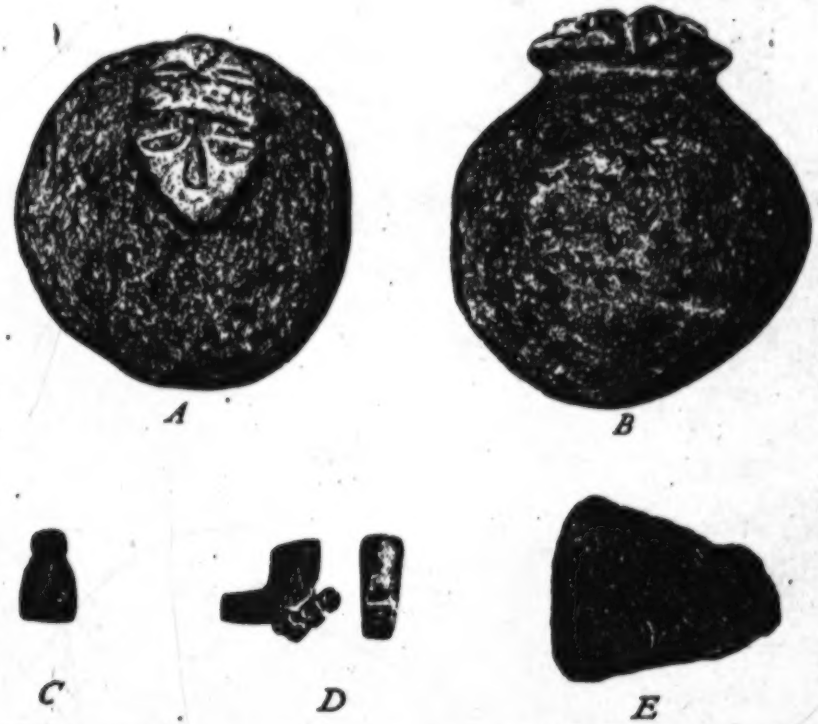

STONE ARTIFACTS AND OTHERS: *A*, TOP VIEW; *B*, SIDE VIEW OF CARVED SET SINKER (UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA); *C*, PIPE; *D*, EFFIGY PIPE, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *E*, FRAGMENT OF SCALLOPED BOWL.

End plate 10

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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226 captive, Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
846 cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
[602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounakoe* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[8] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[8] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

226 192 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
Aho. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Ausna. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Huitoe. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatie, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioe, kaimitito, kaimitiioe, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

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but one patient at a time. If a doctor stumbled when he was on his way to procure the materials used in making his medicine, he must turn back and start all over again. The hands of a doctor were *tapu* during the time that he was treating a patient, and he could not feed himself with them. Little is remembered today of the manner of professional practice, although natives still make use of some of their old remedies, most of them, however, like the rest of their culture, having been forgotten. Massage appears to have been little practised, though rheumatism was treated by rubbing with scented coconut oil. I understand that a great number of native remedies are recorded in a manuscript left by Père Pierre. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of examining this manuscript, which will, I hope, some day be published, as it would furnish students with what is certainly a far more complete study of native remedies than could possibly be made today. 755

A potion called *makiikaeva*, which seems to have been used to restore health or life to an invalid (*fainu no te menava*), was made up as follows: Two old coconuts were grated and squeezed, the inner bark of a *fau* tree bearing red flowers (*hau toto*) was mashed, three stalks of sugar-cane were pounded, five taro roots were grated and seven *noni* fruits were mashed. The potion pressed from this mixture was drunk without heating (9). 755 278

After a woman had given birth to a child, she ate a kind of fish called *koukape* with *tiaa*, hot breadfruit paste. A magical concept seems clearly to be the basis of this remedy, for *koukape* also means a membrane in the interior of the intestinal cavity (mesentery).

When a woman's breasts (*u*) were inflamed (*hehe*), the doctor applied to them three or four leaves of the *noni* and cut these in various places with a strip of bamboo, being careful not to touch the breasts (4).

When a person had bad eyes, the practitioner rolled a piece of cloth in a hollow pipe, at one end of which he held a light. The person whose eyes were afflicted looked through the roll of cloth at the light for healing.

Pueva appears to be a name that was applied on Nuku Hiva to various maladies of infants, supposed to result from the mother's having eaten or handled something harmful to the child during the period of her pregnanacy. The symptoms of *pueva* are described as manifesting themselves in anything from sores and itchings to noises in breathing. The remedy for such an affliction consisted in the mother's burning the article, or a part of the article, that was thought to have been the medium of the evil influence, and putting the ashes on the baby's tongue. In order to safeguard her coming child, a woman, therefore, saved a bit of everything that she ate during the whole time of her pregnancy. If, after its birth, the child developed *pueva*, these materials were at hand to be burned. If

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

155 278 she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita,* which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau,* and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua,* the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleeding did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

152 278 The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava.*

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

/26 cont./

rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption. 461

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.) 284 322 386 [283]

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In 283 322 [801]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women 226 would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the 283 large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *fi'o,* which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

226 When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, *a*).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti,* to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho,* outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna.*

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *kuaho,* was reserved for the women

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. [326] May. [313] Cogoo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[287] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[287] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string. 283 [624]

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tona* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them. [231]

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth [292]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 The cords of the large fish net (ty ene) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ka'aea* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber.
[824] This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the
[227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as
[534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Finished three plait cord is stored in long cylindrical rolls wound to give an ornamental effect. Many strand cord on the other hand is said to have been commonly wound in thin flat rolls like European tape. (See Pl. LXV, *B.*) 283

The only dyed coconut fiber cord collected was of the three strand variety, but it is probable that the more intricate plaits were also occasionally colored. All the specimens seen were reddish brown, tan or black, but red is mentioned in native stories and Stewart, a reliable authority, speaks of yellow and white sennit used in house lashings. The reddish brown and tan sennit appears to be natural. The Tongan method of deepening the color by baking, if originally known to the natives, has been forgotten. The lightest shade of tan sennit was made from fiber of the leaf sheath. Three methods of coloring the black sennit were described. 283 386

The bark of the *mai'i* tree was beaten up with stones and the juice squeezed into large wooden bowls. The finished sennit was then steeped in the juice for several days, until it became black. It was then removed and buried for three days in the mud of a taro patch, washed, and dried. A second method consisted of burying it in the mud for a longer period without the preliminary dyeing, while a third method consisted of rubbing the finished cord with a mixture of *ama* nut soot and water.

It seems probable that when mention is made to red sennit the darker shades of red brown are referred to, but at least some red sennit was made by painting the fiber, apparently after plaiting, with the seeds of the arnotto (*Bixa orellana*). Yellow sennit was colored with saffron, the cord probably being made from the light colored fiber of the leaf sheath. White sennit must, from the nature of the fiber, have been incrusted or painted rather than dyed, and it is quite possible that it was produced by rubbing the finished cord with a paste made from shell lime or from a fine white earth, extensive deposits of which occur in Nuku Hiva. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that fans were whitened in this way.

Although most Marquesan cordage was made from either fau bark or coconut fiber a number of other fiber plants were known and used. The most important of these seems to have been the pineapple. Pineapple fiber is still used for thread and for very small fish lines, and is prepared as follows: 283 824

The fresh green leaves are taken one by one, laid across a banana log, and scraped longitudinally with any sharp-edged instrument. The bowl of an ordinary metal spoon was seen used for this purpose. Continued scraping removes all the flesh of the leaf, leaving a few soft fibers which are then dried in the sun. The women convert these fibers into thread by rolling them upon the bare thigh with the palm of the hand. To make fish lines either two or three strands of this thread are twisted together, the finished line being passed rapidly through a flame to singe off the lint.

Banana fiber is said to have formerly been used for certain kinds of cord, but this material has not been employed for many years. To prepare the fiber,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 824 banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe* or string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amaenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amaenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *mauomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

284 177 A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cordage and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

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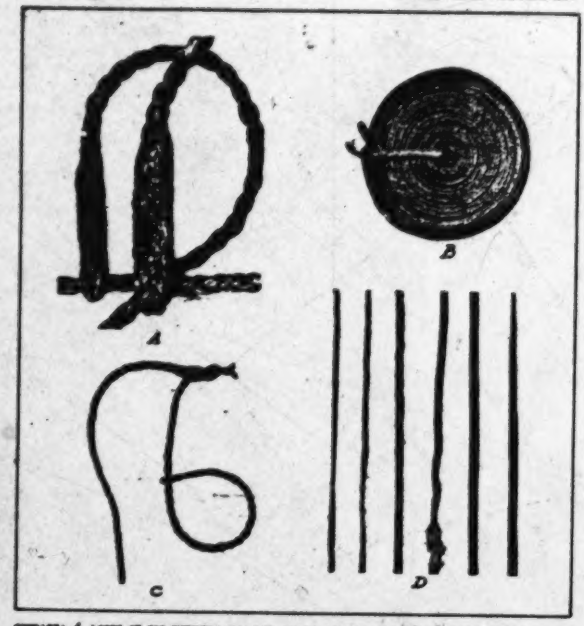

CORDAGE: *A*, LOOPS OF PIG TETHERS SHOWING KINDS OF PLAITING; *B*, ROLL OF CORD USED FOR SNARES; *C*, PIG TETHER OF FAU BARK; *D*, COCOANUT FIBER CORD.

[end plate 26]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of *304 262 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MARQUESAN DECORATIVE DESIGNS

INTRODUCTION

*531 Marquesan culture shows a curious disharmony in the development and application of decorative designs. There is a very low development of the textile arts and almost no use of decorative designs in connection with them. Marquesan baskets are unornamented, and the mats when decorated at all show only the simplest checkerwork design used as a border pattern. The ceremonial staves used by the chiefs have a band of fabric at the top made of brown sennit decorated with black hair. The designs on them are mostly simple block arrangements although one staff examined showed series of conventionalized animals probably intended as representations of lizards (Pl. 1, *a*).

The Marquesans did not decorate their tapa as did the Hawaiians, Samoans, Fijians, and in fact most other Polynesians, although in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum there is a single wooden object with a covering of tapa fitted like a glove and decorated with designs common in wood-carving. The designs on this object were painted on the tapa probably because this material afforded a better surface than the wood. The primary purpose was to decorate the figure, not the tapa. It is difficult to understand why the same technique was not employed in decorating tapa used for wearing apparel and bedding.

Although deficient in the art of decorating textiles, the Marquesans developed to a high degree forms of ornamental lashing, carving in stone and wood, and tattooing.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

*531 284 The Marquesans made rather an extensive use of ornamental lashings to serve utilitarian purposes. The timbers forming the framework of houses were held together by lashings, the parts of drums were lashed together, stone tools when hafted had to be lashed, and the lashings for these and for other purposes were usually ornamental. The material used [283] was a flat plaited sennit dyed brown, reddish brown, black, more rarely yellow or bleached white; two colors were commonly used in a single lashing. Few of these ornamental sennit lashings are in existence. Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition were fortunate in obtaining photographs of two forms used in the construction of a house, and several drums in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum display a third form. One of the lashings has the appearance of a series of concentric elipses. Another shows diagonal lines coming from two directions crossing and interweaving in the center, the whole bounded on two sides by parallel vertical lines. This design can be almost duplicated in the carving on the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 784 [251] [417 284]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption.

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.)

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the coconut shell also.

Over the seams between the sideboards and the hull, both inside and outside, were strips made of wood or bamboo (*teka, vaho, teka oto, ta'i, patua*). Caulking of the seams at this place and at the point of attachment of bow and stern-piece was done usually with coconut cord fiber (*kaha*), or with feathers (*hu'u manu*). Langsdorff (18, p. 173) describes caulking with moss over which was rubbed resin from the breadfruit tree. Bulk-

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[284]

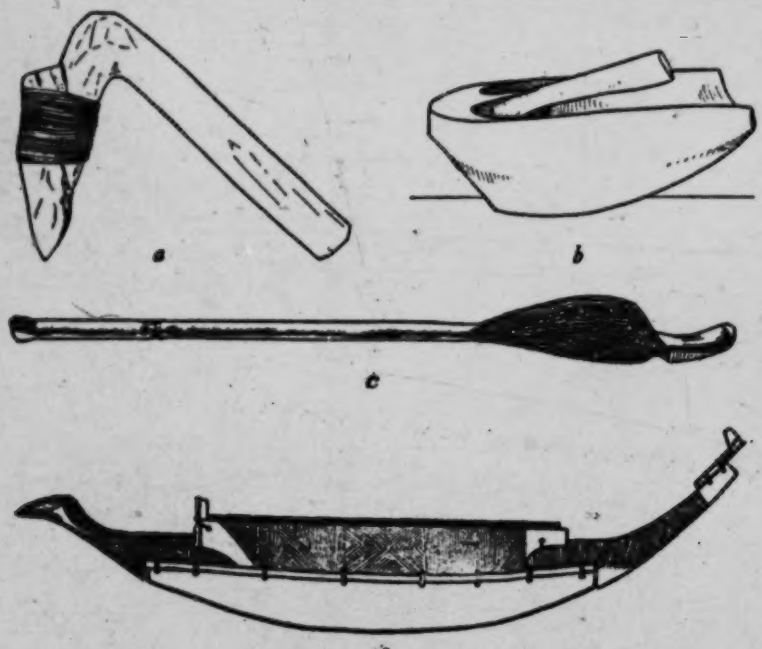

FIGURE 16.—Canoe and implements: *a*, adz; *b*, bailer; *c*, paddle; *d*, canoe.

heads in the body of the canoe are described by Porter. Seats (*papa tau*) for paddlers rested on an inner strip (*teka oto*) which covered the inboard seam between the sideboard and the hull. These strips were bound and held in place by sennit. The two rods (*kiato, hoa*) supporting the outrigger were usually fau poles; Marchand (22, p. 131) describes rods of bamboo. The supporting rods passed across the top of the canoe, being lashed to the top of each gunwale, or sideboard, by means of sennit that passed around the rod and through holes in the board. These lashings were ornamental

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed
531 lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

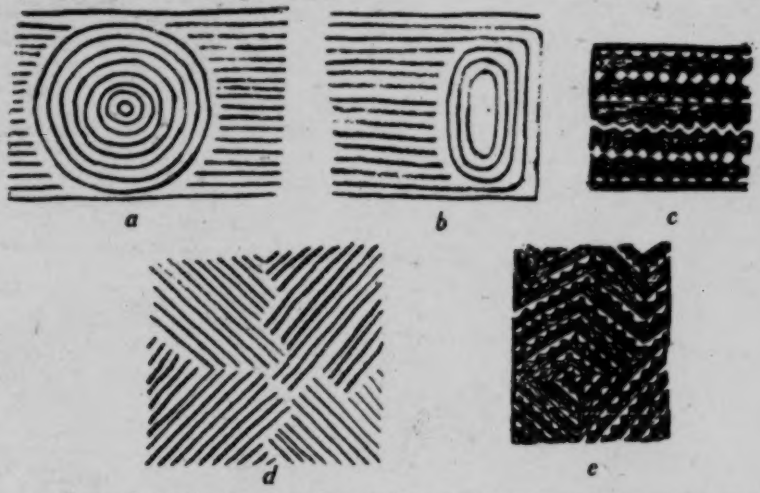

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations
531 for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the ma-
284 terials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

342 531 284 [824]

The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

7; Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the crosspiece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 [237] The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 284 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of [824] three plait cocoanut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental [531] lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the haft, brought out, and pulled taut. In the third specimen, which was made by the Atu Ona informant, the lashings were laid on in alternate diagonal loops beginning at the bottom. These loops crossed each other along the line of the middle of the tang, giving an ornamental effect. The last two binding loops at the top were horizontal, while two more loops were passed around the haft above the blade. The end was made fast by tucking it under the last few turns of cord on the right side. (See Pl. XLVIII, *A*.) The maker insisted that this form of lashing was the ancient one and it is probable that several forms of ornamental lashing were originally in use. One of these, mentioned in a chant for the making of a boy's first adz, was called the *humuo tane oo*, and was probably derived from a string figure of the same name. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412 284

Adz blades were rarely if ever set at right angles to the handle, the included angle in modern specimens being 70 degrees or less. The handles of ordinary adzes were short, those used at the present time are commonly less than a foot long, but blades used for heavy work, such as roughing out canoes were formerly provided with long hafts. In Nuku Hiva an adz with a four foot handle is said to have been used for this purpose. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412

The adjustable socket, common in Micronesia and in some parts of Melanesia, seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas, although it was known and used to a limited extent in Hawaii. It is lacking in other parts of Polynesia, and the Hawaiian examples are probably referable to a Micronesian influence.

Chisel Hafting

No specimen of the ancient Marquesan chisel hafts was found, and the following description is based on information obtained in the group and upon two reproductions made by Hapuani, of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. In both these reproductions the handle consists of a straight rectangular stick of wood between 10 inches and 11 inches long, 1 inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The wood in one is fau, in the other temanu. A socket for the blade is cut on one side of the lower end of the shaft. When in position the blades project beyond the handle for about two-thirds of their length. The lashings are of sennit, arranged as in the more elaborate form of adz lashing, except that the cord is passed around the handle several times above the socket. (See Pl. XLVIII, *B*.) [284]

Use of Adzes and Chisels

No stone adzes have been used in the Marquesas for many years, but as the form of the modern iron-bladed tools is almost identical with that of the ancient ones it seems probable that the method of use was the same. At the present time every skilled workman owns two or more adzes, at least one of which has a

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghjf*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *kpj*, and *jgm*[1] made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¼ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

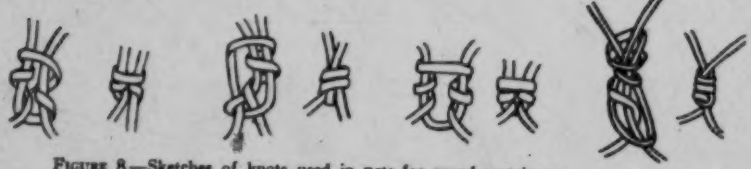

FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all 415 made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [591] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[98]

1 [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. —Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe* or string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amaenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amaenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *mauomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

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A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cordage and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few [531] drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated [531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums [531] seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

520 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin, 284 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at regular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, [231] threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, 534 and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D.*) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet [825] found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B.*)

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by [825] divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued.

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *ama* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C.*) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. The separate strands were laid side by [284] side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum.

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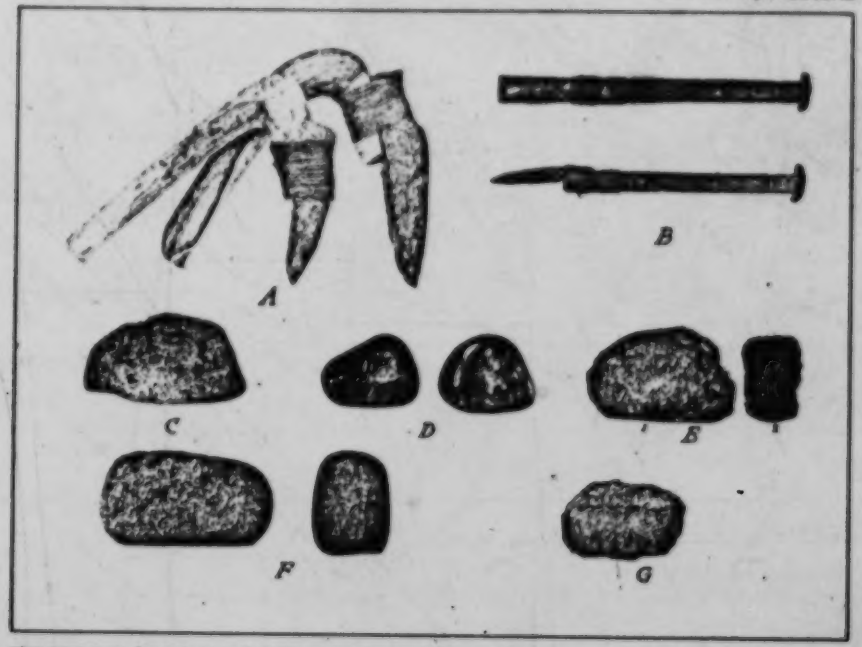

STONE IMPLEMENTS: *A*, HAFTED ADZE; *B*, HAFTED CHISEL, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SHARPENING STONE OF CORAL; *D*, SCRAPERS USED TO POLISH WOOD; *E*, SCRAPERS; *F*, HAMMER STONES; *G*, GRIPE.

[end plate 9]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MARQUESAN DECORATIVE DESIGNS

INTRODUCTION

*531 Marquesan culture shows a curious disharmony in the development and application of decorative designs. There is a very low development of the textile arts and almost no use of decorative designs in connection with them. Marquesan baskets are unornamented, and the mats when decorated at all show only the simplest checkerwork design used as a border pattern. The ceremonial staves used by the chiefs have a band of fabric at the top made of brown sennit decorated with black hair. The designs on them are mostly simple block arrangements although one staff examined showed series of conventionalized animals probably intended as representations of lizards (Pl. 1, *a*).

The Marquesans did not decorate their tapa as did the Hawaiians, Samoans, Fijians, and in fact most other Polynesians, although in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum there is a single wooden object with a covering of tapa fitted like a glove and decorated with designs common in wood-carving. The designs on this object were painted on the tapa probably because this material afforded a better surface than the wood. The primary purpose was to decorate the figure, not the tapa. It is difficult to understand why the same technique was not employed in decorating tapa used for wearing apparel and bedding.

Although deficient in the art of decorating textiles, the Marquesans developed to a high degree forms of ornamental lashing, carving in stone and wood, and tattooing.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

*531 The Marquesans made rather an extensive use of ornamental lashings
284 to serve utilitarian purposes. The timbers forming the framework of houses were held together by lashings, the parts of drums were lashed together, stone tools when hafted had to be lashed, and the lashings for these and for other purposes were usually ornamental. The material used
[283] was a flat plaited sennit dyed brown, reddish brown, black, more rarely yellow or bleached white; two colors were commonly used in a single lashing. Few of these ornamental sennit lashings are in existence. Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition were fortunate in obtaining photographs of two forms used in the construction of a house, and several drums in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum display a third form. One of the lashings has the appearance of a series of concentric elipses. Another shows diagonal lines coming from two directions crossing and interweaving in the center, the whole bounded on two sides by parallel vertical lines. This design can be almost duplicated in the carving on the

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

house posts (Pl. III, *d*). A third design, found on a drum, is a series of concentric diamonds which also is a common house post design. Undoubtedly other forms of ornamental lashings were used but information concerning them is no longer available. 531x 284

CARVINGS IN THE ROUND AND IN HIGH RELIEF

The only figures carved in the round or in high relief by the Marquesans are representations of human beings. Large figures are carved in wood and stone; small figures in wood, stone, bone or ivory. Most of the large figures set up in the sacred places to represent gods are carved in the full round. Stone figures carved in the half-round or three-quarters round are set into the facing of stone walls of house platforms and sacred places; wooden figures carved in the full round are used as posts to support the roofs of dwellings. Small figures carved in human bone are used to ornament the handles of many coconut bowls and are used also as ear ornaments. Some ear ornaments are made of whale bone and whale tooth. Wooden staves surmounted by small human figures carved in the full round have been seen, and a number of objects such as fan handles, canoe paddles, war clubs and *popoi* pounders, display human figures carved in high relief. 531x 532 778

The convention employed for the figures is that of the tiki. In most of the carvings the head of the tiki is disproportionately large and has as its most prominent feature round or pointed oval spectacle eyes with a high ridge through the center terminating in the ears and the nose. Supra-orbital ridges are generally indicated and these likewise terminate in the ears which on the small figures are usually represented by two connected spirals turned toward each other. On a few specimens only single spirals are seen and on larger figures a projecting longitudinal flange replaces the spiral. The nose is shown in different lengths but is always broad and flat. The mouth is very large and is always open, showing the tongue. 531x 532

The bone ornaments on the handles of coconut bowls show only the upper half of the body. Below the characteristic head the arms are shown at the sides of the body with the hands resting on the stomach. In one tiki figure the left hand touches the chin and in another the right arm rests on the right shoulder. Some tikis have five fingers on each hand; others have only three or four. 531x

In the portrayal of the complete tiki figure the legs are shown in a semi-squat or flexed position. In figures carved in the full round, the feet are indicated but not the toes; two dolls which do show the toes were probably recently made. The figures are pierced between the legs so as to make them appear as naturalistic as possible. The sex is usually indicated 531x 532

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained. 287

When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.

When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people incline them to prefer the natural tint. [386]

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*henu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.) 285

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *hi'e hi'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika*, *ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*toha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[552]

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

brief description of the manner of propulsion applies perfectly to the Tongan method of sculling large craft. It would be practically impossible to build a boat six feet wide and of the same depth on the lines of the built up canoes already described, and it seems certain that these boats were made either of planks or of many pieces. Plank canoes were used in the Society and Tuamoto groups and the Marquesans could hardly have been ignorant of this form of boat. 501

In a legend of the migration of one of the tribes of Hiva Oa, which was driven out by its neighbors and went to seek new land, it is stated that they departed on large bamboo rafts. The tribe in question lived on the plateau and were said to have used these craft because they had no wood suitable for canoes. No details as to the construction could be obtained. [B24]

Porter (49, p. 103) says:

> "[The natives] use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board. . . . These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbor."

SAILS

The aboriginal type of sail became obsolete at an early date and it is doubtful whether any of the living natives have seen a genuine ancient sail. Informants insisted that they were like those in use at the present time except that the boom sloped upward instead of being horizontal and that the sail itself was made of coconut mats instead of canvas (pandanus mats were tapu for sails). This agrees perfectly with the brief mention of Porter and the picture given by Cook. Porter (49, pp. 102-103) says: 501 205 [B24]

> Double canoes '. . . are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat, similar to that called a shoulder-of-mutton sail but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom.

The drawing published by Cook (14, p. 307) shows a single canoe provided with a mast of rough timber and a triangular sail of matting along the lower edge of which there is a boom also of rough timber. The boom is set at an angle of about forty-five degrees, the apex of the triangular sail being at the juncture of the boom and mast. The upper edge of the sail is concave, and the tips of the mast and boom project for some distance beyond the fabric of the sail. The mast is stayed by a rope running from a little below the masthead to the center of the bow projection, and by three other ropes two of which run to the stern outrigger crosspiece a short distance outside the gunwales of the canoe, while the third is attached to the crosspiece near its outer tip. In the picture the sail is directly over the canoe, between the two inner stays, a system impossible in practice. It seems probable that the author placed it in this position in order to better show

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 the arrangement of the stays. A slack line is shown running from the outer end
285 of the boom to the stern seat to control the sheet. In the drawing the lower end of the boom is concealed, but it seems probable that, as in the modern sail, it was not attached to the mast. In the background of the picture there are two small distant canoes one of which is shown under way with the sheet paid out. The side stays are fastened to the bow instead of to the stern outrigger crosspiece, while the bow stay is replaced by a single stern stay. The second canoe is shown with the sail furled, apparently by bringing the boom up against the mast. The method of stepping the masts of the ancient canoes was not ascertained. According to information obtained by Handy, a square rail was used, with a spar at the top and bottom.

PADDLES

Porter's mention of "paddles more resembling an oar" (49, p. 152) would
501 imply that more than one type of paddle was in use in the Marquesas, but all the specimens seen or described by informants belong to a single well defined type.

[824] The paddles were made of rose wood, and were often decorated with carving. The manufacture of small highly ornamented paddles of somewhat degenerate form intended for sale as curios has continued until the present time, but the natives have lost the skill necessary for the manufacture of the large genuine specimens; the only ones seen in actual use were old.

The peculiar shape of Marquesan paddles makes them easily recognizable in any collection. (See Pl. XLIII, *B*.) In length they range from 4 feet, 8 inches to 5 feet, 8 inches, although the steering paddles used on war canoes were probably still longer. The average length is slightly over 5 feet. For convenience in description they may be divided into three parts, the shaft, the blade, and the terminal knob, a projection below the blade.

The shaft is approximately circular in cross section and tapers very slightly toward the upper and lower ends. In some old specimens the central part is somewhat flattened laterally, but this may be due to long use. The upper end terminates in a cylindrical knob, slightly thicker than the shaft, or in a flat expanded transverse grip with a concave upper surface. Only one specimen of this sort was seen, the grip in this having been originally two inches in width. At the lower end the shaft passes imperceptibly into the blade.

The total length of the blade, exclusive of the terminal knob, is one foot to 15 inches, with a maximum width of 6 to 7 inches. The wings of the blade curve outward gradually from the shaft to the point of maximum width, which in a blade one foot long is slightly less than 11 inches from the upper end. From this point they curve inward sharply toward the base of the terminal knob. The thickness of the wings at the edges is about ¼ inch, this thickness remaining uniform for the entire length of the blade. The center of the blade has a thickness of ½ to ⅝ inch, gradually increasing toward the ends. The outer surface of the blade is convex, either smoothly rounded or with a slight longitudinal ridge along the center. The inner surface is concave, the center, at the point of greatest depth, being sometimes as much as ⅛ inch below the level of the wing edges.

The form of the terminal knob may be seen from Plate XLIII, *B*. The knob is connected with the blade by a short neck which curves upward and backward. The inner side of this neck bears a rather sharp longitudinal ridge which continues for a short distance up the blade. The outer surface is flat or bears a much lower longitudinal ridge which continues for a short

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MATTING AND BASKETRY

MATS

The twin arts of matting and basketry appear to have been less developed 285
in the Marquesas than in any other part of tropical Polynesia and both have been nearly destroyed by European contact. No mats of the better sort are now manufactured and the processes employed are unknown to most of the natives. Only three materials appear to have been used for mats, ti leaves, [824]
coconut fronds, and the leaves of the pandanus. Mats made from ti leaves were small crude affairs, hardly deserving the name. They were used only to line and cover *me* pits. (See Pl. LXVI, *A*.) They were made as follows:

A quantity of the leaves were collected and the stems and heavy portion of the midrib removed, without breaking the inner surface of the leaf. These stemmed leaves were laid in bundles of three or four, the face of each leaf being against the back of the one below. These bundles were then placed side by side with a wide regular overlap, always from the same direction, and were pinned together with splints about two inches long made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet or from bamboo. Three of these splints were used to join each pair of bundles, one being placed in the middle and the other two near either end. In doing the work a long splint was used; a portion of the end of the splint was broken off each time and left as a pin. The resultant mat was as wide as the length of the leaves and could be extended indefinitely by pinning on new bundles.

Coconut mats are still regularly made in the Marquesas; the work is done by men and women indiscriminately. They are employed mainly as thatching for houses, to cover large earth oven and in ancient times they were used on [352]
beds, under the fine mats. The coconut mats are made as follows:

A coconut frond, usually that of a young tree, is split longitudinally and the midrib, to which the leaflets of either half are attached, is pared thin enough to be rather flexible. Alternate leaflets are then directed forward and backward and interwoven in a simple checkerwork. The outer edge of the mat is finished by braiding the tips of the leaflets together in a continuous longitudinal strip. The size of these mats naturally depends upon that of the frond from which they are made, ordinary specimens being 14 to 20 inches wide and 6 to 12 feet long. A common variation of this technique is to employ two half fronds placed side by side, the midribs being joined together by twisting a leaflet around both at intervals of one to two feet. The leaflets of both fronds are then interwoven to form a mat of single thickness like that just described. A still further variation consists in placing two half leaves together with the midribs at opposite edges and interweaving the leaflets in checkerwork. This last technique is rarely used at the present time.

The better Marquesan mats, used principally upon beds, were made from 285
pandanus. These bed mats were as a rule long and comparatively narrow, being 352
intended to cover the space between the two coconut logs. They were of two sorts, the distinction being apparently one of shape and use. The mats upon which the legs rested were called *moena*, those upon which the body rested *hakaua*, those for the head *p'ai p'ai*. (For shape and arrangements of these mats

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind [352] of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *henu* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re-weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but
531 one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal [302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that 285 mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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to friends, that she had gathered a few of the women together and was teaching them to weave coarse mats. This statement is so remarkable, implying as it does an ignorance of the art, that it is difficult to account for unless mat weaving, like certain other industries, had become more or less localized so that the valley in which the missionaries settled bought its mats ready made. 285

BASKETS

The manufacture of all but the simplest baskets had been discontinued in the Marquesas in 1920 and only two types of basket were remembered by the informants questioned. Both of these were made from coconut fronds. The simplest type *kooho* (Pl. LXVI, *D*) is still manufactured, and is made as follows: [824]

Four short sections of coconut midrib, to each of which three leaflets are attached, are placed two at either end of the proposed basket and the leaflets interwoven in checkerwork to form the broad, oval bottom. Four similar sections, bearing two or three leaflets each, are then placed in pairs above the first four and their leaflets interwoven with the ends of those forming the bottom, making the sides. Three of the bottom leaflets are left projecting beyond the basket at either end and these are braided and the braid carried up over the outside of the basket to the rim. The rim is finished like the edge of an ordinary mat. When the body of the basket is finished, a bunch of tips project from either end. The braids from the bottom are combined with these tips and the whole plaited into a broad flat cord. The cords from the two ends are tied together above the center of the basket to form a handle, and the receptacle is ready for use. Baskets of this sort can be made in a few minutes. They are used principally for carrying fruit.

The more elaborate type of coconut basket called *hakete* (Pl. LXVI, *E*) is no longer regularly manufactured; the specimen figured was made to order by an old woman who remembered the process:

Young fronds just beginning to unfold were used and the two sides of each leaflet were folded together before weaving so that the midrib lay along one edge of the strip. The basket was made as follows: The frond was taken and prepared as for mat weaving. Sections 3 to 5 feet long, depending on the size of the desired basket, were then cut from the corresponding portions of the two halves, and the leaflets of each section interwoven tightly at the base, each leaflet passing over two in the direction of its natural angle with the midrib. All the leaflets of each section thus ran in the same direction. The midribs of the two sections were then placed together in such a way that the leaflets of one ran at right angles to the leaflets of the other and were bent into a long oval, their ends being tied together with short pieces of bark string. This formed the rim of the basket. The leaflets of the two sections were then interwoven in a twilled pattern, over three and under three, those of one section forming the warp and those of the other section the weft. This weaving was continued down to the juncture of the bottom with the sides, where there was a narrow strip twilled over two and under two. The bottom, which was very narrow, was made in two thicknesses. The inner layer was formed by interweaving the warp strips of the two sides in a simple checkerwork, their tips being bent back and plaited together in a long strip beneath the checkerwork. The outer layer of the bottom was formed by bringing the weft strips of the two sides together along the middle of the bottom and there plaiting them into a flat braid. The braids from both the inner and outer layers were concealed between the two sections of the double bottom, but their tips projected upward, one at either end, on the inside of the basket. No handle was made, the basket being suspended by cords passed under the rim at either end. Baskets of this sort were used principally for carrying fish.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 Edge Partington (20, p. 46) figures a closely woven basket of coconut leaves of still a different type. It is oval in outline, with a flat bottom, vertical sides and a flat recurved top, making the opening considerably smaller in diameter than the body of the basket. No baskets of this sort are now in use and the form seems to have been forgotten.

[415] In the collection of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge there are two rather curious sacks from the Marquesas..

The material is split pandanus similar to that employed in mat weaving. The sacks are almost identical in size and construction and are rectangular, 14½ inches long and 11 inches deep. The form is that of an envelope with a triangular flap. The body of the sack is of double thickness, the outside layer being made of strips ¼ inch wide except for the last 3 inches below the top. The sack above this point, the flap, and the inner layer, are woven from much finer strips produced by splitting each of the ¼ inch strips in three. The technique is a simple checkerwork. A loop of twisted coconut fiber is attached to the center of the lip of the sack and passes up through a hole in the flap, protruding for 2 to 3 inches when the sack is closed. There is no information as to the use of these objects.

Jardin (33, p. 36) says that the natives wove coarse baskets from the flexible shoots of the *tutu* (Ceanothus asiatious), but gives no data to their form or the technique employed.

FANS

293 Marquesan fans were of two sorts, ordinary fans, which are still manufactured and used, and chiefs' fans, which were carried by persons of importance and were intended for show rather than use. The chiefs' fans are now obsolete, and no examples have been preserved in the group. They are fairly numerous in collections, however, and the type may be accurately described.

The coconut fans have a broad straight outer end and sides which are nearly parallel at the tip and curve inward smoothly at the base. All the specimens seen were more or less asymmetrical (Pl. LXVI, *F*), but this did not appear to be intentional. They are made as follows:

Young coconut leaflets are folded so that the midrib lies along one edge of the woven strip. The weaving is begun at the outer end, a flat band, twilled over two and under two and as long as the width of the proposed fan, being woven first. The twill in this band is longitudinal, and the whole is rarely more than seven elements wide. The direction of the twill is then changed to vertical, and the fan woven down to the upper end of the handle. To form the handle the two leaflets which are central at that point are crossed and carried down vertically, each succeeding pair being similarly detached from the weaving, crossed and braided in with those already detached until all have been included. The ends of these leaflets, which extend some distance below the fan, are then packed closely together, wrapped with bark string, and cut off squarely at the tips, the whole forming the handle.

The following description of chiefs' fans (Pl. LXVII, *A*, *B*) is based upon an examination of specimens in the possession of M. George La Garde of Papeete, and in various American museums. The weaving appears to have been uniform; the technique being as follows:

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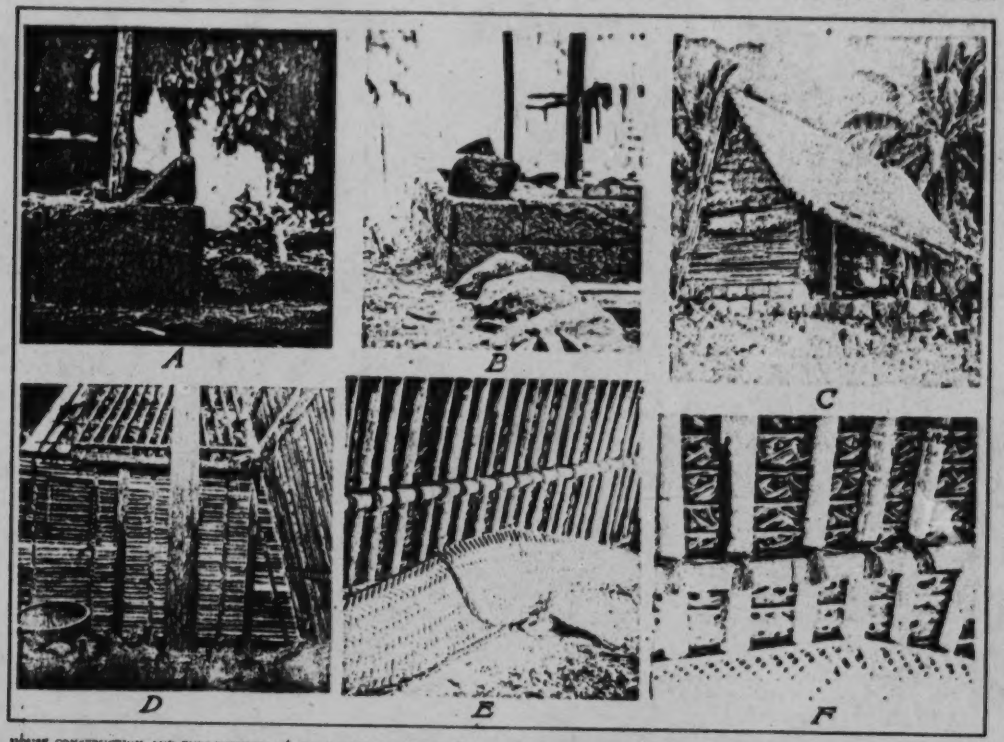

HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OLD HOUSE AT ATUONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR BAR.

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[nd plate 1]

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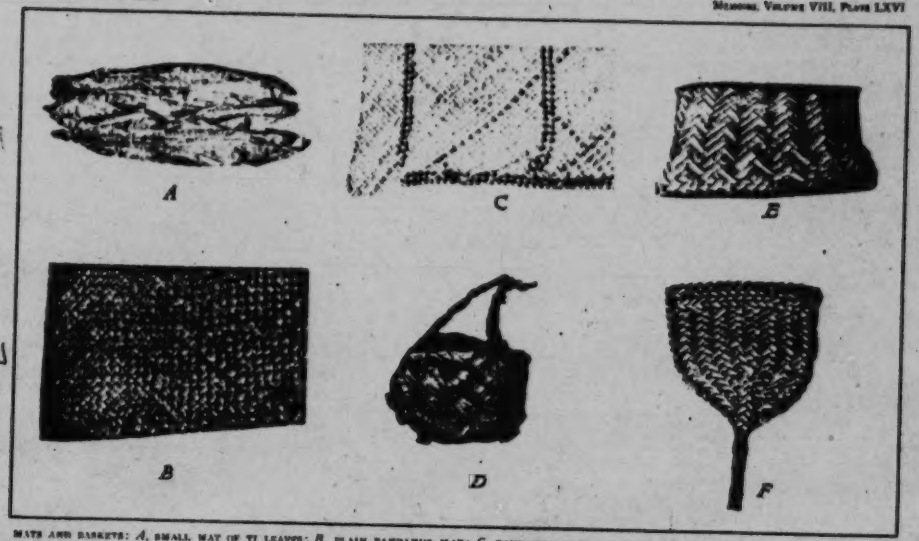
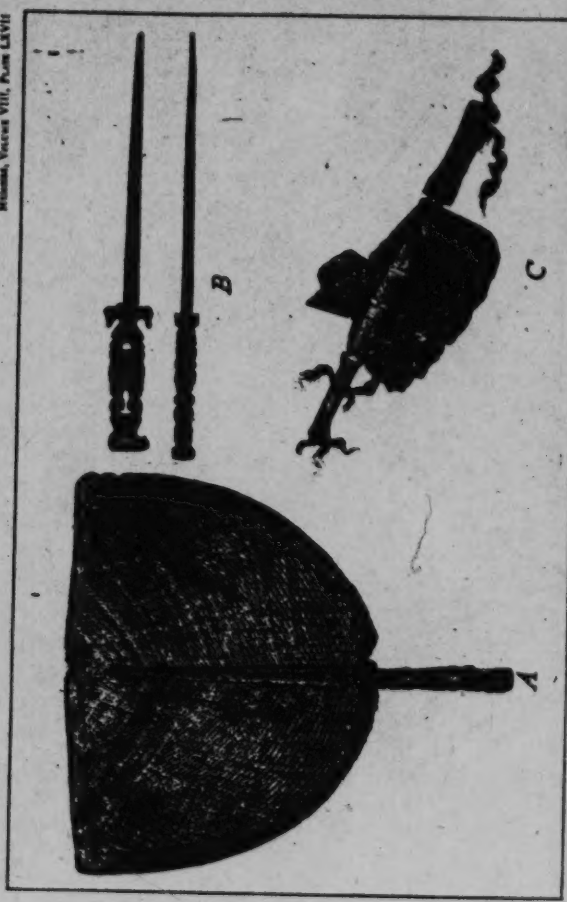


MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF TI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, ROMOO TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKETE TYPE; *F*, FAN OF BASKET WEAVE—TYPE IN USE IN 1920.

[end plate 27]

T: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

CEREMONIAL FANS: A, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); B, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; C, VOUTHOUE BIRDS, FAN USED BY EMBALMERS.

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[end plate 28]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This ● 286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.* [778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net. 226

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiifiii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiifiii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills. 226 [286] [386]

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

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IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net: the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

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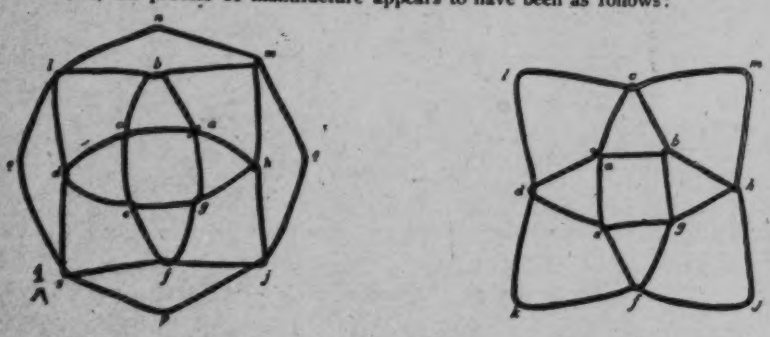
GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*). 415 [824] [531]

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows: 415 286



A *B*

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

1 [this should be k, in light of descriptio. on page 358—Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghjf*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *hp*, ar ; *jgm* made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¼ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

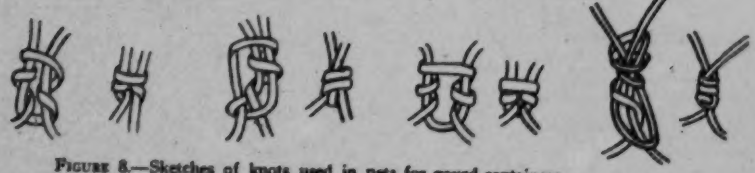


FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

415 Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [531] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[98]

½ [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. —Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a single horizontal or vertical hole. The square end has along either side two to six notches which are used to facilitate tight lashing of the bone barb. In the specimens examined there was also a short longitudinal groove in the center of the lower surface which served no practical purpose. The point of the hook is of bone, with a slight but well marked barb just behind the tip on the lower side. The modern Tahitian and Tuamotuan hooks of the same type are usually barbless. The base of the bone point is pierced with two holes. The point is attached to the strip by close lashings, formerly of coconut fiber cord. The ends of the lashings are gathered together into a single strand at the forward end of the bone point and carried along the upper surface of the strip to its pointed end, where they are again attached to it by lashings passed through the hole in the strip. The strand is continued beyond the hook and serves to attach the whole to the line. As the lashings at the inner end of the hook are loose enough to allow some play, the pull of the line comes directly at the base of the bone point. When a fish strikes, the pull is said to draw the point slightly downward and inward, making escape more difficult. This movement, if it occurs at all, is negligible, but the pull coming at this point does serve to tighten the lashings and prevent the point from slipping on the strip. The bark upon the point is of little value, and unless a tight line is kept the fish will escape. 227

In some hooks of this type a small bunch of pig's hair is tied transversely at the rear end of the strip as an additional lure but this is not a constant feature (Pl. LXXI, *B*, 1). In one specimen collected an additional strip of shell is tied to the upper side of the main strip, probably with the idea of strengthening and weighting the hook. [23]

That sinkers were employed in line fishing is shown by two terms given by Dordillon (17): *pokau*, which is defined as a sinker, and *pokoe*, which is defined as a stone twisted with a fish hook which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths. It seems probable that such sinkers were unworked pebbles.

Dordillon also gives a term (*pe'ctai*) which he translates as "to fish with a line while swimming" but this method is now obsolete and no information was obtained in regard to it.

NETS

Net fishing was probably the most important of the Marquesan methods of fishing, and a considerable variety of nets were employed. Very few of these nets have been preserved in collections, however. The only specimens studied were two imperfect fragments in the Bishop Museum. One of these fragments evidently formed part of a small net in the form of a flat pouch or envelope with square corners. (Pl. LXXI, *C*). 227 286

The net is woven of two-strand fau bark cord hardly more than 1/32 of an inch in diameter with a very small mesh decreasing in size from 3/8 of an inch at the bottom to 3/16 of an inch at the top. The upper edge is finished with a single strand of twisted fau bark cord about three times as heavy as that forming the body of the net. Immediately below this edging a second cord of the same weight runs around the net, apparently serving as a drawstring. The second fragment is so badly torn that the original form of the net cannot be determined. It is woven of extremely fine two-strand pineapple fiber cord scarcely heavier than carpet thread, with a uniform mesh of 5/8 of an inch. The form of knot employed in both nets may be seen from the accompanying drawing (fig. 11).

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from
286 commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

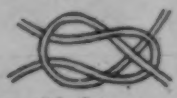


FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

226 The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly
227 made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either fau bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Mau:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohe to'o:** Same as *mau*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohe* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Pafio:** Same as the *ho'ohe to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Pafio Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Pafio Ihe:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *ihe*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

547 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

> Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 287 324

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34), [824] the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kiva*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

[412]

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [366] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is dscribed as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained. 287

When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.

When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people inclines them to prefer the natural tint. [386]

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*henu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.) 285

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, 565 342 as I have before observed in describing the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. [356] The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351 the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [287] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark, a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May. [287]

Toomooehee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maceca, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds. [178]

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black

1 [i.e., of the Bread-fruit tree -- Ana/ysis]

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. May. [326] [313] Coqoo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[287] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

SCRAPERS

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287
413

ous, for fragments of scrapers may be found in the earth of any village site. A few stone scrapers designed for other purposes may also have been used in tapa making.

BEATERS

The tapa beaters in common use were of two distinct types, the round and the square. There was a third rare type which was intermediate between the two main forms.

The round beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 3) are simple billets of fau wood, 18 to 20 inches long, cut from saplings 1½ to 2¼ inches in diameter. These billets were stripped of bark, and while still green and soft, were incised from end to end with a number of closely spaced grooves made, it is said, with the corner of a stone adz. They were then allowed to dry, and were ready for use. Beaters of this type have no distinct handles and both ends and all sides may be used. The round beaters were commonly used only for the initial beating of the bark, but could be employed for the entire process of manufacture. A very fine piece of *ute* tapa was seen that had been beaten throughout with an implement of this sort.

The square tapa beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 1) were made of toa wood (Casuirina) and their manufacture must have required considerable skill and patience. Their handles are said to have been shaped with shells and the grooves cut with sharpened pearl shells or rats' teeth. Beaters of this type were common to the whole of Polynesia, but those from the Marquesas are easily distinguishable by their shorter and heavier grips. The body of the beater is rectangular; the grip is round and nearly as thick as the body. There is a slight flare at the butt of some beaters. Each of the faces is incised with a number of closely spaced longitudinal grooves. The number of grooves on the different faces of a beater varies slightly, but there seems to be no distinction of coarse and fine faces such as is found in the Tahitian and some other beaters. The ornamental designs on beaters which gave the tapa a sort of "water mark," common in Hawaii, seem to have been entirely absent in the Marquesas. A beater with a long slender grip, reminiscent of the Hawaiian and Tahitian forms, was seen in Hiva Oa, and another obtained from an old *me'ae* on the same island, has the grip set at a slight but distinct angle to the body of the beater, a very unusual feature.

Beaters of the third type constitute an ancient form. (See Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 2.) Only two were seen, both of them crudely made. They are made of *toa* wood, are rectangular in cross section, but somewhat more slender than the ordinary square beaters and have no distinct handles. All four faces are grooved for their entire length, but the grooves appear to have been drawn alternately from

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opposite ends, as some of them overlap slightly in the center of the implement. It 287
seems probable that this form is a hybrid, combining the continuous grooves of 413
the round beaters with the flat surfaces of the square type.

Tapa Anvils

The Marquesans employed anvils of both stone and wood. Stone anvils are now little used, but in former times they appear to have been part of the equipment of every household. In early times they were used for only the preliminary beating, but later were occasionally employed for the entire manufacture.

In its simplest form the stone anvil is nothing more than a large flat water-worn bowlder, but most anvils seen have been carefully worked from large blocks of stone. They are [324] rectangular, with a length of from 18 inches to 2 feet, 6 inches; a width of from 8 inches to one foot, and a thickness from 4 to 7 inches. The tops have been carefully flattened and smoothed, the sides made vertical or nearly so. The bottom is usually left rough. Some anvils are widest in the middle, tapering evenly toward either end. An especially fine specimen from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa (Pl. LXXIV, *B*) has a longitudinal groove along either side for a short distance below the top and is remarkable in having the bottom more or less hollowed—a feature which may have resulted from its use as a whetstone for stone adzes. These carefully made stone anvils are of considerable interest, as they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Wooden anvils are still used in the manufacture of tapa. The only one seen was made of breadfruit wood, rectangular in cross section, and was approximately two feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches thick. This anvil differs in form from those described by aged informants, and possibly is of a modern and degenerate type. In former times two types of wooden anvils appear to have been employed. The simpler of these was a long straight log, preferably of breadfruit wood, smoothed but not otherwise prepared. The more elaborate type was made from a light colored wood, possibly a species of sandal wood, obtained on the plateau. It was U-shaped in cross section, with straight ends. Its hollowed interior made it more easily portable and increased its resonance so that the sound of cloth beating could be heard for a long distance.

Tapa Making

The paper mulberry, from whose bark the best grade of tapa was made, 287
was raised in regular plantations. Handy was informed that dead trees 18 to 20 feet high were cut down and stripped of their bark, that the bark was then soaked, and finally beaten to remove the inner skin. A local informant said that live shoots 10 to 12 feet high were cut and barked while still green, and described the process of tapa making as follows:

The fresh bark was taken to a stream, where the coarse outer bark was removed with a shell scraper. The bark was not soaked before the initial beating, a point which was stressed by the informant who was familiar with both the Hawaiian and Marquesan processes of tapa making. The bark was beaten on a stone anvil with a round beater until it was similar to

287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy.

This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not cer-
287 tain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop
386 Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark
287 of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen
531 has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

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Akatea. Kind of bush for tapa.
Akatoto. Kind of mulberry tree for paper.
Atea. Tree whose bark was used to make cloth.
Hiapo. Young branch of the Banyan, whose bark is used to make cloth, also the cloth made from this bark.
Ike. Tapa beater.
Kokiu. Mallet of wood of this tree (Lily of India).
Kotapa. To even the edges of cloth.
Mapu. Native cloth.
Mata. The right side of pretty cloth.
Nie i te tapa. To equalize the edges of cloth. To cut off the unevenness.
Pahito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahito hitohito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahoa. To beat bark for cloth.
Papo i te tapa. To remake used tapa as new.
Pataka: To peel wood, knocking underneath with a stone or other object.
Peka i te tapa. To beat cloth in cross construction.
Taemani. Said of lustrous, luminous cloth.
Tahotahoki. To beat cloth slowly so that it will be closed.
Tapa kokokoko. Native cloth.
Tapa kookoo. Cloth.
Tapa pia. Clear cloth.
Tapa pokuu. Cloth made from breadfruit bark.
Tihoo. To stretch (a cloth) in beating it, to make it larger and finer.
Tipa. To beat a cloth for the first time.
Titaa. Kind of beater of iron wood.
Titapa. To even the borders of cloth.
Tivaka. To put a length (leaf) in cloth.
Tuaka. Cloth coarsely beaten.
Tapa Tuakahikahi. Clear, thin cloth.
Tumekaka. Cloth poorly beaten.
Tutua. Wood on which tapa is beaten.
Tututini. To rebeat a cloth many times to renovate it.
Ute. A species of tree (*Morus papyrifera*). Bark for tapa. Tapa.
E tapa vakavaka. Strong cloth serving for wrapping.
Uuka. To make cloth into a bundle.

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LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

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Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

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DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	Mangareva	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare, women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed going to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one side, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow		Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on tapa; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

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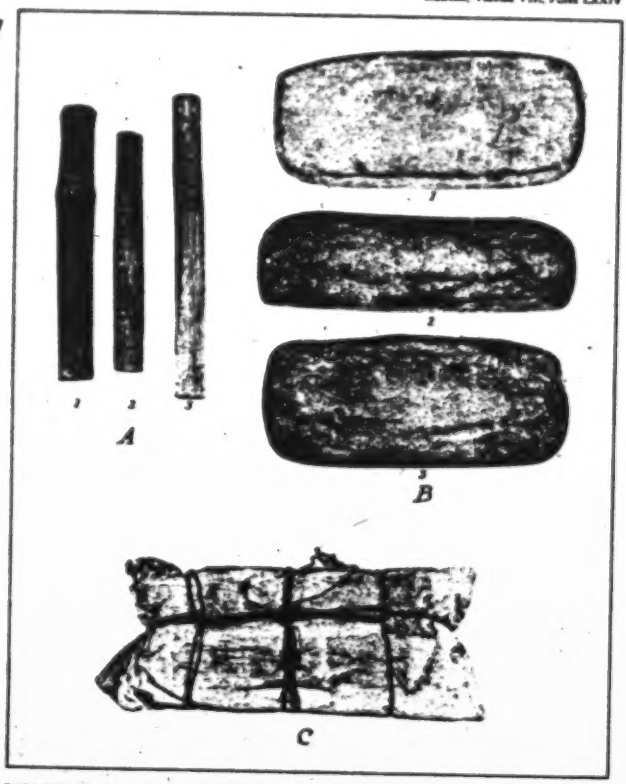

TOOLS FOR TAPA MAKING: *A*, TAPA BEATERS—(1) SQUARE WITH HANDLE, (2) SQUARE WITHOUT HANDLE, (3) ROUND; *B*, STONE TAPA ANVIL—(1) TOP VIEW, (2) SIDE VIEW, (3) BOTTOM VIEW; *C*, BUNDLE OF FINISHED TAPA.

[end plate 35]

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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them [illegible] may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly ap- [585] proved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [634]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tenuwu* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly unred. [29] [565]

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named 789
either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after
the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house 578
were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means
of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke [762]
in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men 291
working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

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291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments
301 made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body
302 and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E*.)
[552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave*, *tove'o*, or *kou'u*; the back knot, *poue*; the part which encircled the body, *iona*; and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with the tail on one side of the body instead of behind. 291

WOMEN'S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka'eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu'eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko'oi, taka pu,* and *piti'i ko'oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka'eu* as "a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees." On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being "drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs." *Eu'eu pipi* or *eu'eu ku'uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka'ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu'eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa'aha eu'eu* (8).

Noku, or *no'u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka'eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any articificial support, and after use it was buried. 841

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka'ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or 291

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 *kahu papaki* (8). The *kahu utu* was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The *kahu ko'o ko'o* was a full robe of white (*ute*) cloth made of a sheet of *tapa* eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the *kahu ku'a*, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The *kahu ku'a* is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The *kahu ma'o*, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the *kahu hiapo* is uncertain.

The *kahu hiapo* was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*) at Pua Ma'u was the *kahu kohito*, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the *kahu koua'ehi*, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by *tuhuna* on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called *pavahina*, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as *ouoho* (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. *Pavahina* (or *pava u*) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, *a*). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

[532]

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *ta'avaha*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. 291 292

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume. 291 291 292

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress: 291

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e koua'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu koua'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248). 292

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *caha* [*hahu*], and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 292 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
[30] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
[30] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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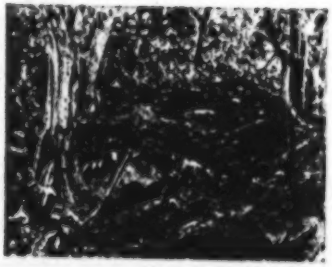
A

B

C



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THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

[End Plate 1]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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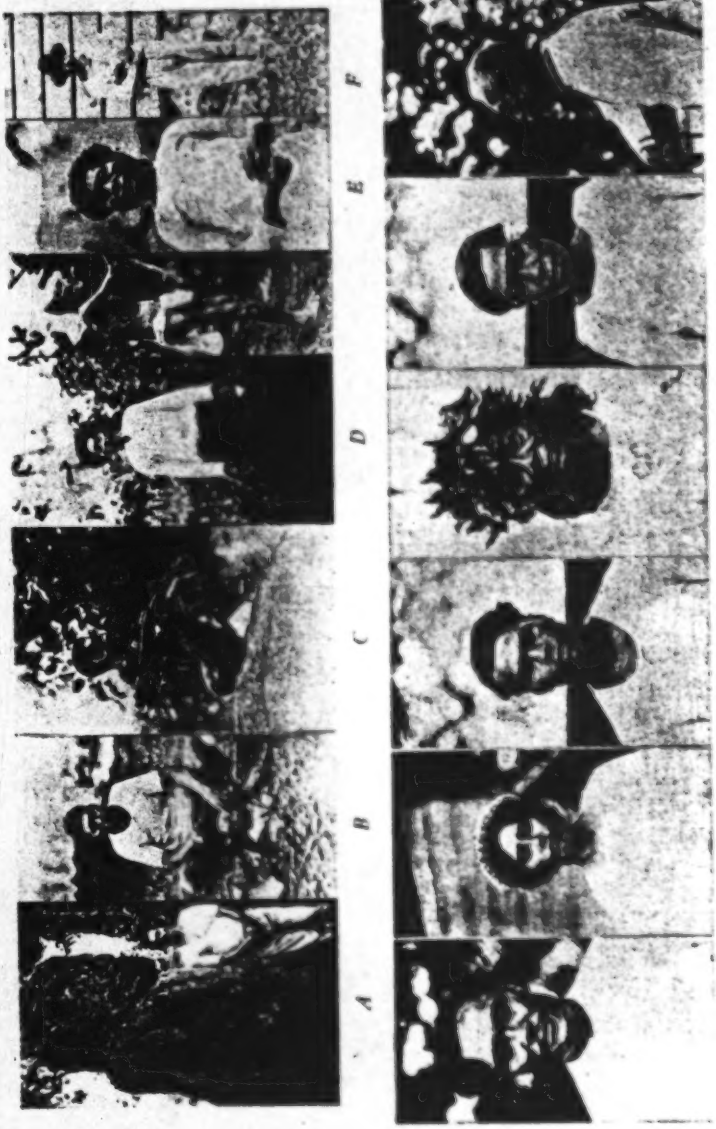

MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

BISHOP P. BISHOP MUSEUM

[End Plate 2]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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ISAAC PUHETETE, CALLED HAAPUANI OF ATUONA, HIVAOA, STANDING BESIDE THE GREAT STONE FIGURE OF TAKAII, AT PUAMAU.

[frontispiece]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [197] 361 621 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful
[291] youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
304] part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands, and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. [222] They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [291] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being im- 291 modest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahher*, the second *cahu*, and the third

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

ahuwahee. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white 291
piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan 648
of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [445] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

SCRAPERS

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND BODY DECORATIONS

291 The Marquesans rarely went entirely nude although, among the men at least, the practice was not unknown. Quiros (51) says that the first men seen by the Spaniards were nude and Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) is specific on this point. He says:

> Even this girdle (the *hami*) is not worn by all the Nukahiwers, for the handsome Mau-ha-u for instance, always effected to go naked; and, although on two occasions I presented him with a girdle, he came on board the next time without it.

Even when entirely nude the Marquesan sense of modesty required that the head of the pénis should be covered. The foreskin, which was slit but not removed in the native form of circumcision, was drawn over it and confined by a ligature.

GARMENTS

The simplest form of clothing consisted of a few fau leaves wrapped around the genitals. This was employed by men when working on plantations at some distance from the village. The ordinary male garments were the *hami*, or loin cloth, and the cloak, both made of tapa. The cloak was usually dispensed with when at work. The ordinary *hami* consisted of a single strip of tapa approximately 2 feet wide and 8 feet long which was put on as follows: One end of the strip was passed between the legs, leaving a tail about 18 inches long in front. The rear end was then carried up and around the body to the right, and attached to itself by a few twists in the rear. The front tail was thrust up under the girdle thus formed, its end hanging down on the outside like a short apron. This simple *hami* was amplified in various ways on dress occasions. The commonest modification seems to have been the addition of a tail tied into large knots at equal intervals and long enough to drag on the ground behind. Handy obtained descriptions of two variations: the *hami kohito*, worn by old men, had three pendant strips in front, and a single tail behind; the *hami tatataka* had tails at the sides.

The cloak was made from a large rectangular piece of tapa with its upper corners knotted together. The knot was considered ornamental and was as large as a man's fist. The men's cloak was usually worn with the knot in front, on the breast, so that only the back of the body was covered. When in position its lower edges fell below the knee.

The complete clothing for women consisted of a loin cloth, apparently identical in arrangement with the ordinary man's *hami*, or of a kilt, made from a strip of tapa wrapped several times around the waist and reaching to the knee. A cloak was also worn. Stewart (59, p. 255) says that the younger women frequently wore only the cloak, which was wrapped around the body, the edges held together with the hand. The woman's cloak was identical with that of the men, but might

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas. 291

TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women. 304

The tattooing was done with bone combs. 304

The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *heana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.) 413

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink. 304 386

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahke* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [291]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [30] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional [305] curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would [291] be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

• 291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more
439 distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291 of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264 so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515 in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252 a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231 that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231 hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 142
302
241

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THESE MEN ARE CHARACTERIZED BY DENSE MOUSTACHES AND A MODERATE BEARD. THE BEARDS ARE MODERATELY LONG, THE FACES HIGH AND THE NOSES RELATIVELY NARROW. THE SKINS ARE A LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN. THERE IS LITTLE PRIGNATHISM AND THE CHINS ARE FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. NOS. 2, 6, 9, 14 AND 15 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF TYPE I. NOS. 7, 8, 10 AND 13 ARE EXAMPLES OF A THIRD TYPE CHARACTERIZED BY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 112]
[end plate 1]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OXG Marquesas OXG

X 142
302
741

TYPE II—THE INDONESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, AND 3 WITH THEIR PROFILES IN NOS. 10 AND 13 ARE PROBABLY THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS TYPE. THEIR LIPS, NOSES, AND FACE PROPORTIONS ARE NOTABLE. THEIR SKINS ARE A DARKER BROWN THAN THAT OF THE POLYNESIANS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 119]

[end plate 2]

X.Mq
202
241

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THE HAIR OF THESE WOMEN FOR THE MOST PART IS STRAIGHT OR ONLY SLIGHTLY WAVY. THE THICKNESS OF THEIR LIPS IS MORE NOTICEABLE THAN IN THE MEN OF THIS TYPE. SOME OF THE WOMEN ARE OF MIXED BLOOD. NOS. 5, 6, 9 AND 15 ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLYNESIAN TYPE. NOS. 8 AND 12 HAVE VERY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 114]

[end plate 3]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 CCC6 Marquesas CCC6

X 162
342
v.1

TYPE II—INDONESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 3, 4 AND 7, WITH THEIR PROFILES IN 11, 12, AND 13 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE. NONE OF THIS HAIR CAN BE CALLED CURLY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NO. 10, WHO HAS FRIZZLY HAIR, THIS TYPE IS CHARACTERIZED BY HAIR WITH A MODERATE WAVE. NO. 10 IS NEGROID IN APPEARANCE, BUT HAS A CEPHALIC INDEX OF 88.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 115]

[end plate 4]

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X 142
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291
IX

MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES. SEVERAL OF THE WOMEN HAVE LONG HEADS, HIGH FACES, AND BROAD NOSES. NO. 9 HAS THE NEAREST APPROACH TO CURLY HAIR IN THE SERIES. NOS. 3, 5, 11 AND 13 MAY BE REPRESENTATIVES OF A THIRD TYPE WITH SHORT HEADS, NARROW FACES AND NARROW NOSES.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 116]

Lend plate 5]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

+H42
S62
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IX

TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS. NOS. 1 TO 10 ARE ONE-HALF CHINESE. NOS. 11 AND 12 ARE ONE-QUARTER WHITE AND ONE-QUARTER TAHITIAN. NOS. 13 AND 14 ARE ONE-HALF ENGLISH AND NUMBER 15 IS ONE-HALF SPANISH AND ONE-QUARTER FRENCH. WHERE CAUCASIAN BLOOD IS PRESENT IT IS USUALLY APPARENT.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 117]

[on plate 6]

/32 cont./

826 832 757 [856] [824]

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instructions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's generation, but much is also learned from more sexually advanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

864 [602] [603] [883] [521] [875] [871]

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruction of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

864 838

Although very much at ease with each other in states of undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about appearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite common and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

291 883 [833] [526] [515]

/51cont./

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[192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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[609]

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

[571]
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[532]
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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]●
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions 603 was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that 864 instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, [182] that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma 291 in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual rela- 291 tions, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a 797 direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth 178 century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, 291 most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage 797 of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and 178 values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 869 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 869 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

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622 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black
292 hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses.
[304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another
582 chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in
[428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Mar-
582 quesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that
171 children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no
[847 848] such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description: 712 344

In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.

On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 292 714 [304]

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292 714 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha,* a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o,* full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[30] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai,* were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho).* A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o.* In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle." 292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war. 411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed: [824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taachi*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *koto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called *tuputu*, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting *tuhuna* were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the *tuhuna o'ono* lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono* and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoho*) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

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flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the 301
effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a [237] large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho, papatu ouoho, tope pu*, or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders.

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and head- 292
dress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs.

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea, tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e koho* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

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292 237 The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, *e*) headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and bark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a*, which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a*. One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei, peue taki ei, or peue koio* (fig. 23, *b*) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

292 The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*) would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, *d*) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'n I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a*, but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka*. Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka*, or *hei pe'ope'a*.

The *ta'avaha*, sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress).

FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*pena ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kakahai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*toinua*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *poua ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *tahiha*, *waka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete ponia* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *ponia*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te pusina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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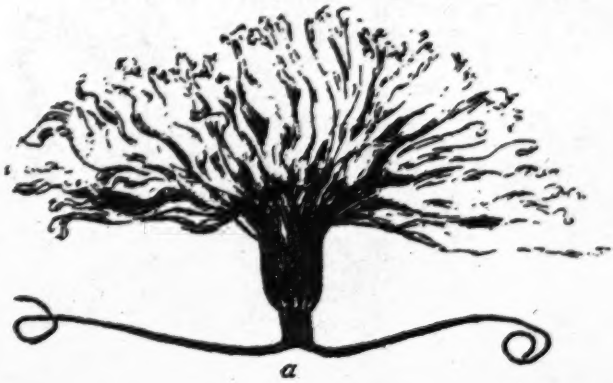

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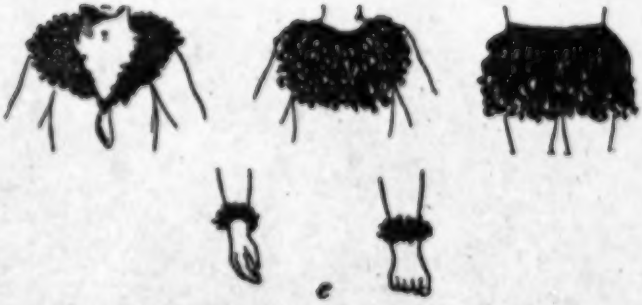

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pawhiua*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *taatiki* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei ha'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*ta'o ta'o pia'o*).

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

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FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *to'ovaka*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen.

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume.

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress:

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e koua'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu koua'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248).

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the pareo worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *cahu* [*kahu*], and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pohhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece
292 of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
[301] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
[301] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th. [184] [292] [302]

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FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string. 283 [824]

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *toua* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them. [231]

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth [292]

302 house for seven or eight days, at the end of which time the skin was bleached. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says the natives of Nuku Hiva used the sap of the *mou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) as a skin bleach, rubbing the skin with the crushed leaves the day before a fête.

Skin bleaching seems to have been almost confined to the women, although Stewart (59, pp. 259-260) mentions a male dancer, whose skin had been bleached in this way, who was "almost as fair as any one of our number." The light color produced in this way lasted for only a short time, exposure to the sun causing the skin to reassume its normal brown tint.

SPECIAL COSTUMES

292 Special costumes were worn by priests in the performance of their duties. According to Handy the ceremonial dress of the *ta'ua* of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, was a full length robe of tapa made from the thick bark of old banyan trees. It covered the whole body and came to the ground, and was likened by the natives to a priest's cassock. It was called *kahu kohito*.

Stewart, writing of Nuku Hiva, says (59, pp. 271-272):

> The Tahumas have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf. A part of the stem, six to eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed around the head on each side and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends: it is then passed around the neck so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office.

He describes the dress of a *ta'ua* whom he visited as follows (59, p. 328):

> His whole figure was enveloped in a large mantle of snow white tapa, or native cloth, over which a smaller one of fine scarlet kerseymere fell from his shoulders down the back —both being fastened by one large knot, resting on the chest in front. A double roll of fine white tapa encircled his forehead: while his hair, tied in two close knots, was confined on the crown by long bands of the same.

According to Handy the *taputoho* at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wore a long cloak of *ute* tapa, like a blanket, which was called *kahu kookoo*, and a peculiar dark colored headdress called *pae kohito*. This headdress was made from the bark of an old *ute* tree which was slightly pounded, and left rough. It was tied around the head and knotted behind with a piece hanging down.

Stewart (59, p. 288) describes the dress of a messenger bearing invitations to a funeral as follows:

> [He] was dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows, surmounted by a miter shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana

tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country. 292

Stewart describes also the dress of two boys who performed at a fête which he attended (59, pp. 259-260):

> One wore on his head the feather helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior—the cap being of equal height to all the rest of his figure. About his girdle was a full sash of white cloth tied in a large bow with long ends in front; and from it four white cords of plaited tapa, two behind and two before, descended to the knee—each terminating in monsterous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.
>
> The headdress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth, in a thick roll over the forehead; and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail—the whole having an airy and tasteful appearance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine, and the flowers of the cape jessamine; while his maro, of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

Langsdorff (38, p. 172) says that women used green boughs or banana leaves as parasols. Fleuriu states (23, p. 116): "One should count also among their ornaments . . . parasols made of large palm leaves, which they ornament with feathers of different sizes and colors." None of these parasols have survived. 293

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ornament of this sort, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 2. 292 237

The ornament consists of two feathered bands, of identical construction, placed side by side and fastened together by wrappings of sennit at intervals of three or four inches. The ends of the bands are enclosed in a longer wrapping; each band consists of a heavy core of twisted coconut fiber over which there is a continuous sennit wrapping. The plumes are closely spaced and have been laid on with their quills against the core, each quill being held in place by two or three turns of the wrapping. Great care was taken to place the plumes so that their natural curve caused those on each half of the band to incline outward and away from the center. Heavy sennit cords, probably a continuation of the fiber in the cores of the bands, spring from either end of the ornament. Other cords of fau bark are attached to the ends of the sennit cords.

The *taavaha* was worn across the forward part of the head, a little back of the forehead, with the plumes rising vertically. The cords at its ends were tied under the chin, like bonnet strings. It was primarily a man's ornament, but was sometimes worn by women dancers at fetes.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says that about 500 feathers were required for a *taavaha*, and that each cock had only two feathers which would serve, so that it was necessary to despoil over 200 cocks to make a single ornament. At the time of his visit a *taavaha* was valued at a gun.

A modified form of the *taavaha* is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 1. The bands which form the base of this ornament are like those in the one just described, but the workmanship is not so good. The feathers are much shorter and appear to be cocks' tail coverts. They are made up in small bunches of three to five feathers each, with the quill ends enclosed in short sennit wrappings. The bunches are attached to the cores of the bands by a method resembling that used in attaching the small locks of hair in hair ornaments.

Stewart (59, pp. 247-249) describes still another modification of the *taavaha*. He says:

It [the headdress] consists of a crescent three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, an eighth of an inch wide, ran around the edges in a herring bone pattern of alternate black and white—while the middle was entirely filled with the small scarlet berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the breadfruit tree. [Compare this description with the gorget (?) shown on Pl. LXXVIII, *C*, 2.] The crescent formed the front of a cap, fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long black and burnished tail feathers of the cock—the finest I ever saw; those in the center being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner, as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head—the feathers in the center standing perpendicular, and becoming more and more vertical, till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends—falling, from the highest point above the forehead, one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side—played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. [824]

According to Handy a headdress made from the white feathers of the *vaki* bird was also called *taavaha*.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says: "Oftentimes a bunch of other more curious feathers of sea birds, in the form of a plume, are worn at the top or back of the

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292 head in addition to the large *taaiwha*." This probably refers to ornaments of the
237 same general type as that shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 3, which were made of unusually long tail feathers of the tropic bird attached to a smooth stick by wrappings of fine sennit. The principle of attachment appears to be much the same as that used in the large *taaiwha* except that the plumes entirely surround the stick instead of running only along one side of the band. The lower end of the carefully smoothed stick projects for some distance, suggesting that the ornament was thrust into a coil of hair.

Perhaps the most beautiful of the Marquesan headdresses was the *paekua*, shown on Plate LXXX, *B*. Only two of these ornaments were seen, but these agree so closely in all details of construction and decoration as to suggest that the type was a fixed one. It is rather interesting that one of the specimens contains a few peacock feathers, proving it to be post-European.

The body of the *paekua* is made up of three strips of featherwork. Each strip is broadest in the middle and tapers to a point at either end. A piece of large bamboo, flattened and scraped to paper thinness serves as a base for the featherwork. Over this are laid one or more layers of fine white tapa, which fit the bamboo so closely as to suggest that they were put on while the tapa was wet. The feathers, all of which are small, are glued to this tapa with breadfruit gum. To give additional security the whole strip is wrapped with single strands of some stiff white fiber—probably banana fiber. In a perfect specimen these wrappings are concealed by the feathers, but in the one figured the wrappings, tapa pad, and bamboo base are all visible. The feathers are laid on in irregular overlapping rows, the work progressing from both ends and meeting in the middle.

The tapa pad varies in thickness in the different strips composing the ornament, being heaviest in the top and bottom strips, less heavy on the ends of the central strip, and thinnest at the center of the central strip.

The three strips are pasted side by side upon a single large piece of coconut leaf sheath, whose natural stiffness serves to hold the ornament in shape. Along either edge, outside the strips, run three flat bands, or ribbons, plaited from strands of black dyed fau bark and white tapa. At either end of the ornament, between these bands, is a small triangular piece of white tapa which serves to cover the tips of the strips of feather work. Long tying strips, braided from tapa and black fau bark, are attached to either end of the ornament. In the specimen figured two tapa strings are fastened to the inside near the top center, suggesting that there was originally an additional ornament which projected above the *paekua*.

Green, yellow and red feathers were used. The first two colors were obtained from a species of dove, the *kuku*. The source of the red feathers is doubtful. The usual native story is that they were obtained from the *manu kua*, a red bird long extinct, which lived on the plateaus of Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. In an account obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, they are said to have been brought from a far off island called Aotona, which Handy identifies as Rarotonga. A species of *kuku* which has a red cap of the same shade as the feathers in the *paekua* occurs in Hiva Oa, and it seems probable that at least some of the feathers used were obtained from these birds. (It should be noted that Dordillon defines *paekua* as "head ornament of *kuku* feathers.")

The red, green and yellow feathers on each strip were arranged in vertical bands, the center of the middle strip being covered by a large block of red feathers. Two small designs in red, one of which appears in the illustration, were placed on either side of the centers of the outer strips.

The *paekua* is said to have been the ancient headdress of Nuku Hiva and also of the valley of Pua Ma'u in Hiva Oa. It is not mentioned by any of the early writers, however, and

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probably was always a rare and greatly valued ornament. A narrow band of featherwork, corresponding to one of the three strips in the large *paekua*, was worn as a headdress in Nuku Hiva. It was also called *packua*. 292 237

According to Handy the *packua* was worn by young chiefesses at fetes, and was also sometimes worn as a breast ornament. Its principal use, however, was as a man's headdress.

A few other types of feather headdresses seem to have been in use. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says that some of the natives of Hiva Oa wore "round coronets of the small linguated feathers of the man-of-war bird." Stewart (59, p. 313) says that a *taua* (priest) seen by him in Nuku Hiva wore "a full wreath of red and white feathers, much soiled, in alternate bunches over the forehead and temples." From his notes and from Dordillon's dictionary Handy has compiled names of additional feather ornaments as follows:

Heikua: A wreath of red cock feathers worn by women to dance the *hakapahaka*. The feathers were attached to sennit.

Tua: An ornament of twelve upright *toake* feathers, which was worn on the forehead.

Hei mekameka: Head ornament of long cocks' plumes.

Kohepea: Long cocks' plumes attached to the end of a stick, worn as an ornament.

Koketafa: Aigrette of cocks' plumes on the end of a stick.

Pea: Long tail feathers of a cock. Aigrette of these feathers.

Peue: Head ornament of feathers in the form of a visor.

Tua: Aigrette of red feathers of the tropic bird.

A number of striking headdresses of materials other than feathers were also used by the Marquesans. 292 237 321

Wreaths or garlands of porpoise teeth (*peue ei*), worn principally by women, are still obtainable, although their manufacture has been discontinued for a number of years. The base of these ornaments is a band plaited from a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber. (See Pl. LXXXII, *A*.) The technique is identical with that employed for the bands of hair ornaments. The band is widest in the middle and tapers toward the ends, which are turned over and plaited back into the band on the outer side, forming stiff loops. Through these loops the tying strings, usually of white tapa, are passed.

The teeth were drilled through the root, and were attached as follows: A small bundle of fibers was released from every other cord on one half of the plait, threaded with beads and teeth, and its free end twisted into the corresponding cord on the opposite half of the plait. In almost all specimens both teeth and beads are used, each of the loops having six or more beads at each end and from 10 to 15 teeth in the middle. According to one informant, in ancient times small fish vertebrae were used instead of beads. In one specimen the beads are absent, the entire loop being threaded with teeth. It is evident that the twisting of the cords in the plait, the stringing of the loops, and the plaiting were carried on simultaneously.

In all the specimens examined, the teeth had apparently been drilled with metal tools. The perforations are remarkably small, and the teeth fit the cords on which they are strung so tightly that it is difficult to remove them even when the cords have been broken. Most, if not all, of the teeth used in these wreaths were obtained from the island of Ua Pou. An ordinary wreath contains from 1000 to 1500 teeth, and the demand evidently exceeded the supply, for several wreaths were seen which contained imitation teeth made of bone. A unique specimen, made entirely of bone, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *B*.

When not in use the wreath was straightened and a smooth rod, about half an inch in diameter was run through all the loops, between the teeth and the plaited band. The orna-

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292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in
237 several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they were scoured with fine sand.

321 A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced
[177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kana*, the small discs, *kana momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *packa* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent
[177] has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

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lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of cocoanuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packea*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

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292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American
237 museums were collected.
321 The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taevaha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

292 A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and
[302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

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the name of the man whose beard was used, even when the *pavahina* is several generations old. In spite of the surprising whiteness of the hair in some of these ornaments no method of artificial bleaching seems to have been employed. In almost every specimen there are a few black hairs sprinkled among the white, and rarely tresses of entirely black hair are included. 292

As may be seen from the illustration (Pl. LXXXII, *E.*) the *pavahina* was made up from a great number of locks of hair.

To make one of these locks a long tress of hair was doubled over to form a loop through which a very fine cord of twisted coconut fiber was passed. The loop was then wrapped with a single strand of fiber. The two ends of the cord passing through the loop were twisted together to form a single heavier cord. The tresses, with their attached cords, were then gathered into bundles of from ten to thirty, the ends of the cords in each bundle being fastened together and wrapped with sennit in the same way that the individual tresses were wrapped. A sennit cord, heavier than the cords running to the tresses, was attached to the lower end of the bundle. To complete the ornament, from four to ten of these bundles were placed side by side in two parallel rows, and sewn together with single strands of fiber. The cords depending from the bundles were plaited together to form a flat pad, one-half to three-quarters of an inch long, through the lower edge of which passed a long cord which served for the attachment of the ornament. The method of attaching the *pavahina* to the *peue ei*, and its appearance when in position, are shown on Plate LXXXII, *A*.

Black dyed sennit, or even cords of human hair, were sometimes used instead of ordinary sennit for wrapping the bundles. A crudely made *pavahina*, in which the technique differs somewhat from that described, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *F*.

The pad and bundle wrappings of the *pavahina* were sometimes whitened with lime or clay, and the ornaments are said to have been laid out in the dew for a few nights before a fete to clean and whiten them.

Pavahina appear to have sometimes been worn on the body or limbs with or in place of the hair ornaments described on p. 424. A photograph of an old Nuku Hiva man in full dress shows a half circle of them worn around the chin as a false beard.

Dordillon gives two terms of considerable interest—*pae mamane*, which he translates "helmet," and *pae veinehae*, which he translates "mask." The existence of these terms appears to be the only evidence for the occurrence of either helmets or masks in the Marquesas.

Dordillon also gives three words for comb; *kofeu*, *pahen* and *pachu*. No Marquesan combs are preserved in American collections, and there are no indications that combs ever formed part of the Marquesan headdress. If they were used in prehistoric times they were probably toilet articles, not ornaments.

Carved bone tubes were sometimes attached to locks of hair as ornaments. 301
These were identical with those used on the fiber handles of containers and on the cords of large drums.

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LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low	[342]
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone	
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	
Pit for taps objects	Common	Absent	Absent	
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)	
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped	
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)	
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)	
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common	
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used	
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common		
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house		
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare	[415]
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used	
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
Taps	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)	[287]
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa	[304]
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	
Taavaka	Common	Less common	(?)	
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded	[292]
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common	

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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

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764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with [824] coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *koupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-[293] shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* [775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [634]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tewaea* (*ha'ea*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [29] [565]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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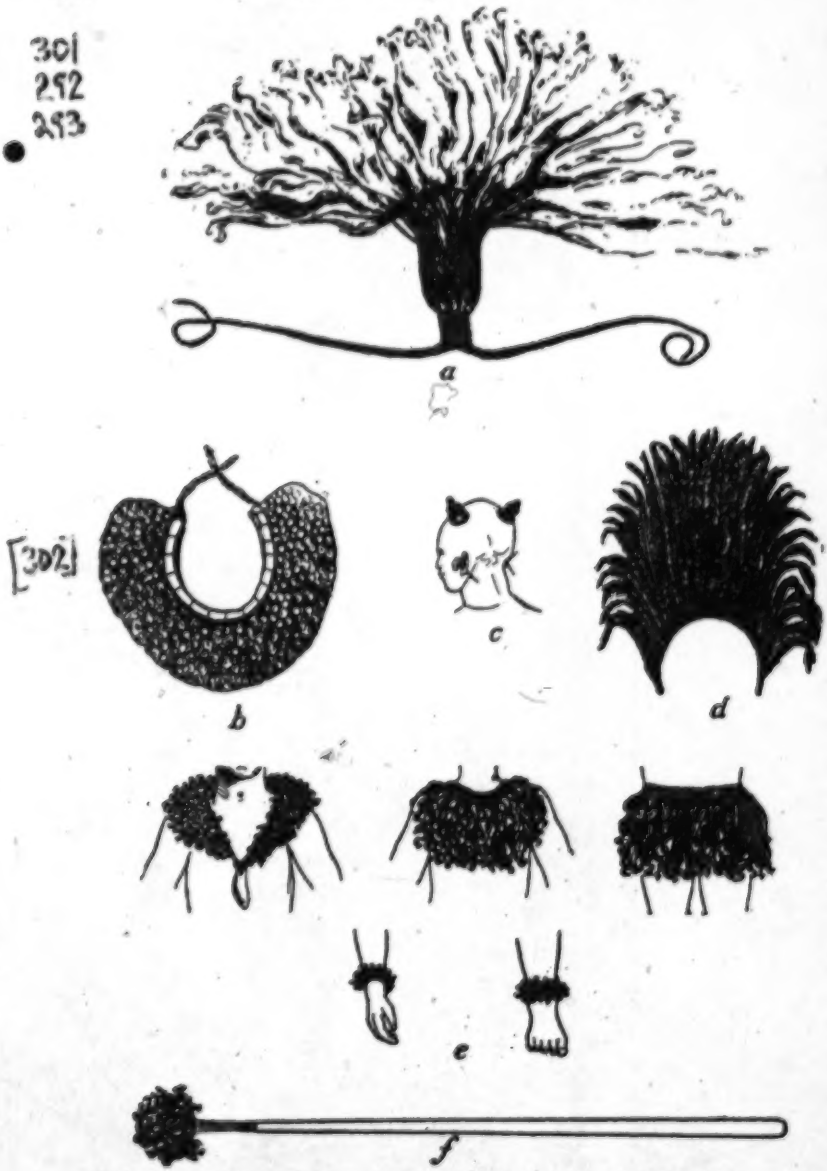

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pavohina*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *tautike* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei ku'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu,* which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe,* an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena,* fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu.* 302 824

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138). [834]

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi.* Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go. 293

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna.* The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *koke pe'a,* according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

[532]

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *ta'avaha*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbood* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

293 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, tos, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 PINE apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 Edge Partington (20, p. 46) figures a closely woven basket of coconut leaves of still a different type. It is oval in outline, with a flat bottom, vertical sides and a flat recurved top, making the opening considerably smaller in diameter than the body of the basket. No baskets of this sort are now in use and the form seems to have been forgotten.

[415] In the collection of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge there are two rather curious sacks from the Marquesas..

The material is split pandanus similar to that employed in mat weaving. The sacks are almost identical in size and construction and are rectangular, 14½ inches long and 11 inches deep. The form is that of an envelope with a triangular flap. The body of the sack is of double thickness, the outside layer being made of strips ¼ inch wide except for the last 3 inches below the top. The sack above this point, the flap, and the inner layer, are woven from much finer strips produced by splitting each of the ¼ inch strips in three. The technique is a simple checkerwork. A loop of twisted coconut fiber is attached to the center of the lip of the sack and passes up through a hole in the flap, protruding for 2 to 3 inches when the sack is closed. There is no information as to the use of these objects.

Jardin (33, p. 36) says that the natives wove coarse baskets from the flexible shoots of the *tutu* (Ceanothus asiatious), but gives no data to their form or the technique employed.

FANS

293 Marquesan fans were of two sorts, ordinary fans, which are still manufactured and used, and chiefs' fans, which were carried by persons of importance and were intended for show rather than use. The chiefs' fans are now obsolete, and no examples have been preserved in the group. They are fairly numerous in collections, however, and the type may be accurately described.

The coconut fans have a broad straight outer end and sides which are nearly parallel at the tip and curve inward smoothly at the base. All the specimens seen were more or less asymmetrical (Pl. LXVI, *F*), but this did not appear to be intentional. They are made as follows:

Young coconut leaflets are folded so that the midrib lies along one edge of the woven strip. The weaving is begun at the outer end, a flat band, twilled over two and under two and as long as the width of the proposed fan, being woven first. The twill in this band is longitudinal, and the whole is rarely more than seven elements wide. The direction of the twill is then changed to vertical, and the fan woven down to the upper end of the handle. To form the handle the two leaflets which are central at that point are crossed and carried down vertically, each succeeding pair being similarly detached from the weaving, crossed and braided in with those already detached until all have been included. The ends of these leaflets, which extend some distance below the fan, are then packed closely together, wrapped with bark string, and cut off squarely at the tips, the whole forming the handle.

The following description of chiefs' fans (Pl. LXVII, *A*, *B*) is based upon an examination of specimens in the possession of M. George La Garde of Papeete, and in various American museums. The weaving appears to have been uniform; the technique being as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The outer end of the fan, which was similar in shape to the coconut fans just described, was finished with a straight band twilled over three and under three. The body of the fan was also twilled, but the weft strands passed under one and over two. The warp strands radiated from the outer end, those next the handle being vertical and parallel while those of the wings diverged more and more as the tips were approached. The exact method of finishing the edges could not be determined. The upper end of the handle was provided with a long spike which was incorporated into the fan, the weft threads being interwoven about it. Near its base it was encircled by ornamental lashings of fine sennit laid on in a simple diamond pattern. The strips used in the woven part of the fan were one-eighth of an inch or less in width. The lower end of the handle might be either a continuation of the wooden spike or a separate piece of human bone or whale ivory. In most cases it was elaborately carved with four small tiki figures arranged in two pairs, superposed upon one another, the figures of each pair being back to back. These fan handles rank among the finest products of the Marquesan artist and it would be difficult for Europeans to better some of them either in design or execution. The woven portion of the fan was whitened by rubbing with lime or with a white clay found in Nuku Hiva, the application being heavy enough in many cases to fill the interstices of the weaving and make determination of the technique and material difficult. The material appears to have usually been the young leaflets of the coconut palm, but it is possible that pandanus was also used in a few instances. 293

These elaborate fans were made by special *tuhuna* and seem to have had a distinct ceremonial significance, being carried by chiefesses at *koina*, and by chiefs and *ta'ua*. Those of chiefesses at least were inherited in the female line, and appear to have been almost insignia of rank.

It seems well to describe here a very curious fan of tortoise shell, collected in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. (See Pl. LXVII, *C*.) [237]

The fan consists of a rather rough wooden handle to which plates of tortoise shell have been attached. The object is in bad condition, but the original shape appears to have been rectangular. The handle is decorated with a few tresses of human hair tied with coconut fiber, like those used in hair ornaments. Fans of this sort are said to have been used to keep flies off a dead body while it was undergoing mummification. The specimen obtained had been partially cut up for the sake of the tortoise shell, a good indication that these objects had no religious significance.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord. to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals. 411

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouvai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouvai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one. 411 293

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompom of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown. 411

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says: 727

tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country. 292

Stewart describes also the dress of two boys who performed at a fête which he attended (59, pp. 259-260):

> One wore on his head the feather helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior—the cap being of equal height to all the rest of his figure. About his girdle was a full sash of white cloth tied in a large bow with long ends in front; and from it four white cords of plaited tapa, two behind and two before, descended to the knee—each terminating in monsterous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.
>
> The headdress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth, in a thick roll over the forehead; and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail—the whole having an airy and tasteful appearance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine, and the flowers of the cape jessamine; while his maro, of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

Langsdorff (38, p. 172) says that women used green boughs or banana leaves as parasols. Fleuriu states (23, p. 116): "One should count also among their ornaments . . . parasols made of large palm leaves, which they ornament with feathers of different sizes and colors." None of these parasols have survived. 293

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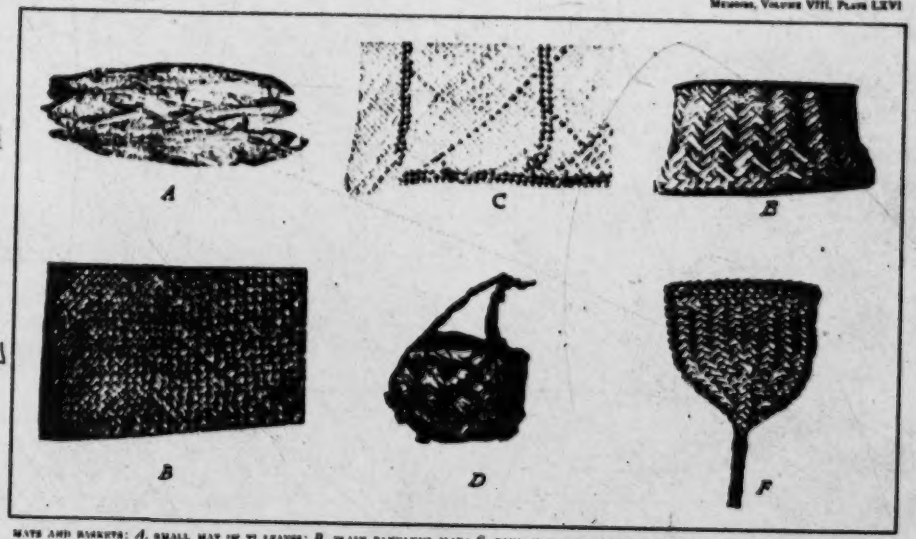
Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Dress and Ornament

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	.....	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on bare; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)



MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF VI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, ROAMO TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKETE TYPE; *F*, FAN OF BASKET WEAVE—TYPE IN USE IN 1920.

End plate 27

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Tr: Lemon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CEREMONIAL FANS: *A*, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *C*, TORTOISE SHELL FAN USED BY EMBALMERS.

[end plate 28]

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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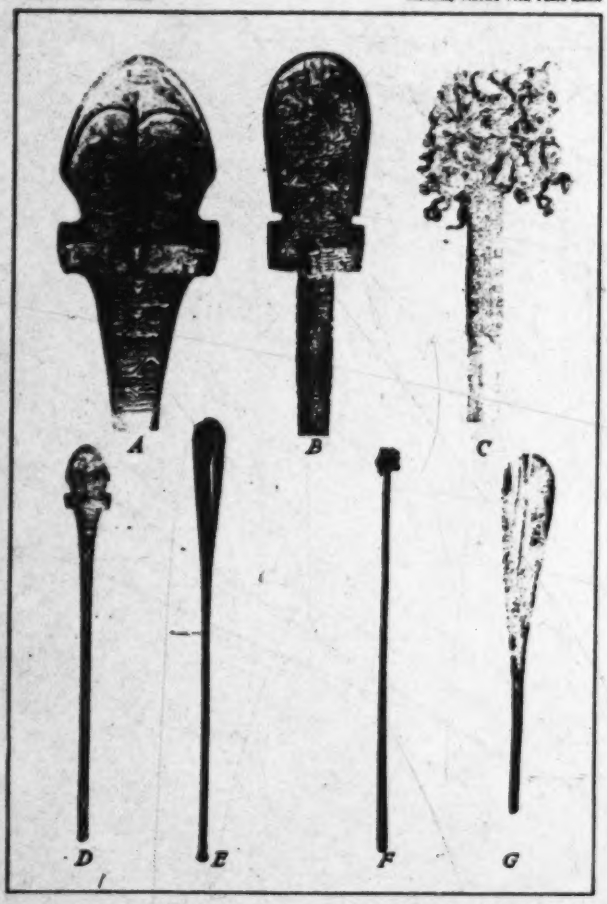

CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF OLD UU; *B*, HEAD OF MODERN UU; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, UU, FRONT VIEW; *E*, PAHAHU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (KOUVAI).

[end plate 30]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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HEADDRESSES: *A*, HEADDRESS OF LONG FEATHERS—1 AND 2 ARE TA'AVEHA; 3 IS A PLUME OF TROPIC-BIRD FEATHERS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, PAREU'A, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 41]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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HEADDRESSES: *A*, PAEKAHA, CROWN OF TORTOISE SHELL AND CONCH SHELL; *B*, PAEKAHA, CLOSE VIEW OF VERY OLD SPECIMEN SHOWING CARVED TORTOISE SHELL PLAQUES; *C*, UHIKANA, ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL ON A PLAITED BAND, REAR VIEW.

[end plate 42]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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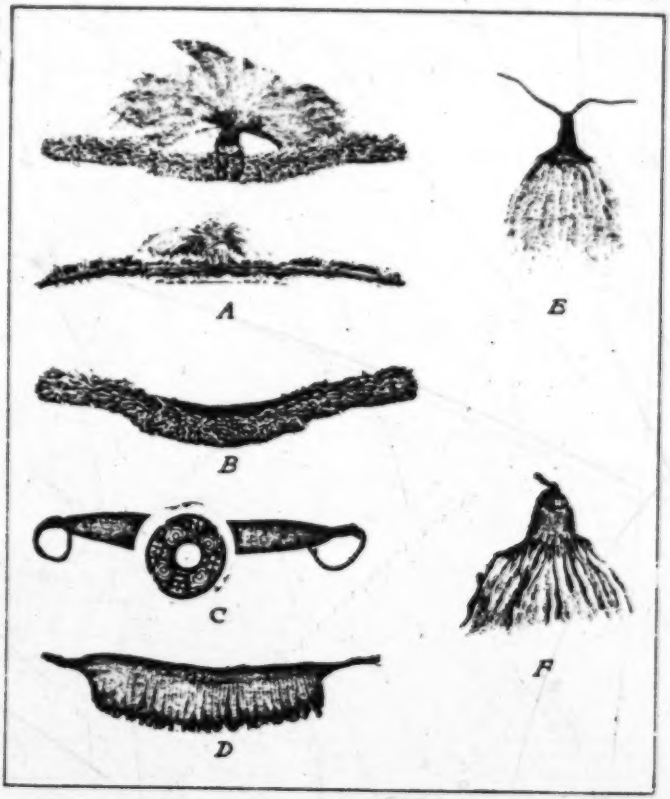

MARQUESAS: *A*, PEUI (*D*), ORNAMENT OF PORPOISE TEETH WITH PAVAHINA (ORNAMENT OF WHITE BEADS ATTACHED), FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, PEUI (*C*) MADE OF PIECES OF HUMAN BONE IN IMITATION OF TEETH; *C*, UHIKANA, HEAD ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL, FRONT VIEW (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *D*, HEAD-BAND OF BEADED COCONUT FIBER (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *E* AND *F*, PAVAHINA (*F*, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).

[end plate 43]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Designs on Chisel Handles

The collection of Marquesan objects in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum includes two chisels with carved handles. The four design elements or motifs employed in their decoration are: single triangles filled with V's, interlocking triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, concentric diamonds, and a single crude tiki face. Both carved handles are models and may not be true representatives. 531x

Designs on Stilts

The shafts of the stilts used in Marquesan games are undecorated, but the steps of the stilts are commonly carved (22, Pl. LXVIII, *B*). The principal decoration on the three specimens in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are tiki figures carved in the round. In addition to these figures there are straight horizontal interlocking grooves of diagonal lines, such as are used on the house posts, herring-bone, zigzags, scolloped lines, interlocking triangles filled with V's, single triangles filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, staggared crosses, broad hooks, *kaake*, curved spirals, segments of concentric ovals and combs. Of these the staggared cross is the most common. [481]

Designs on Pakea

The Marquesan *pakea* is a crown made up of curved plaques of tortoise shell carved on the concave surface and separated by strips of a white shell, all attached to a headband of sennit. There are also carved celluloid plaques made of materials brought by white traders. [243]

Each plaque has at least one tiki face displayed as the central design. On some plaques complete tiki figures are used as a border design; on others half of a face forms the unit of design. There seems to be no uniformity in arrangement or choice of border design. The predominant angular geometric patterns include: straight horizontal lines, straight longitudinal lines, herring-bone, zigzags, interlocking triangles in which one row of triangles is plain and the opposite row is filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, segments of concentric rectangles, diamonds filled with angular spirals, rectangular spirals, hook scrolls, and staggared crosses. The single example of a checkerwork unit consists of a central square and four other squares placed at the four corners (Pl. IV, *b*), all included in a space one-fourth inch wide and five-sixteenths inch long.

The few curvilinear patterns noted include segments of concentric circles and ovals, broad hooks, *kaake*, combs, and the palm leaf.

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296 GARMENT CARE -- methods of laundering clothes; repair techniques (e. g., darning, patching); special care and preservation of clothing (e. g., drying, snow removal, waterproofing, storage); organized services (e. g., laundries, dry-cleaning and pressing establishments, shoe-shining and repairing specialists); special techniques and apparatus; etc. See also:

Soap manufacture 389
Domestic laundry appliances 404
Commercial laundry and dry-cleaning machinery 402

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 714 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha*, a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o*, full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[301] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai*, were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho)*. A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o*. In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by 301 warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body 302 and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E*.) [552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave*, *tove'o*, or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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291 *kahu papaki* (8). The *kahu utu* was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The *kahu ko'o ko'o* was a full robe of white (*ute*) cloth made of a sheet of *tapa* eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the *kahu ku'a*, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The *kahu ku'a* is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The *kahu ma'o*, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the *kahu hiapo* is uncertain.

The *kahu hiapo* was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*) at Pua Ma'u was the *kahu kohito*, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the *kahu koua'ehi*, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by *tuhuna* on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called *pavahina*, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as *ouoho* (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. *Pavahina* (or *pava u*) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, *a*). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the 301
effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a [237]
large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho, papatu ouoho, tope pu*, or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders.

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and head- 292
dress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs.

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea, tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e kaha* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

[301 532 237 304 321]

FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kakakai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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292 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takika, nuka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te pucina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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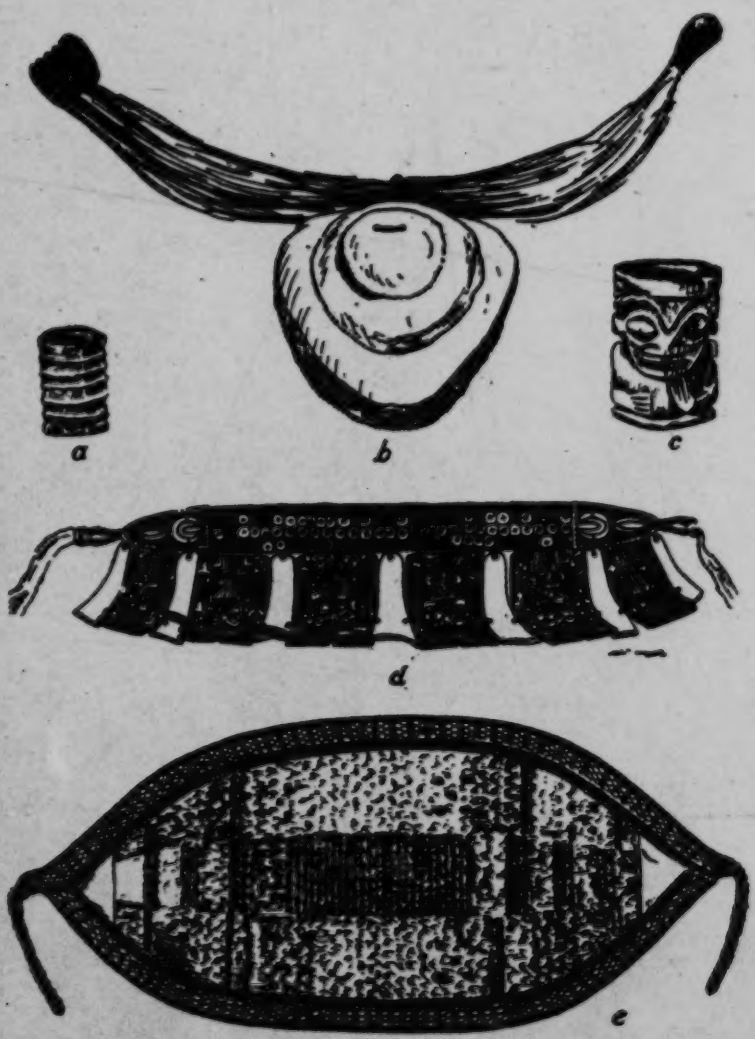

FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pu'e kos*); *e*, feather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pu'e hu'u*).

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[302]

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pavohiua*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *toutike* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei ku'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*te'o te'o pio'o*).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301

Small ornaments (*taiana, taiata, pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufou* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina, tuha maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e*, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

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Hei fa'a ha'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ku'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collors were the favorite garlands of *ka'ioi*.
Hei fa'a hoka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the *pua Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitata. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei otima. Mint family.
Hei atiu. A small green cucurbit.
Hei pivoa. The blossoms of the *pivoa*.
Hei moia. (?)

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Hei kakapa. (?)
Hei konini pa'a. ***Physalis peruvania.***
Hei nana. (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae*.
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis*.
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata*.
Hei voi-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria*.

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. 291 292

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume. 301 291 292

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress: 291

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e koua'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu koua'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248). 292

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *cahu* [*kahu*], and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece
292 of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
[301] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
[301] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533 [517]

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 533 883 [302] [301]

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs 533

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group. 101 114

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded. 133

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of 609 [301] [301] [231]

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. [622] They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [291] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 CX6 Marquesas CX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
[266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. Cogao. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

[326 Mar. 315]

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[223] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[289] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[393] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoa. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of broccoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

302 In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 114) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

> Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

[301] According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *paeahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *paeahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*poni*).

303 The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fau leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *poni*. He says:

> They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesans compensated for their simple costumes by the use of a great variety of ornaments, ranging from quickly made necklaces and wreaths of ferns and flowers to elaborate headdresses whose manufacture must have required months of work. Certain ornaments were worn exclusively by men or by women, but it is an interesting commentary on the position of the women that many of the most valuable could be worn by either sex. There are some indications of local differences in ornaments, but these are hard to establish at the present time.

FLOWERS, HERBS AND FRUITS

301 824 A great variety of wreaths and garlands, made from ferns and from all sorts of flowers and fragrant herbs, were formerly worn by the Marquesans. This sort of decoration is now limited to wreaths worn on the hair or around the hat.

Most of these wreaths are made from plants chosen for their odor rather than their beauty. The finest are made from *Guttarda speciosa* which bears a creamy yellow tubular flower of wonderful fragrance. The calyxes of the flowers are broken off and the tubes threaded upon a string, the base of one flower entering the mouth of the next. The flowers have a peculiar property of increasing in fragrance as they wither and even when dried have a pungent perfume. At the present time the flowers of *Gardenia tahitensis* are much used for wreaths, although this plant is not native to the Marquesas. The calyxes are broken off, but are left suspended by the pistil. The corollas are then threaded. The finished wreath is a white band from which hangs a fringe of bright green calyxes.

A necklace made from the fragrant ripe fruit of pandanus [*Pandanus odoratissimus*] was formerly a favorite ornament of both men and women.

The fruit looks somewhat like small sweet peppers, with shiny surfaces, bright red at the upper end, shading to lemon yellow at the tip. They were pierced laterally and strung side by side, small ends up, so that they formed a heavy semicircular collar two to three inches wide in the center, tapering toward either end. These ornaments are especially interesting because of their resemblance to a form of wooden gorget. (See p. 429.)

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Ornaments made from locks of human hair attached to a band of coconut fiber are highly characteristic of the Marquesan culture; nothing at all resembling them seems to have been used elsewhere in Oceania. Although these ornaments vary in size according to the part of the body on which they were to be worn, the technique is always the same.

The band to which the locks were attached was composed of a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber, which were plaited around two heavy longitudinal cords. The method of plaiting was such that at first glance the band seemed to consist of two half-inch ropes, tightly twisted in opposite directions, and fastened side by side. (See Pl. LXXVI, *A*.) The hair was made up into a number of small locks which were attached to the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hands separately. These locks were made as follows: A long tress was wrapped at the center with a few turns of fine sennit. It was then doubled back upon itself, and the wrapping continued upward, so that the hair was enclosed in a fiber sleeve about half an inch long. The lock was thus reinforced with sennit at the inner end and terminated in a loop. The separate locks were attached to the band by means of strands of fiber which were separated from one of the cords of the plait, passed through the loop, and twisted into the cord again. The processes of twisting the cords, attaching the locks of hair, and plaiting the band must have been carried on simultaneously, an arrangement which called for a remarkable degree of skill on the part of the workman. 301

Hair ornaments were made by a special *tuhuna*, who also made feather-work. When an ornament was made for a child the hair was donated by its mother's brothers and father's sisters. For a chief's child all the men in the tribe contributed hair. According to Handy, the hair of revenge victims was also used. The hair was curled, apparently after it had been made up into locks, by wrapping it tightly around small sticks, doing these up in green leaves, and baking them in an earth oven.

Hair ornaments were worn by both men and women on festive occasions.

A complete costume consisted of a large shoulder ornament, one or two waist ornaments, bands on the wrists and above the elbow, and bands on the ankles and just below the knee. The shoulder ornament was worn like an European boa, the longest part resting in the middle of the back while the ends were tied together on the breast and held down by a whale's tooth or other ornament. The waist pieces were worn over the *hami* (loin cloth). When there was only one, it was placed in the rear, like a bustle, when two, one was worn in front and one behind. Plate LXXVI, *A* shows a shoulder ornament: *D*, a waist or shoulder ornament and *E*, a wrist band. The only knee ornament seen was of long wavy hair, like the waist ornament.

Handy gives the following native names for these ornaments: *titi ouoho*, shoulder ornament; *titi ouoho kei*, waist ornament; *poi ima*, arm ornaments; *motutu ouoho*, wrist ornaments; *poi vaivai*, leg ornaments.

BELTS AND ANKLE ORNAMENTS

Edge-Partington (20, p. 48) figures a belt of seven parallel rows of bird bone beads, strung on sennit. Some of the beads are decorated with diagonal incised lines. 301 237

In Hiva Oa, at least, bands of feather work were sometimes worn around the ankles in place of hair ornaments. No examples of these have been preserved and the information about them is unsatisfactory. They are said to have been made of short black roosters' feathers attached to a broad fiber band. To judge from other feather ornaments they were probably laid on overlapping and pasted to the base.

FINGER ORNAMENTS

Ornaments made from the long tail feathers of the tropic bird were worn by male and female dancers on the second finger of both hands. The ornament

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●301 237 was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, *C*.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bead for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

301 [821] The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, *B*. The broader of these is made from the end of a large Conus shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from Tridacna shell, and is unusually well made. As Tridacna shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, *F*) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

[824] A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precartorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, *G*.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouoho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, *A*.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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dently thrust through the loop and held on the outside with a pin of some sort. Edge-Partington (20, p. 44) shows a specimen with ends finished in this way which has three shell pendants of graduated size. Necklaces with both ends finished alike were tied behind the neck with strings of twisted tapa. (See Nos. 3, 4.) A polished pearl shell was usually suspended from the center of the necklace. 301

Edge-Partington (20, p. 67) figures a hair girdle from Niue which closely resembles these Marquesan necklaces. A necklace of similar form from the Ellice Islands is now in the American Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum has a series of necklaces from Penrhyn Island which differ from the Marquesan forms only in minor details of the finishing of the ends. All these ornaments are obviously similar to the Hawaiian hair necklaces which with a whale ivory hook formed the insignia of chiefly rank.

Necklaces other than those of hair cord seem formerly to have been worn principally by women. They were made from porpoise teeth, shells, or seeds and in later times of European glass beads. The teeth used were perforated as near the bottom of the root as possible, and strung on threads of pineapple fiber. Bead necklaces were usually made of a double strand of beads which was looped back and forth as in chain stitching. The ends of the necklace were tied together at the back of the neck. Combinations of beads and teeth, or of beads and shells, seem to have been rather common. (See Pl. LXXVII, *B*.)

GORGETS AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The Marquesans used a great variety of gorgets and breast ornaments, most, if not all, of which were worn by the men. The most valued of these was the *ei*, or whale's tooth (Pl. LXXVIII, *A*) some of which at least had a religious significance. As the Marquesans did not catch whales the supply of teeth must have been far below the demand. Porter says that a schooner load of sandal wood could be bought with ten large teeth. Whales' teeth worn as ornaments were drilled transversely near the tip of the root, and were commonly ground at this end, to make them thinner and easier to perforate. In view of their skill in ivory carving it is rather curious that the natives seem not to have carved or shaped these teeth. The tooth was sometimes attached to the ends of a hair ornament worn on the shoulders, serving to weight it down and hold it in position. Most of the specimens seen, however, were attached to ropes of twisted coconut fiber covered with white tapa.

Plaques of large pearl shells were formerly used in the Marquesas, but very few examples have survived. 301

In making the plaque the shell was ground to a more or less regular outline and the colored outer layers removed except for a narrow band around the edge. This band was dec- 321

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 921 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, *B*) gives the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of Conus shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

301 237 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem, the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, *C*, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, 9½ inches; maximum width, 2¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are perforated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds attached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large [824] collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII, *C*, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered with the shiny red and black Abrus seeds. Along either side of the encrusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

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cords for attachment. It is possible that this specimen is a head ornament rather than a gorget, as a somewhat similar ornament is said to have been worn with the great headdress of cocks' feathers. 301

Plate LXXVIII, *C*, Nos. 3 and 4, shows two gorgets of more ordinary type. They are composed of a number of sections of light wood strung together by cords running through lateral holes. The cords are concealed except at the ends, where they are braided together to form the tying strings. The usual number of cords seems to be two, but a gorget in the Cambridge Museum has three. Each section of the gorget has a thick inner end and a thin outer end, but the proportions of these parts are variable. In the specimens figured the outer ends are short and flat, but in other gorgets the ends are considerably longer than the thick portion and slope upward toward the outside so that the collar looks dished. In a few gorgets the edges of the collar are cut into tongues or rays. The assembled collars are so rigid as to indicate that the sections were glued together. The incrustation was limited to the thin outer part of the collar. The thick part was whitened with lime or clay.

It is rather curious that the Marquesans should have made a rigid collar of many sections when it would have been much easier to cut it in a single piece. The most plausible explanation for its composite construction seems to be that the idea was borrowed from the necklaces of pandanus fruit which had much the same shape. Krusenstern (34, 156-158) says such collars were the peculiar mark of a priest.

So far as known, seed incrusted ornaments are found only in Polynesia in the Marquesas and Cook Islands. Outside of Polynesia they appear to have been made only in Australia and northern New Guinea.

Necklaces and breast ornaments differing from any of those described are mentioned by some of the early visitors. Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says:

"Hogs' fangs or pieces of bone, or muscle shells of a particular kind strung together in rows with the threads of the coconut, are very common as necklaces." Fleurieu (23, p. 114) says: "Some are content to carry, hanging from their necks, small pieces of polished bone, of shell, or of white coral or stone which are carved in different figures but which for the most part imitate a large tooth." He also remarks (p. 120) that the women wore collars or necklaces made of black seeds mixed with little shells. Desgraz (15, p. 283) says that small tiki figures of human bones were worn around the neck as amulets. Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) says:

"Another sort of gorget is made entirely of boars' teeth fastened onto a band, woven with the fibers of the coconut, and they also wear single boars' teeth, either suspended from their necks, or fastened to their beards, and balls about the size of an apple entirely covered with red beans."

A drawing reproduced by Cook (14, p. 310) shows a string gorget of unusual form, which seems to be made of a great number of short cords doubled over a longitudinal rope. The cords are gathered into bundles just below this rope, the ends hanging free in a deep fringe.

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●301 According to Handy (32) collars of pearl, called *pipici*, were sometimes placed with a body at burial, and three types of headdress, the *taavaha*, *packua*, and *hei kua* were sometimes worn around the neck or on the breast.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR WOMEN

301 A pair of ear ornaments of rare type are illustrated in Plate LXXIX, *A*, 1, 3.
321 The "S" shaped body of these ornaments is made of a narrow strip of tortoise shell which was softened by heat and bent into shape. At about a third of its length the strip is perforated for the attachment of an ornament composed of porpoise teeth and beads. The teeth are somewhat smaller than those usually used for crowns, but like them are strung on loops of coconut fiber. The beads are, of course, of European manufacture. The long projecting end of the strip was thrust through the lobe of the ear, the body of the ornament hanging below with the toothed portion to the rear. These ornaments were used by women.

The object shown on Plate LXXIX, *A*, 2, may be classed as a woman's ear ornament. Its construction is essentially the same as that of the ornaments just described, but the strip is replaced by a large black seed which has apparently been oiled and polished. The method of wearing this ornament is unknown, but it seems probable that the seed and bead tassel were worn in front of the ear with the teeth behind.

The commonest form of woman's ear ornament, called *taiana* is shown at the bottom of Plate LXXIX, *B*.

The *taiana* is made of two pieces, a cap and a body. The cap, called *puiu*, is made from some white shell, probably Tridacna, and has on the inner side a cylindrical cavity about one-fourth of an inch deep. The sides of this cavity are lined with a thin layer of pith or soft wood. The body consists of a thin strip of human bone whose inner end is finished with a short cylindrical shank. The tip of this shank is cut to accurately fit the cavity in the cap. The rest of the body i decorated with highly conventionalized human figures. A large figure with extended arms is represented in profile at either end, and between these, two smaller figures, shown in front view. The heads of these small figures are supported by the hands of the end figures, while their legs appear at the bottom. Their bodies are not represented. The two ornaments shown at the top of the plate differ considerably from this normal type, but the basic concept is probably the same as the four heads are still recognizable. The inner sides of the ornaments are left rough. The elaborate piercing used in working out the designs is especially interesting as this technique seems not to have been employed in any other Marquesan objects. Ornaments of this sort were worn with carved portion projecting horizontally behind the ear, the cap, which was fitted on the shank, resting against the front of the ear lobe.

The bone of which they were made is said to have been obtained from dead relatives, not, as was the usual practice, from revenge victims. The figures represent ancestors, one of the large figures being male and the other female. Such ornaments were highly prized, and were inherited in the female line.

According to an informant in Fatu Hiva women sometimes wore ornaments similar to the *taiana*, but made from a boar's tusk instead of human bone. Early writers make little or no reference to women's ear ornaments, although they describe those of the men in considerable detail.

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EAR ORNAMENTS FOR MEN

The most highly prized of the men's ear ornaments were the *ha'akai* (Dordillon, 17). 301 321

Ha'akai were made from whale ivory in the form of a thick disc from whose rear surface a spur projected. The disc portion was oval, with a flat or slightly rounded outer surface, and was undecorated except for two broad shallow grooves around the edge. The spur was placed near one end of the oval, and was usually made in one piece with the disc. In the specimen shown on the left (Plate LXXIX, *C*), the spur is made from a separate piece of ivory, its base fitting accurately into a cavity in the disc. It is held in place by small plugs of wood and ivory which pass through holes drilled diagonally through both disc and spur. The ends of these plugs are cut flush with the surface of the disc and it is evident that the attachment was permanent. One or two small tiki figures in high relief are carved on the sides of the spur, and in some plugs there is an additional figure at the tip. A hole, parallel to the long axis of the disc, was usually drilled through the spur near its base.

The ornaments were worn with the discs in front of the ear, the spurs passing through holes in the ear lobes and projecting behind. A small wooden plug, thrust through the hole near the base of the spur, kept the ornament in position. The weight of some discs was supported by a band which passed across the top of the head.

Several other types of men's ear ornaments are described by early writers. 301 Stewart (59, pp. 248-249) says:

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments.

A portrait of a chief wearing ear ornaments of this type is shown by Cook (14, p. 306). In this figure the discs appear to be in the form of long ovals of rather irregular outline.

An object which probably formed part of an ear ornament of this general type was obtained from a burial cave in Hanamenu, Hiva Oa. It is an oval disc of light wood about 1¾ inches long, 1½ inches wide, and ¼ of an inch thick. In the center there is a small perforation which may have served for the attachment of a spur. Both sides are smoothly finished, and the edge is cut in such a way as to leave a flange on what was probably the outer side.

Krusenstern (34, pp. 157-158) says of the natives of Nuku Hiva:

They adorn their ears with large white muscles of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar's tusk is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden plug passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out.

Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says: "A muscle shell of an ounce weight, to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of breadfruit wood, is the great ear ornament," and Fleurieu (23, p. 114) makes the observation that, "although both men and women have their ears pierced none were seen who habitually wore pendants."

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

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the name of the man whose beard was used, even when the *pavahina* is several generations old. In spite of the surprising whiteness of the hair in some of these ornaments no method of artificial bleaching seems to have been employed. In almost every specimen there are a few black hairs sprinkled among the white, and rarely tresses of entirely black hair are included. 292

As may be seen from the illustration (Pl. LXXXII, *E.*) the *pavahina* was made up from a great number of locks of hair.

To make one of these locks a long tress of hair was doubled over to form a loop through which a very fine cord of twisted coconut fiber was passed. The loop was then wrapped with a single strand of fiber. The two ends of the cord passing through the loop were twisted together to form a single heavier cord. The tresses, with their attached cords, were then gathered into bundles of from ten to thirty, the ends of the cords in each bundle being fastened together and wrapped with sennit in the same way that the individual tresses were wrapped. A sennit cord, heavier than the cords running to the tresses, was attached to the lower end of the bundle. To complete the ornament, from four to ten of these bundles were placed side by side in two parallel rows, and sewn together with single strands of fiber. The cords depending from the bundles were plaited together to form a flat pad, one-half to three-quarters of an inch long, through the lower edge of which passed a long cord which served for the attachment of the ornament. The method of attaching the *pavahina* to the *peue ei*, and its appearance when in position, are shown on Plate LXXXII, *A*.

Black dyed sennit, or even cords of human hair, were sometimes used instead of ordinary sennit for wrapping the bundles. A crudely made *pavahina*, in which the technique differs somewhat from that described, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *F*.

The pad and bundle wrappings of the *pavahina* were sometimes whitened with lime or clay, and the ornaments are said to have been laid out in the dew for a few nights before a fete to clean and whiten them.

Pavahina appear to have sometimes been worn on the body or limbs with or in place of the hair ornaments described on p. 424. A photograph of an old Nuku Hiva man in full dress shows a half circle of them worn around the chin as a false beard.

Dordillon gives two terms of considerable interest—*pae mamane*, which he translates "helmet," and *pae tvinehae*, which he translates "mask." The existence of these terms appears to be the only evidence for the occurrence of either helmets or masks in the Marquesas.

Dordillon also gives three words for comb; *kofeu*, *pahcu* and *pachu*. No Marquesan combs are preserved in American collections, and there are no indications that combs ever formed part of the Marquesan headdress. If they were used in prehistoric times they were probably toilet articles, not ornaments.

Carved bone tubes were sometimes attached to locks of hair as ornaments. 301 These were identical with those used on the fiber handles of containers and on the cords of large drums.

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301 The tubes were of two types, the simpler of which is shown on Plate LXXXIII, *A*. These simple tubes were made from sections of the smaller human long bones—that is, the radius, ulna and fibula. The spongy interior of the bone was cut out, and the hard surface was decorated with a series of transverse grooves. The tubes range in diameter from ⅜ to ⅝ of an inch, and in length from ⅝ to 1⅜ inches. Tiki figures of human bone, used either as hair ornaments or handle decorations are shown on Plate LXXXIII, *B*. All the specimens examined were made from sections of the shaft of the humerus or femur. In those of the femur the anterior surface of the bone served as the back of the figure, the linea aspera being used as a center line in carving the features. As a result of this, most of the specimens are asymmetrical. Only heads and bodies are represented, and the heads are disproportionately large. The features are conventionalized in the usual Marquesan fashion. The arms are abbreviated, and the hands are shown either on each side of the body, or with the right hand to the mouth—poses common in other Marquesan carvings. The example shown at the extreme right of the plate is unique in having the right hand resting on the right shoulder. These tiki figures are considerably larger than the simple bone tubes, with a length of 1½ to 2 inches and a diameter of 1 to 1¼ inches.

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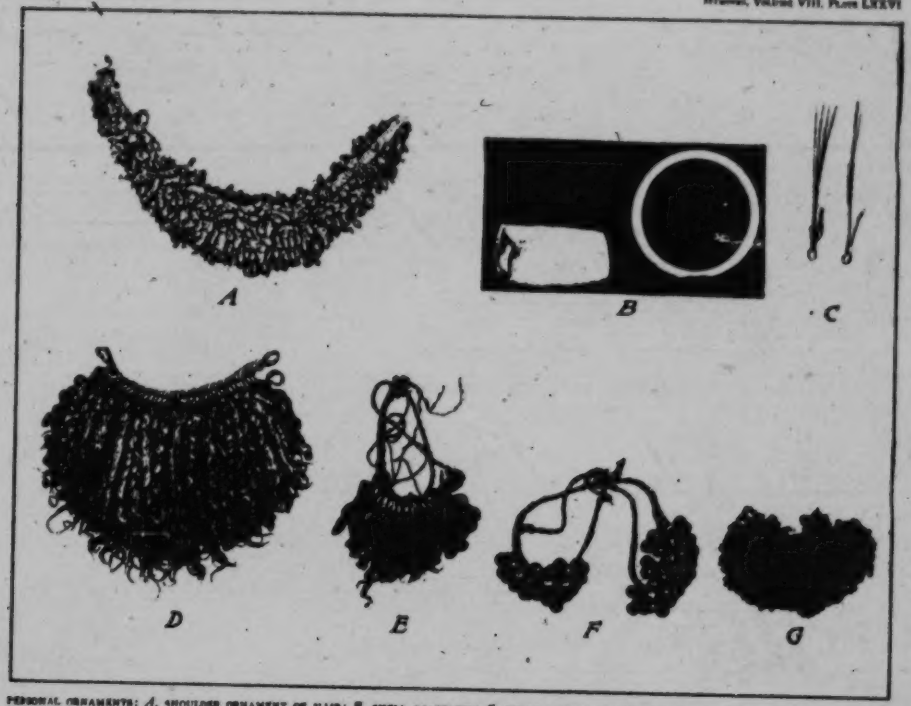
Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Dress and Ornament

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower lips and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obscure, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	———	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on bare; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)



PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: *A*, SHOULDER ORNAMENT OF HAIR; *B*, SHELL BRACELETS; *C*, FINGER ORNAMENTS OF TROPIC BIRD FEATHERS; *D*, ORNAMENT OF HAIR FOR WAIST OR SHOULDERS; *E*, ORNAMENTS OF HAIR FOR THE WRISTS; *F*, WRIST ORNAMENTS OF LARGE SEEDS; *G*, WRIST ORNAMENT OF ARGUS PECATORIUS SEEDS. (*C*, *F*, *G*, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM.)

[end plate 37]

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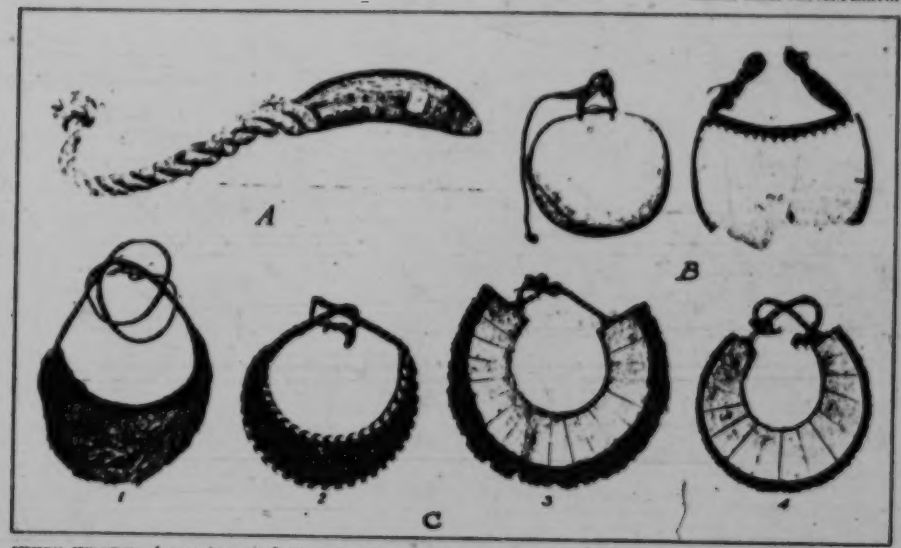
PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: *A*, NECKLACE OF PLAITED HAIR; *B*, NECKLACE OF PERFORATE TEETH AND BEADS.

[end plate 38]



PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: *A*, WHALE'S TOOTH; *B*, BREAST ORNAMENTS OF PEARL SHELL, THE ONE ON THE RIGHT ATTACHED TO A SHORT NECKLACE OF BRAIDED HAIR (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *C*, OBJECTS OF VARIOUS TYPES (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).

[End plate 39]

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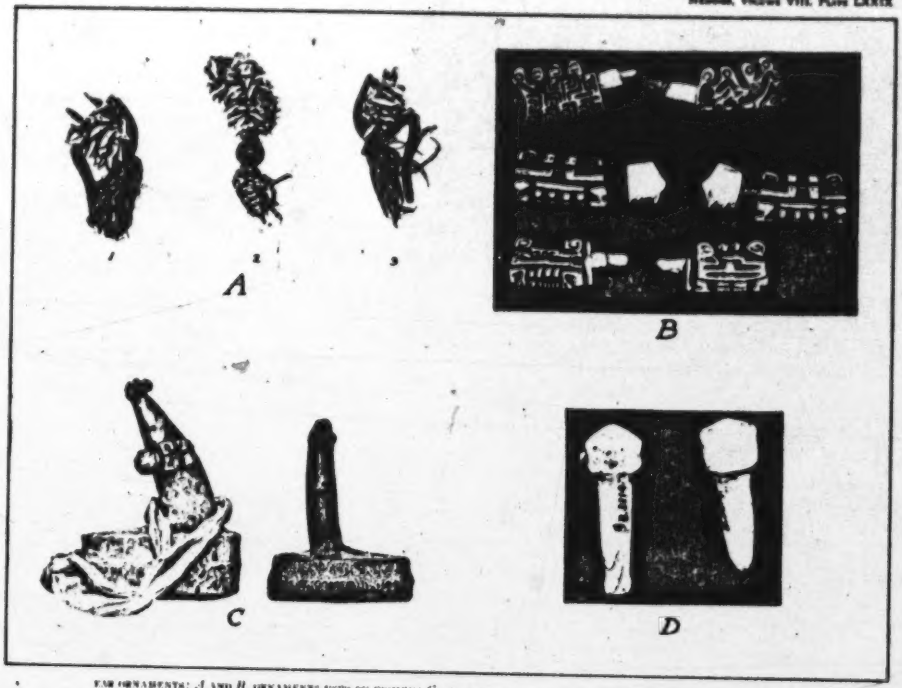

EAR ORNAMENTS: *A* AND *B*, ORNAMENTS USED BY WOMEN; *C*, ORNAMENTS USED BY MEN; *D*, ORNAMENTS OF SIMPLE FORM.

[end plate 40]

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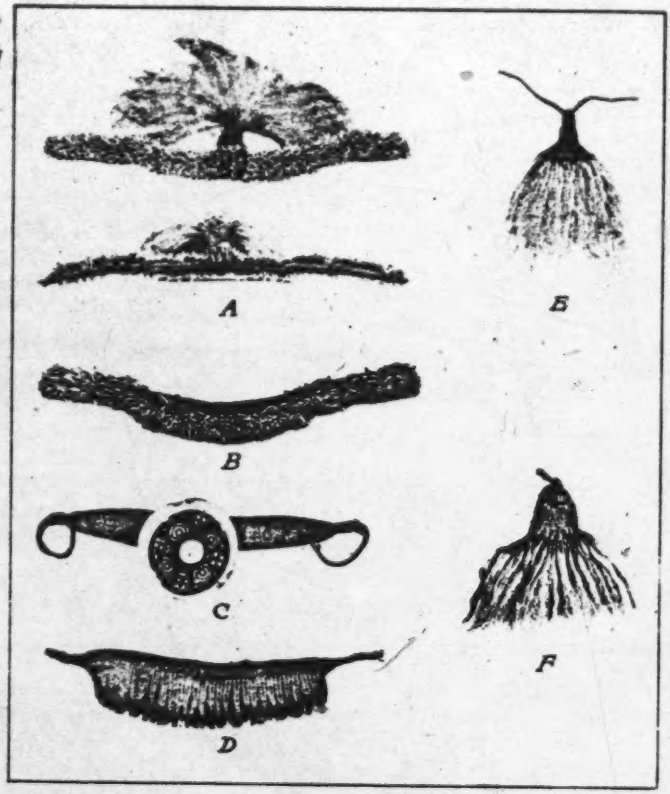

HEADDRESSES: *A*, PEU'E II, ORNAMENT OF PORPOISE TEETH WITH PAVAHINA (ORNAMENT OF WHITE DEAD ATTACHED), FRONT AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, PEU'E II MADE OF PIECES OF HUMAN BONE IN IMITATION OF TEETH; *C*, UHIKANA, HEAD ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL, FRONT VIEW (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *D*, HEAD-BAND OF BRAIDED COCONUT FIBER (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *E* AND *F*, PAVAHINA. (*F*, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).

[end plate 43]

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HAIR ORNAMENTS: *A*, TUBES OF HUMAN BONE; *B*, CARVED TUBES OF HUMAN BONE.

[end plate 44]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x304 [533] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

x304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

x304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina,* feast; *tuhi,* show; *tiki,* design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

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852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [30] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302 at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior
727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic-
301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special
722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi*). The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece). 852 858

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot. [302]

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived. 881

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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628 tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge
721 unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward
[302] the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and
[266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus- [302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. 769 776

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9). [784] [386] [292]

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals." [292] [302] 887 [786]

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty. [302]

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods. 782

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava.* According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana,* is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims. 782 784 [302] [789]

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka,* the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries: 782

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments
301 made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces
302 and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. 11, *E.*)
[552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave, tove'o,* or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu,* or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami.* The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi.* These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito.* In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka,* old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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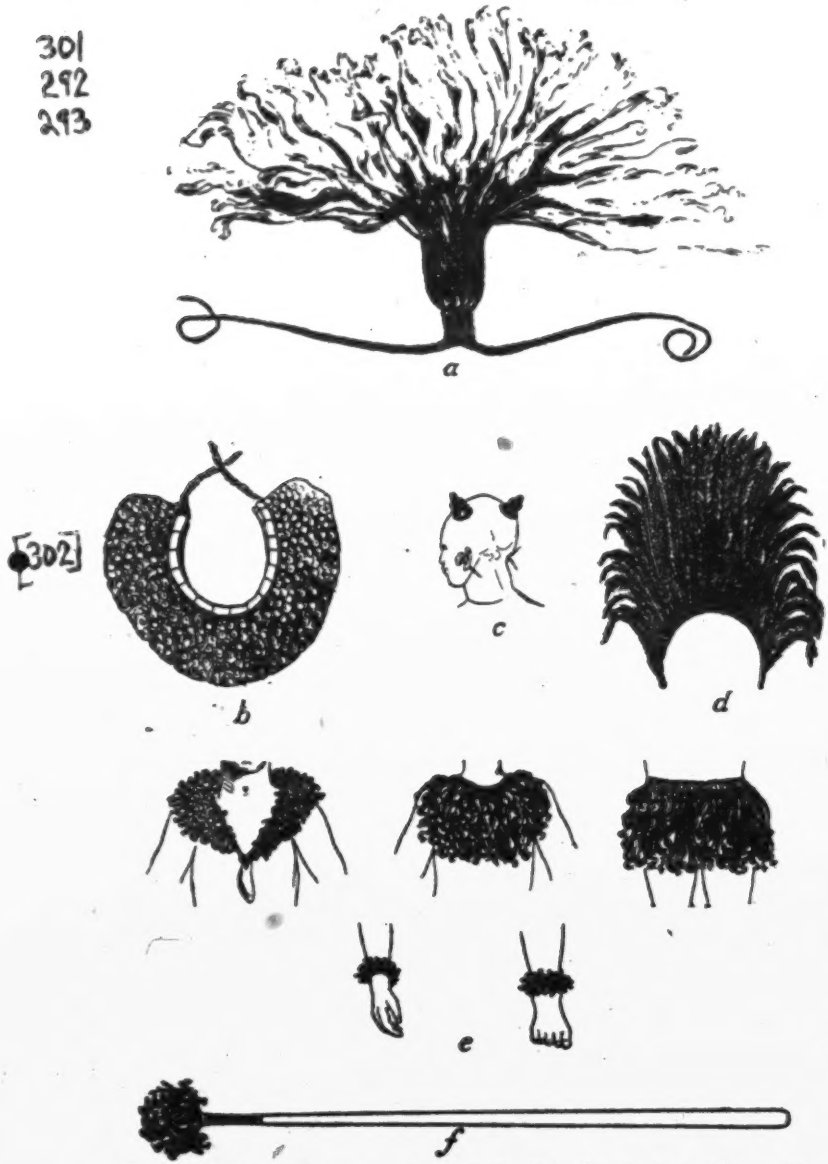

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*povuhina*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *toutike* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei hu'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

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301 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruvania.*
192 **Hei nano.** (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hei. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vei-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of breadfruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

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302 [754]

Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 220). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e kea* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putea*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e kea*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana, havara*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu, pahe'u,* and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

302 combs were not used in ancient times. Dordillon (8) gives the following terms which supplement our information regarding modes of arranging the hair: *Ouoho tuetue, ouoho tukeevo,* and *ouoho tuke* meant hair fixed stiffly; *piama,* a head shaved in the form of a tonsure; *piveve,* to cut the hair in the form of a circle in front; *toua'e i te pā'e,* to let the hair down in front; *ponane,* hair simply tucked up without fastening; *koti'oti'o i te ouoho,* to cut the hair like a ladder [?]; *pa'e oiōi,* a coiffure saturated with scented oil; *pohatae,* beard, or side whiskers; and *topetu,* a tuft of hair on a shaved head. The following should also be added: *ohovii,* curl of hair; *ouoho kaaputu,* curled hair (= *koputu ouoho, ouoho taputuputu, ouoho takaha*); and *poriri,* curl of hair on top the head (= *tapuaki*). Bleaching or dyeing of the hair was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never practiced in the Marquesas.

ANOINTING, STAINING, AND PAINTING OF THE BODY

302 824 Bleaching of the skin was the universal practice of women and *ka'ioi* youths before festivals. This was accomplished in part by seclusion and avoidance of the sun but also by anointing the body with juices extracted from the leaves of the *kokuu* tree (?) or of the *papa* vine (*Phaseolus amoenus*). After such application during seven or eight days of seclusion the skin would be bleached white. The normal color returned immediately upon exposure to the sun. Women protected themselves from the sun with robes and leaf shades. According to Jardin (15, p. 41), *niou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) leaves were pounded and used by women for skin bleaching. The root of *ena* (*Curcuma longa,* or amomum) some of it raw and some baked, was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make the body ointment or stain called *ena* or *eka.* The raw *ena,* covering the whole body, was the distinguishing mark of the youthful libertines called *ka'ioi* and of women at festivals. It was frequently smeared only on the face. The stain made from the baked root (*ena moa*) was forbidden to women everywhere and to all commoners on Ua Pou.

Pani was perfumed coconut oil, used for anointing the head and body, rubbing dead bodies, and for polishing wood and stone carvings. The oil was extracted from the coconut meat in two ways: by one method the milk was squeezed from coconut gratings, put in a vessel, and the oil separated out by putting hot stones in the bowl; or gratings of coconut meat were put in large vessels and exposed to the sun, which caused the oil to run out from the meat. Sweet-smelling flowers cut in small pieces and powdered sandal wood were added to the oil until they had soaked it all up. This mixture was then exposed to the sun for three or four

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu*, which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe*, an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena*, fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu*. 302 824

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138). [834]

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi*. Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go. 293

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna*. The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a*, according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o,* see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki,* according to this informant, was the custom called *moko,* which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko,* and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva.* For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f.*) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533 [517]

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 533 883 [302] [301]

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs 533

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of
648 554 about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different
[300] from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was in-
648 formed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

302 They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The [386] points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, 648 till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen.

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were [622] doing, uninterrupted by his presence. His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, [302] having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells.

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of [784] her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular [592] tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed [302] with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804. May.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes [264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, [266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind
[352] of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *hcau* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but
531 one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal
[302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that
285 mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close: but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahke* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [291]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

302 In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 114) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

> Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

[301] According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *pavahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *pavahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*pani*).

303 The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fau leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *pani*. He says:

> They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

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Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, 302
coconut oil scented with sandalwood.

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other 302
colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source 386
of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this pur- 824
pose. In Hiva Oa this is called *ena*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he [249]
translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *eka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *ena*, but it seems certain that the *eka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*ena*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it.

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as 302
a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says:

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house; they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *ena* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

302 house for seven or eight days, at the end of which time the skin was bleached. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says the natives of Nuku Hiva used the sap of the *nion* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) as a skin bleach, rubbing the skin with the crushed leaves the day before a fête.

Skin bleaching seems to have been almost confined to the women, although Stewart (59, pp. 259-260) mentions a male dancer, whose skin had been bleached in this way, who was "almost as fair as any one of our number." The light color produced in this way lasted for only a short time, exposure to the sun causing the skin to reassume its normal brown tint.

SPECIAL COSTUMES

292 Special costumes were worn by priests in the performance of their duties. According to Handy the ceremonial dress of the *ta'ua* of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, was a full length robe of tapa made from the thick bark of old banyan trees. It covered the whole body and came to the ground, and was likened by the natives to a priest's cassock. It was called *kahu kohito*.

Stewart, writing of Nuku Hiva, says (59, pp. 271-272):

> The Tahunas have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf. A part of the stem, six to eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed around the head on each side and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends: it is then passed around the neck so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office.

He describes the dress of a *ta'ua* whom he visited as follows (59, p. 328):

> His whole figure was enveloped in a large mantle of snow white tapa, or native cloth, over which a smaller one of fine scarlet kerseymere fell from his shoulders down the back —both being fastened by one large knot, resting on the chest in front. A double roll of fine white tapa encircled his forehead; while his hair, tied in two close knots, was confined on the crown by long bands of the same.

According to Handy the *taputoho* at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wore a long cloak of *ute* tapa, like a blanket, which was called *kahu kookoo*, and a peculiar dark colored headdress called *pae kohito*. This headdress was made from the bark of an old *ute* tree which was slightly pounded, and left rough. It was tied around the head and knotted behind with a piece hanging down.

Stewart (59, p. 288) describes the dress of a messenger bearing invitations to a funeral as follows:

> [He] was dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows, surmounted by a miter shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana

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292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American
237 museums were collected.
321 The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taavaha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It
292 is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and
● [302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

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304 [533] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina,* feast; *tuhi,* show; *tiki,* design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

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852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* ~~was~~ elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

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712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace [558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough 727 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images 266 of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous cere-
monial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous [411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who [628] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kins- [302] man had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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certain that there is less straight hair in the Marquesans than in Samoa or Tonga. In Samoa and Tonga reddish-brown hair was reported, but its presence was somewhat discounted by the fact that a custom of bleaching by the use of lime was reported. Handy found a fairly high percentage of reddish-brown hair in the Marquesas, but no such process to account for it. On this point he says:[8]

> You will note that we have frequently marked hair color both black and reddish-brown. This indicates hair of the type that is almost universal with them, which appears to be black unless one sees it so that the light comes through it, when it is seen to have a strong auburn or reddish-brown tinge. I have never found any evidences of the custom of bleaching hair in the Marquesas neither in modern nor in ancient times. There was formerly a bleaching of the skin, but this is not practised now. I am convinced that this russet color in the hair was indigenous to the Marquesans before the coming of the early explorers.

This reddish tint of the hair has been the basis for much discussion and speculation. It has been attributed to intentional bleaching, to the natural bleaching effect of sunlight and salt water or both, to intermixture with the whites, or more often as evidence of a Nordic origin of the Polynesians as a whole. Speaking of hair color Buck[9] says:

> The general colour is black, but brown and reddish hair occur. Certain tribes have been stated to have had more than their share of red hair, and in these tribes it is said to occur in certain families. . . Although amongst the Maoris the confusion in colour caused by the Samoan and Tongan custom of limeing the hair, does not exist, yet owing to the admixture of white blood, great care has to be exercised in recording cases of red or brown hair as being full Maori. . . There was only one case in the whole series (760 men) of reddish brown hair and that was in a full Maori. Contrary to expectations, his skin color was 18 on von Luschan's scale (18 is the darker prevailing color of the Maori).

In Hawaii the reddish-brown hair under discussion is often found. I have seen in Hawaii thousands of mixed-bloods no one of whom had exactly this type of hair. I can confirm Doctor Buck's statement that it occurs in family groups. In two families studied it had persisted for three generations at least. As a rule it does not seem to be accompanied by a diminution of iris pigment or skin pigment. In only one family was it accompanied by weak eyes and in that only in the younger members of the family. It occurs in both sexes. Reddish-brown hair apparently occurs throughout Polynesia and I have seen the same type of hair in Chinese and Japanese who otherwise were typical members of their race. While the condition is interesting and important it should not be allowed to have too much influence on the imagination. I recommend Doctor Buck's paper for interesting comments on the Maori vocabulary and tradition dealing with hair color, hair form, and skin pigment.

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[8] Personal communication.
[9] Op. cit.

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IX

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THESE MEN ARE CHARACTERIZED BY DENSE MOUSTACHES AND A MODERATE BEARD. THE BEARDS ARE MODERATELY LONG, THE FACES HIGH AND THE NOSES RELATIVELY NARROW. THE SKINS ARE A LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN. THERE IS LITTLE PROGNATHISM AND THE CHINS ARE FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. NOS. 2, 6, 9, 14 AND 15 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF TYPE I. NOS. 7, 8, 10 AND 13 ARE EXAMPLES OF A THIRD TYPE CHARACTERIZED BY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 112]
[end plate 1]

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2N1

TYPE II—THE INDONESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, AND 3 WITH THEIR PROFILES IN NOS. 10 AND 15 ARE PROBABLY THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS TYPE. THEIR LIPS, NOSES, AND FACE PROPORTIONS ARE NOTABLE. THEIR SKINS ARE A DARKER BROWN THAN THAT OF THE POLYNESIANS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 119]

[end plate 2]

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X.M2
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TYPE 1—POLYNESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THE HAIR OF THESE WOMEN FOR THE MOST PART IS STRAIGHT OR ONLY SLIGHTLY WAVY. THE THICKNESS OF THEIR LIPS IS MORE NOTICEABLE THAN IN THE MEN OF THIS TYPE. SOME OF THE WOMEN ARE OF MIXED BLOOD. NOS. 3, 6, 9 AND 15 ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLYNESIAN TYPE. NOS. 8 AND 12 HAVE VERY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 114]

[end plate 3]

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● 362
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IX

TYPE II—INDONESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, 4 AND 7, WITH THEIR PROFILES IN 11, 12, AND 13 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE. NONE OF THIS HAIR CAN BE CALLED CURLY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NO. 10, WHO HAS FRIZZLY HAIR, THIS TYPE IS CHARACTERIZED BY HAIR WITH A MODERATE WAVE. NO. 10 IS NEGROID IN APPEARANCE, BUT HAS A CEPHALIC INDEX OF 88.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 115]

[end plate 4]

B: Sullivan D-4 [no date] 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 142
● 302
291 IX

MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES. SEVERAL OF THE WOMEN HAVE LONG HEADS, HIGH FACES, AND BROAD NOSES. NO. 9 HAS THE NEAREST APPROACH TO CURLY HAIR IN THE SERIES. NOS. 2, 5, 11 AND 13 MAY BE REPRESENTATIVES OF A THIRD TYPE WITH SHORT HEADS, NARROW FACES AND NARROW NOSES.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 116]

[end plate 5]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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● 362
X81
1X

TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS. NOS. 1 TO 10 ARE ONE-HALF CHINESE. NOS. 11 AND 12 ARE ONE-QUARTER WHITE AND ONE-QUARTER TAHITIAN. NOS. 13 AND 14 ARE ONE-HALF ENGLISH AND NUMBER 15 IS ONE-HALF SPANISH AND ONE-QUARTER FRENCH. WHERE CAUCASIAN BLOOD IS PRESENT IT IS USUALLY APPARENT.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 117]

[col plate 6]

/25 cont./ 864
of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the 603
vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in [856]
techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of 515
bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to [183]
body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large num- 302
ber of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers them- [824]
selves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such [439]
quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for 515
Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious [578]
affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of [856]
vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circum- 881
cision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

302 In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 1..4) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

> Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

[301] According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *pavahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *pavahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*pani*).

303 The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fau leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *pani*. He says:

> They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). 883
Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon 883
for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and par- 304
ticularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further [597]
explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born [593]
or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no 848 such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *tui ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 853

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 854 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 852 858 881 [584] [304]

Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 858

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ona* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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881 who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

852 The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were *tehe* (cut), *tehe te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi
● 304 was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

852 304 [782]

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

[832]

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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852 All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. ●304 It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.

After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua*, where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tehe* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu)*, and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna*. The *tuhuna tehe*, or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a viihoa*, sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[8] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[8] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa*, and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description: 712 344

In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.

On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 292 714 [304]

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

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TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

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Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki*, the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i*, or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i*, nick-

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [796] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hakahoi*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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292 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona iti* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takika, nuka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

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A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ku'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Mamu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Tealu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-beana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

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304 532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

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A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

251 252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[516]

[End Plate 2]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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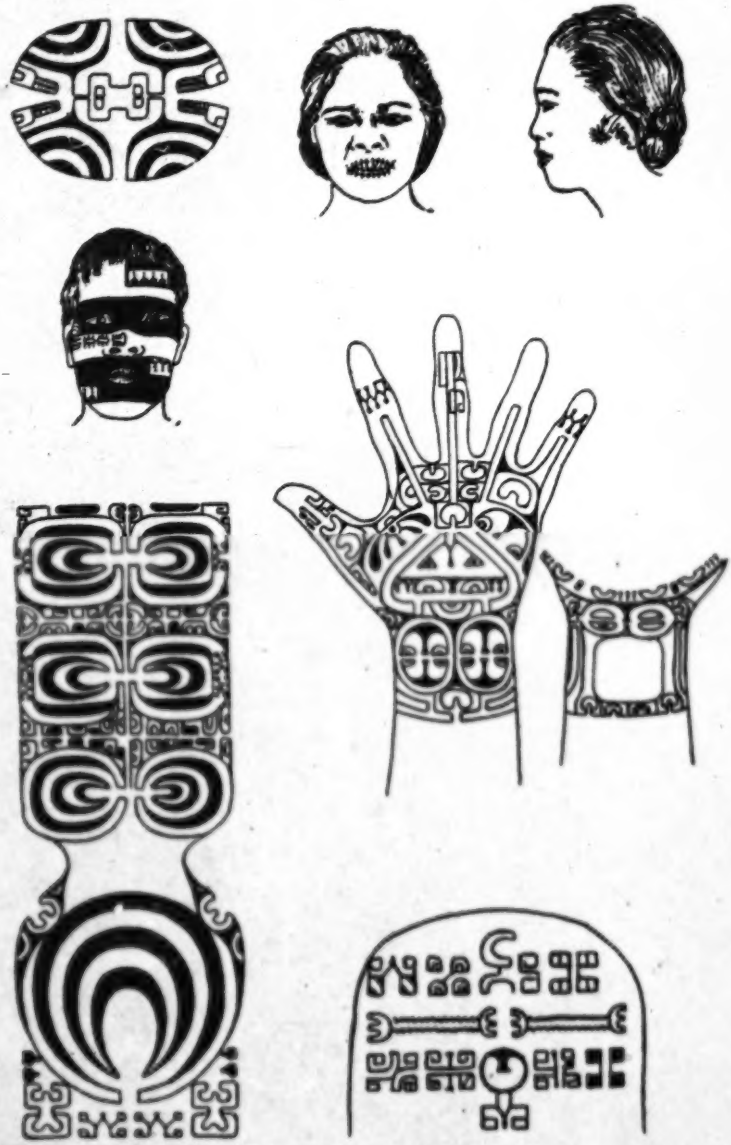

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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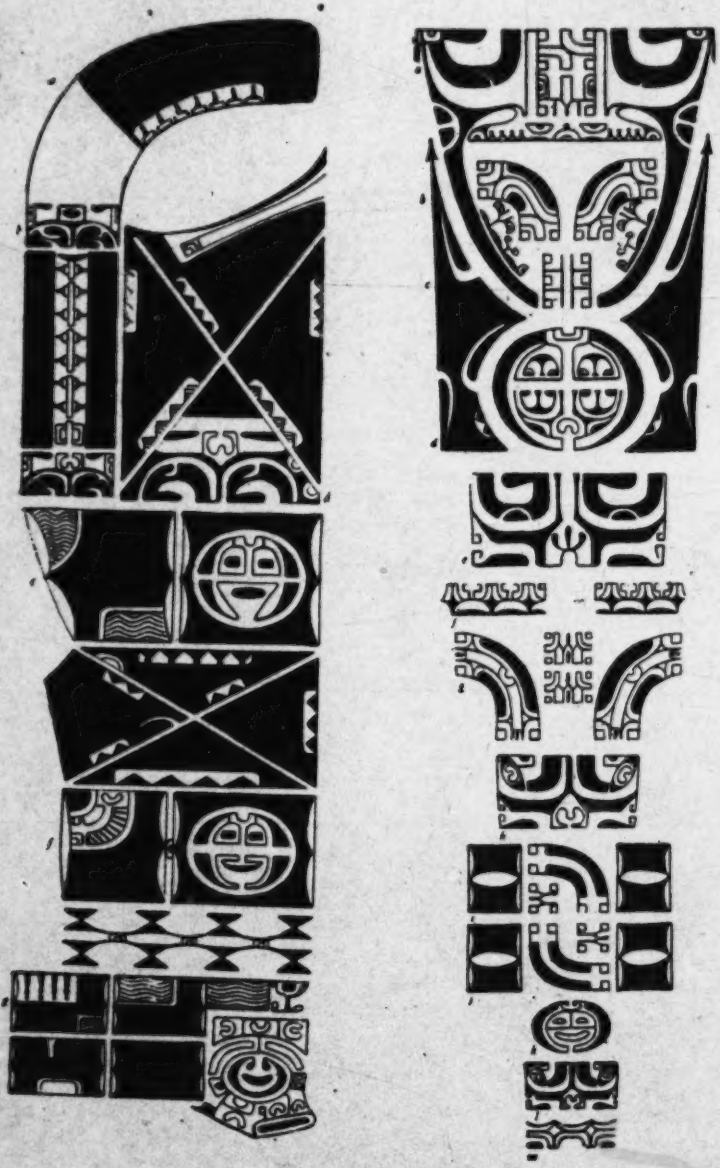

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
[291 part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands,
304] and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [622] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to [291] me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief; and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

302 They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

● 304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt [386] cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas. 291

TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women. 304

The tattooing was done with bone combs. 304 413

The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *heana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.)

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink. 304 386

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the flat stone. There were twenty nuts in each string, although the reason for this was unknown to the informant. The soot which collected on the under side of the flat stone was
386 scraped off and packed in a small coconut shell (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 1). To make the charcoal pigment, coconut charcoal was pulverized with a small stone pounder. For this purpose smooth circular pits, common in large stones near villages, are said by natives to have been used as mortars. These pits are so numerous, however, that they must have been used for other purposes as well.

304 In tattooing, the mounted comb was held in the right hand, and a tapping stick of *toa* wood, about one foot long, in the left. A tapa rag was wrapped around the last two fingers of the right hand. The designs to be tattooed were usually drawn on the body in charcoal, but the most experienced artists frequently worked free hand. The comb was dipped in the ink and driven into the skin by a sharp blow from the tapping stick, the coloring matter running down the teeth into the wound. After each stroke the blood was wiped away with the rag.

The body was tattooed in sections, three days being allowed between operations for the healing of the wound. The texture of the skin does not seem to have been greatly altered by the operation, and flesh carving of the sort done by the Maori was unknown. The process was a long and painful one.

The many social and ceremonial observances connected with the tattooing of men, and especially of chiefs' sons, are described by Handy (32). A discussion of the practice of tattooing and of the designs used has been published by Willowdean C. Handy (32 *a*).

MUTILATIONS

The bodily mutilations practiced by the Marquesans were circumcision (32), the piercing of the ears and depilation.

The natives of both sexes pierced the ears for the attachment of ornaments. The operation was performed with a special awl-like instrument. The favorite material for these instruments was human bone, but bird bone and even tortoise shell were sometimes used. Practically all ear piercers were carved at the upper end, the decorations consisting for the most part of conventionalized human faces or figures. (See Pl. LXXV, *B*.) Many specimens have a loop of sennit permanently attached to the upper end, while almost all are drilled for suspension. Such piercers were treasured in families as heirlooms, but seem to have no religious significance.

The ear aperture was somewhat larger than in pierced European ears, being ¼ to ½ of an inch in diameter, but dilation of the ear lobe does not seem to have been practiced. Some of the men's ear ornaments strongly suggest ear plugs, however, and it is possible that dilation of the ear lobe, common in Melanesia, was at one time practiced in the Marquesas. If so, it had become obsolete before the historic period, as it is not mentioned by any of the early writers.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow [342]
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare [415]
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare).	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?) [287]
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa [304]
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle.	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded [292]
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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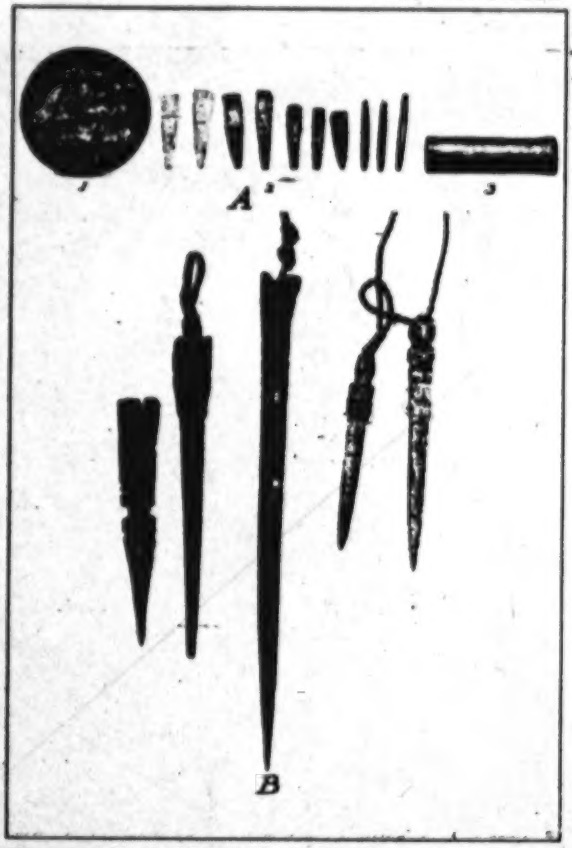
COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE.—Continued

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed waist to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow	———————	Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on bare; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
532



INSTRUMENTS FOR PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION: *A*, TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS—(1) COCOANUT CUP CONTAINING PIGMENT, (2) COMB OF HUMAN AND BIRD BONE, (3) BAMBOO BOX IN WHICH COMBS ARE KEPT; *B*, EAR PIERCING OF BONE AND TORTOISE SHELL.

[end plate 36]

8: Handy
304

Marquesas OX6

[For information on tattooing see category 116, pp. 3-32, plates 1-38.]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531 The combinations of designs on the *pakea* are neither numerous nor very complex. There are examples of diamonds with herring-bone on either side of the diamond, herring-bone with a longitudinal groove running down the center, staggared crosses ending in four combs, and four-quarter ovals placed in a square space so that the curved surfaces nearly meet, but leave a small, plain cross in the center.

Tattoo Designs[2]

X531 304 The Marquesans arranged the tattoo designs upon the body for the most part in horizontal bands with many longitudinal and diagonal divisions in much the fashion followed in wood carving. Some of these bands are of solid color; others are split up into small, almost minute, designs. Large rectangular, triangular, circular, oval, and semi-oval units filled with smaller designs stand out prominently.

The design elements themselves are the same as those used in wood carving with one or two additions and a few subtractions. One tattoo design not used in carving is a representation of a small fish of unidentifiable species (Pl. XVI, *B, b*): another is a conventionalized bird (Pl. XVI, *B, c*). Among the design elements and motifs found in tattooing are straight and curved lines ending in dots, lines that dovetail into each other such as are found on some house posts (Pl. II, *b*), double scolloped lines, zigzags, wavy lines, fretwork, crosshatching, herring-bone, chevrons, V's, concentric V's, single and concentric rectangles, segments of rectangles, the block design (Pl. XVI, *A, b*), rows of plain triangles, triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, interlocking triangles, and double triangles with apexes meeting to produce a form like an hourglass (Pl. XVI, *B, d*).

The oval used in tattooing is more nearly a true oval than is the oval used in carving. It is used singly or in concentric series, both plain and pierced, and in under-arm tattooing a series of two pierced and connected ovals is employed. Some circles are plain, others have a single dot in the center, and still others are arranged in concentric series or filled with *pakea*, semi-ovals, radiating lines, double spirals, or faces (*mata*). Segments of circles, crude curvilinear and better angular spirals, and irregular curves are used here and there to fill in space. A face illustrated by Willowdean C. Handy (18, Pl. V, fig. 7) is decorated with large, well-formed curvilinear spirals which a native informant described as an ancient design used by all warriors. This same tattoo design is common in Melanesia and its use in the Marquesas suggests some former cultural

[2] This discussion of Marquesan tattoo designs is based largely on drawings by Willowdean C. Handy (18).

[See 8: Handy, this file:- Analyst]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

connection. It is also interesting to inquire why the use of this design has not persisted. 531* 304

One form of *mata* deserves special attention. Its convention is confined to tattooing and is strikingly different from the tiki faces used in carving. The design is not so stereotyped as the tikis and strongly suggests the Jack-o'-lantern faces made by children on Hallowe'en. The eyes are represented by large ovals or small segments of concentric circles. The ears are rarely shown, the nose is commonly omitted, and some figures have no mouth, but this organ is usually emphasized and represented by a wide, curved line so that the whole face, while grotesque, is also pleasing and comical (Pl. XVI, *B, f, g*). Many circles contain two such *mata* opposite each other.

Mata of the same type as those employed in wood carving are also common in tattooing as are likewise the *kaake* and many forms of the *pokaa* (fig. 1, *a, c, k*). It should be noted that the *kaake* used in tattooing is not strictly limited to the elbow-shaped design found in wood carving. Curved forms and straight bands, but with the characteristic *kaake* fill, are found in tattooing. One example of the curved type of comb design was also noted.

A number of conventionalized representations of natural objects find place in tattooing. Among these the insect designs hold first place. Only one example each of a lizard, a bird (Pl. XVI, *B, c*), and a fish (Pl. XVI, *B, b*) was noted. No true representations of plant life were found; although small circular units filled with curved lines, the convex sides nearly touching in the center of the circle (Pl. XVI, *B, e*), and similar units filled with long, slender ovals with short transverse bars at the outer edge (Pl. XVI, *B, a*) may have been intended for floral designs. There are also a few examples of the palm leaf design used in wood carving.

Tattoo patterns include a great many conventionalized designs representing human beings. Some of them represent the head by a large dot; others use a triangle or a straight bar. The shoulders and arms are represented by a short, horizontal line with a vertical line drawn down from both ends, and in a few figures by curved lines (Pl. XVII, *d*). In some of these designs it is impossible to tell whether the figure is facing up or down, as for example the designs in Plate XVII, *d*, 5-7, which may be turned upside down and still resemble human forms. A very characteristic convention is to represent the arms as upraised. In such figures the head is commonly omitted. In a great many figures the arms and legs terminate in square blocks. Plate XVII, *e* and *g* shows examples of designs which somewhat resemble petroglyphs. Several such naturalistic

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531 figures in various poses that may well have pictographic significance are
304 shown by Mrs. Handy (18, Pl. xv, *C*).1

SUMMARY

X531 Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: House post designs, which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear; and tattoo designs.

Designs for house posts were extensively used on recent canoe models and were probably used on ancient canoes. The table of design elements (pp. 32-34) shows that bowl designs make use of the largest number of design elements and motifs. They even include most of the house post designs although in subordinate positions. The most important bowl designs not found on house posts are the hook scroll, curvilinear spirals, small tiki faces, floral designs, and representations of insects. The few angular spirals seen on house posts are not typical, but this design is important in bowl decoration. *Mata, kaake,* and pierced ovals are as characteristically bowl designs as tattoo designs. Bowl designs have been freely used in the decoration of canoe paddles, war clubs, treasure boxes, chisel handles, stilts and *pakea.*

X531 The designs of ornamental sennit lashings extensively used in the Mar-
171 quesas, Tonga, and Samoa are similar to those carved on Marquesan house posts. It seems probable that these designs were originally worked out in the sennit lashings and that in the Marquesas they were later copied in wood carving.

X531 The tiki figure has gone through an extensive process of conventionaliza-
532 tion, many stages of which are visible in the Marquesan carving. There is a gradual degeneration of design from the complete tiki figure carved in the full round, represented by the large wooden and stone idols and by a few wooden house posts, to tiki figures representing only part of the body, usually the upper half, as found on small bone ornaments. The next step is to omit the body entirely and show only the face which in turn is still further reduced, leaving out one facial feature after another until only the eyes or eyes with ears attached remain. It should not be inferred that the highly conventionalized forms are now used to the exclusion of the more complete tikis. The design is chosen to fit the object and the space to be decorated, but there are far more tiki faces than full tiki figures and more incomplete tiki faces than complete ones.

X531 The *mata* is closely related to the tiki face and may have been derived from it. *Mata* are much more in evidence on canoe models and canoe paddles than on war clubs and bowls; the opposite relation holds for tiki

1 [See 8: Handy, this file.—Analyst]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home. [721]

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga,* ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before they became *kaioi.* Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty 304 rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations. 304 ● 881

The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim, tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

304 881 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 831 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 [864] Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that [836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. [535] The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and 141
writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the 114
cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, 128
and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a 141
series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a 141
high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers 304
would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

304 or peaked. There is no evidence of any other kind of wrapping or deformation. The effects of this treatment of infants are very evident in the photographs, particularly in the foreheads of elderly men. The practice is identical with that in [171] Hawaii. It is difficult to say just how much it would affect the cephalic index if at all. Handy also states that the nose was flattened during infancy.

/26 cont./

rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [183] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not [182]
be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere-
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, [114]
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [757]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [30] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302 at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional [305] curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would [291] be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pahiko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). [482] It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[12]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley 312 bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

[12] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1863 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

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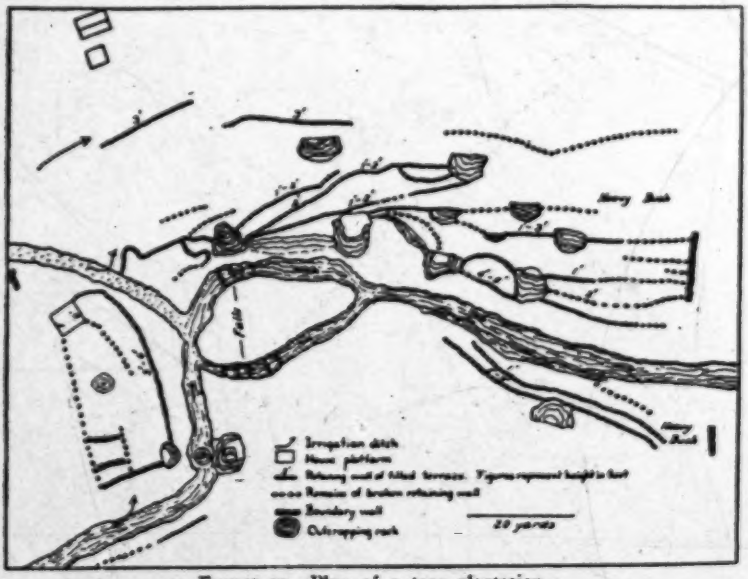

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[13]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

[13] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

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A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna uai* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-hanan of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Pensperm, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

[End Plate 1]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a trifling nature, it had nearly been productive of serious consequences. One of the savages, returning on shore, reported that the king was in irons on board the Nadejda, for refusing to part with a pig. The bay was instantly in commotion; and our launch, which was then watering on shore, was surrounded by a host of savages, who threatened, if their chief was not immediately released, to put Roberts, who was attending the launch, to death. Though the poor fellow did all he could to convince them of the falsehood of the story, he certainly would have been cruelly treated, had not his majesty opportunely made his appearance, and assured the throng that he had received no insult or injury. This conduct of the islanders was a little grating to us; but we showed no resentment, considering them as uneducated children of Nature, who suffered their passions to run away with their judgment, and force to carry it over reason. 1804. May.

Notwithstanding these tumultuous symptoms, I ordered the launch to be dispatched again the next morning for water; and I proposed to captain Krusenstern our paying a visit to the king. At eight o'clock we set out, thirty in number, with Roberts for our guide. Our way at first was along the beach, and then through a grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. Having passed some poor cottages, we reached the house of the king's brother, where we stopped for a while to repose ourselves. The multitude that followed from curiosity, crowded upon us continually; but a word occasionally from Roberts, was sufficient to make them keep at a proper distance. As we proceeded, there were many springs of water on the way, and the path being narrow, we were wet and dirty before we reached the place of destination. Arriving at the king's abode, we made a proper 15th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 1804. May. to the sides, by inserting a piece of small twine through numerous holes. The head resembles that of a galley, and to the stern a crooked piece of wood is fixed, through which runs the sheet of a triangular sail, made of matting. These narrow boats are well balanced by three long poles laid across, to the ends of which, on one side, is fastened a piece of wood.

312 The island of Noocahiva produces all the necessaries of life. It has excellent fresh water, and in such abundance, that it flows down in cascades from different elevations, greatly tending to beautify in many places the views of the coast The climate
132 is so salubrious that, by Roberts's account, many live here to the age of a hundred years. I saw myself the king's mother, who was about eighty, and did not yet think herself very old.

137 Having had but little leisure for minute inquiries respecting the vegetable kingdom in this part of the globe, I shall content myself with describing the few articles only that came within my observation.

TREES.

Toomoomey, or Bread-fruit-tree. The branches of this tree spread out widely, and the leaves resemble those of the fig-tree, but are of a larger size, and of a deeper green. Its fruit is of an oblong figure, measuring lengthwise from five inches and a half to six inches and a half, and breadthwise from four to five inches; it is of a light green colour, but turns black after two or three days keeping. This useful tree, I was told, bears fruit here three times in the year. The first and the best crop, called by the natives mainooé, ripens about our January. The second, which

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. [326] Mag. [315] Coqoo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[287] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

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Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

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The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tápu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See [237] section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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with feathers, beaten in. Langsdorff (38, p. 173) says that the seams were covered with the gum of the breadfruit tree, but this was not mentioned by informants or by any other early visitor. All accounts agree that the craft leaked so badly that one or two men were kept constantly employed bailing.

THE OUTRIGGER

All canoes, when not fastened together in pairs, were provided with outriggers. Quiros (50, p. 28) says that they had "outriggers of cane on either side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys." Porter (49, p. 102) also mentions the use of double outriggers in connection with large canoes differing somewhat from the type now under discussion. Canoes appear, however, to have been normally fitted with a single outrigger on the right side.

This outrigger was of indirect type, consisting of crosspieces, uprights and a float. In the smaller craft two crosspieces only were used, in the larger canoes there were three, the third being in the middle. These crosspieces passed over the canoe, their right ends projecting beyond it, and were lashed firmly to the side planks by cords passed through holes in the upper edges of the side planks.

Each of the uprights consisted of four or six small sticks or splints. When four sticks were used they were placed two on either side of the crosspiece, and the lower ends of each pair rested together, the upper ends being some inches apart so that they formed a V. Each of these V's in turn sloped outward from the crosspieces; their attachments to the float were a foot or more apart. Informants say that this form of upright, although much more difficult to make than the modern one, was superior to it. In landing through a heavy surf the forward end of the float often strikes bottom, and with the modern heavy upright the canoe is turned end over end. When the old upright was used the thin sticks of which it was composed broke easily, and the canoe would land without capsizing. The lower ends of the uprights were wedged into slots in the upper surface of the float, which consisted of a hibiscus log sharpened at the forward end.

CANOE PLATFORMS

According to old accounts the large war canoes were provided with platforms at bow and stern, while Porter (49, p. 101) mentions an additional central platform on which the chief sat. The use of such platforms is only vaguely remembered by the natives and these platforms are not shown in the newer models. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that the platform was made of small sticks and covered with a mat, and that the stern platform was considerably higher than the one in the bow. In two old models the stern platforms are made as follows:

Two rather large peeled sticks were laid across the canoe, the inner stick being close behind the forward end of the stern piece while the outer was just in front of the breakwater. Two other poles were then laid across the ends of these, lengthwise of the canoe, and the whole lashed to the side planks with bark rope passed through holes in the canoe. The rear ends of the second pair of poles projected slightly beyond the stern breakwater. Two more cross poles were laid on the ends of these, above which two very long poles were placed lengthwise, their tips projecting back almost to the tip of the upward curving tail. The four upper poles were then lashed to the frame formed by the four lower ones. The bow platform was built on the same principle except that the tops of the second set of poles were flush with

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections. 415 [314]

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated. [322] [531]

COCONUT SHELLS

The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut 415 415 322

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home. [721]

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul. [756]

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs. [304]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [46] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

[301
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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhihana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*pene ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hahahei*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi hana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoko*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takiha, waha*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *ohaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakahai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oho* or *tui i te pusina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'ahai* or *hahahai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

held the *kakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *kakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301

Small ornaments (*taiona, taiata, pu taiona*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omao* or *komao*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puia*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufou* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tapa'a puaina, tuka maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e*, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

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Hei fa'a ha'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ka'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collers were the favorite garlands of *ka'ioi*.
Hei fa'a haka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the *pua Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitate. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei otima. Mint family.
Hei atia. A small green cucurbit.
Hei piona. The blossoms of the *piona*.
Hei maia, (?)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and
535 women were anointed and dyed with yellow *eso* and oil. They wore
yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across
[302] the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of
flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient custom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

534 Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki
[532 figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing
321] together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STONE ARTIFACTS

4\2 The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of ef-
324 fective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make
[325] the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to in-
[321] dicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant
[135] exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The presence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking, grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons, with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F*.)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lower part of a narrow *toki kouma* whose tang has been broken off. The implement appears to be complete however, and shows no signs of hafting. It is possible that this implement marks a transition from *toki kouma* to gouges and that the two classes of implements are related. 412

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

Marquesan knives were usually made from bamboo or shell, and shells were used as scrapers, but stone knives and scrapers also existed. In the absence of iron tools, stone knives have been used as a makeshift until comparatively recent times. Pere Simeon Delmar, head of the Catholic Mission in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, has witnessed the manufacture of stone knives. He says that the knives, often six to eight inches in length, were made from flakes of a special variety of phonolite, which were detached from a core by a single sharp blow with a rounded stone held in the hand. The natural fracture gave a fairly sharp edge to the flake and it was used without retouching or hafting. When the edge became dull from use, the implement was thrown away. In M. Delmar's experience these stone knives were used only to open and scale fish. Many phonolite flakes were found in old village sites, but their certain identification as knives is impossible. (See Pl. XLVIII, *G*.) [824] [321]

Two stone artifacts were collected which appear to have been scrapers. One of these, found in an old village site, is a large semicircular spall of some basaltic rock which has evidently been retouched along its lower edge. Its form is not unlike that of some of the shell scrapers used for tapa making. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 1.)

The second specimen was collected on the island of Éi Ao. It is a thin spall of phonolite which has been worked into rectangular form and dressed along the outer end and one side with an abrupt retouch. This implement appears to be complete, and is much too thin and carefully worked to be a reject from the adz workshops. It was identified by natives as a scraper. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 2.)

RUBBING STONES

The Marquesans used rubbing stones in the manufacture of various wooden objects and in dressing the large stone slabs which are a common feature of their masonry. The large rocks upon which adzes were ground and polished have already been described (p. 321) and mention has been made of the probable use of whetstones, but it is uncertain whether rubbing stones were used in the manufacture of other stone artifacts. The modern makers of *popoi* pounders deny their use, and none of the ancient artifacts show a finish which could not have been produced by careful pecking and a final polishing with sand. The large flat 412 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOOK AND LINE

227 Line fishing was carried on both from the rocks and from canoes. On the southern side of Hiva Oa the natives resorted to submerged banks which lay several miles off shore, and fishing expeditions to the various uninhabited islands of the group were not uncommon. The lines used in deep sea fishing were made either of fau bark or coconut fiber; those used by the women in fishing for small fish were made of pineapple fiber. (See p. 379.)

A variety of hooks were used, their size and material varying with the nature of the fishing. A tiny hook, made from a single thorn from the edge of a pandanus leaf, was used to catch the little fish in the rock pools. Larger hooks were made either from pearl shell or human bone or a combination of the two. Simple shell hooks (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 1) were laboriously ground out of a thick [321] pearl shell. The gleam of the nacre served as a lure and made bait unnecessary. Such hooks were barbless with only slightly recurved points and had much the shape of a "J." The upper end was slightly notched on one or both sides for the attachment of the line. A more elaborate form of one piece hook is shown (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 2). A composite hook made entirely of pearl shell was also employed. (Pl. LXXI, *A*, 3.) One section of this hook corresponds to the one-piece hook except for slightly greater angularity at the bend. The second piece consisted of a simple band of shell of the same width and length as the shank of the first piece. It was bound to the shank with lashings near the top and bottom, the nacre sides of the two pieces being brought together so that the surface of the completed hook was dark except at the barb. The type is represented only by several specimens in the Salem Museum, and no information in regard to it was obtained in the Marquesas. This form seems to be a purely local development and does not occur in other parts of Polynesia.

One-piece hooks of human bone were occasionally used, made from the curve of the lower jaw. Desgraz (15, p. 285) says that they were sharper than the pearl hooks and that their form was angular rather than oval, but as no specimens have been preserved in American collections exact description is impossible.

Composite hooks of shell and human bone were used to troll for bonito. The ancient form with only slight modifications continues in use to the present date. (See Pl. LXXI, *B*.)

The body of a hook of this sort consists of a strip of shell 3½ to 4½ inches long and about ⅝ of an inch wide, pointed at one end and square at the other. In making this strip the pointed end is ground from the valve. Some strips are as much as ⅜ of an inch thick at the point while the body of the strip is rarely over 3/16 of an inch thick. The outside of the shell, which forms the bottom of the strip, is ground down until it shows a good luster with a pink, yellow or brown tint. The color is very important, for the strip serves as a lure, and fish refuse to take hooks which are not of the right shade. The thick point of the strip is pierced

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D.*) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet [825] found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B.*)

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by [825] divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued.

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *ama* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C.*) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. [284] The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting
237 them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, *C*.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bear for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity
321] in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, *B*. The broader of these is made from the end of a large Conus shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from Tridacna shell, and is unusually well made. As Tridacna shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, *F*) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

324] A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precartorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, *G*.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouoho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, *A*.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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dently thrust through the loop and held on the outside with a pin of some sort. Edge-Partington (20, p. 44) shows a specimen with ends finished in this way which has three shell pendants of graduated size. Necklaces with both ends finished alike were tied behind the neck with strings of twisted tapa. (See Nos. 3, 4.) A polished pearl shell was usually suspended from the center of the necklace. 301

Edge-Partington (20, p. 67) figures a hair girdle from Niue which closely resembles these Marquesan necklaces. A necklace of similar form from the Ellice Islands is now in the American Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum has a series of necklaces from Penrhyn Island which differ from the Marquesan forms only in minor details of the finishing of the ends. All these ornaments are obviously similar to the Hawaiian hair necklaces which with a whale ivory hook formed the insignia of chiefly rank.

Necklaces other than those of hair cord seem formerly to have been worn principally by women. They were made from porpoise teeth, shells, or seeds and in later times of European glass beads. The teeth used were perforated as near the bottom of the root as possible, and strung on threads of pineapple fiber. Bead necklaces were usually made of a double strand of beads which was looped back and forth as in chain stitching. The ends of the necklace were tied together at the back of the neck. Combinations of beads and teeth, or of beads and shells, seem to have been rather common. (See Pl. LXXVII, *B*.)

GORGETS AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The Marquesans used a great variety of gorgets and breast ornaments, most, if not all, of which were worn by the men. The most valued of these was the *ei*, or whale's tooth (Pl. LXXVIII, *A*) some of which at least had a religious significance. As the Marquesans did not catch whales the supply of teeth must have been far below the demand. Porter says that a schooner load of sandal wood could be bought with ten large teeth. Whales' teeth worn as ornaments were drilled transversely near the tip of the root, and were commonly ground at this end, to make them thinner and easier to perforate. In view of their skill in ivory carving it is rather curious that the natives seem not to have carved or shaped these teeth. The tooth was sometimes attached to the ends of a hair ornament worn on the shoulders, serving to weight it down and hold it in position. Most of the specimens seen, however, were attached to ropes of twisted coconut fiber covered with white tapa.

Plaques of large pearl shells were formerly used in the Marquesas, but very few examples have survived. 301

In making the plaque the shell was ground to a more or less regular outline and the colored outer layers removed except for a narrow band around the edge. This band was dec- 321

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301 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, *B*) gives
321 the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of Conus shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

301 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem,
the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as
237 gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, *C*, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, 9½ inches; maximum width, 2¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are perforated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds attached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large
[824] collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII, *C*, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered with the shiny red and black Abrus seeds. Along either side of the encrusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

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301 According to Handy (32) collars of pearl, called *pipiei*, were sometimes placed with a body at burial, and three types of headdress, the *taowaha*, *packua*, and *hei kua* were sometimes worn around the neck or on the breast.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR WOMEN

A pair of ear ornaments of rare type are illustrated in Plate LXXIX, *A*, 1, 3. 301 The "S" shaped body of these ornaments is made of a narrow strip of tortoise 321 shell which was softened by heat and bent into shape. At about a third of its length the strip is perforated for the attachment of an ornament composed of porpoise teeth and beads. The teeth are somewhat smaller than those usually used for crowns, but like them are strung on loops of coconut fiber. The beads are, of course, of European manufacture. The long projecting end of the strip was thrust through the lobe of the ear, the body of the ornament hanging below with the toothed portion to the rear. These ornaments were used by women.

The object shown on Plate LXXIX, *A*, 2, may be classed as a woman's ear ornament. Its construction is essentially the same as that of the ornaments just described, but the strip is replaced by a large black seed which has apparently been oiled and polished. The method of wearing this ornament is unknown, but it seems probable that the seed and bead tassel were worn in front of the ear with the teeth behind.

The commonest form of woman's ear ornament, called *taiana* is shown at the bottom of Plate LXXIX, *B*.

The *taiana* is made of two pieces, a cap and a body. The cap, called *puiu*, is made from some white shell, probably Tridacna, and has on the inner side a cylindrical cavity about one-fourth of an inch deep. The sides of this cavity are lined with a thin layer of pith or soft wood. The body consists of a thin strip of human bone whose inner end is finished with a short cylindrical shank. The tip of this shank is cut to accurately fit the cavity in the cap. The rest of the body i decorated with highly conventionalized human figures. A large figure with extended arms is represented in profile at either end, and between these, two smaller figures, shown in front view. The heads of these small figures are supported by the hands of the end figures, while their legs appear at the bottom. Their bodies are not represented. The two ornaments shown at the top of the plate differ considerably from this normal type, but the basic concept is probably the same as the four heads are still recognizable. The inner sides of the ornaments are left rough. The elaborate piercing used in working out the designs is especially interesting as this technique seems not to have been employed in any other Marquesan objects. Ornaments of this sort were worn with carved portion projecting horizontally behind the ear, the cap, which was fitted on the shank, resting against the front of the ear lobe.

The bone of which they were made is said to have been obtained from dead relatives, not, as was the usual practice, from revenge victims. The figures represent ancestors, one of the large figures being male and the other female. Such ornaments were highly prized, and were inherited in the female line.

According to an informant in Fatu Hiva women sometimes wore ornaments similar to the *taiana*, but made from a boar's tusk instead of human bone. Early writers make little or no reference to women's ear ornaments, although they describe those of the men in considerable detail.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR MEN

The most highly prized of the men's ear ornaments were the *ha'akai* (Dordillon, 17). 301 321

Ha'akai were made from whale ivory in the form of a thick disc from whose rear surface a spur projected. The disc portion was oval, with a flat or slightly rounded outer surface, and was undecorated except for two broad shallow grooves around the edge. The spur was placed near one end of the oval, and was usually made in one piece with the disc. In the specimen shown on the left (Plate LXXIX, *C*), the spur is made from a separate piece of ivory, its base fitting accurately into a cavity in the disc. It is held in place by small plugs of wood and ivory which pass through holes drilled diagonally through both disc and spur. The ends of these plugs are cut flush with the surface of the disc and it is evident that the attachment was permanent. One or two small tiki figures in high relief are carved on the sides of the spur, and in some plugs there is an additional figure at the tip. A hole, parallel to the long axis of the disc, was usually drilled through the spur near its base.

The ornaments were worn with the discs in front of the ear, the spurs passing through holes in the ear lobes and projecting behind. A small wooden plug, thrust through the hole near the base of the spur, kept the ornament in position. The weight of some discs was supported by a band which passed across the top of the head.

Several other types of men's ear ornaments are described by early writers. 301 Stewart (59, pp. 248-249) says:

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments.

A portrait of a chief wearing ear ornaments of this type is shown by Cook (14, p. 306). In this figure the discs appear to be in the form of long ovals of rather irregular outline.

An object which probably formed part of an ear ornament of this general type was obtained from a burial cave in Hanamenu, Hiva Oa. It is an oval disc of light wood about 1¾ inches long, 1½ inches wide, and ¼ of an inch thick. In the center there is a small perforation which may have served for the attachment of a spur. Both sides are smoothly finished, and the edge is cut in such a way as to leave a flange on what was probably the outer side.

Krusenstern (34, pp. 157-158) says of the natives of Nuku Hiva:

They adorn their ears with large white muscles of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar's tusk is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden plug passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out.

Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says: "A muscle shell of an ounce weight, to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of breadfruit wood, is the great ear ornament," and Fleurieu (23, p. 114) makes the observation that, "although both men and women have their ears pierced none were seen who habitually wore pendants."

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probably was always a rare and greatly valued ornament. A narrow band of featherwork, corresponding to one of the three strips in the large *paekua*, was worn as a headdress in Nuku Hiva. It was also called *paekua*. 292 237

According to Handy the *paekua* was worn by young chiefesses at fetes, and was also sometimes worn as a breast ornament. Its principal use, however, was as a man's headdress.

A few other types of feather headdresses seem to have been in use. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says that some of the natives of Hiva Oa wore "round coronets of the small linguated feathers of the man-of-war bird." Stewart (59, p. 313) says that a *taua* (priest) seen by him in Nuku Hiva wore "a full wreath of red and white feathers, much soiled, in alternate bunches over the forehead and temples." From his notes and from Dordillon's dictionary Handy has compiled names of additional feather ornaments as follows:

Heikua: A wreath of red cock feathers worn by women to dance the *hakapahaka*. The feathers were attached to sennit.

Tua: An ornament of twelve upright *toake* feathers, which was worn on the forehead.

Hei mekameka: Head ornament of long cocks' plumes.

Kohepea: Long cocks' plumes attached to the end of a stick, worn as an ornament.

Koketata: Aigrette of cocks' plumes on the end of a stick.

Pea: Long tail feathers of a cock. Aigrette of these feathers.

Peue: Head ornament of feathers in the form of a visor.

Tua: Aigrette of red feathers of the tropic bird.

A number of striking headdresses of materials other than feathers were also used by the Marquesans. 292 237 321

Wreaths or garlands of porpoise teeth (*peue ei*), worn principally by women, are still obtainable, although their manufacture has been discontinued for a number of years. The base of these ornaments is a band plaited from a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber. (See Pl. LXXXII, *A*.) The technique is identical with that employed for the bands of hair ornaments. The band is widest in the middle and tapers toward the ends, which are turned over and plaited back into the band on the outer side, forming stiff loops. Through these loops the tying strings, usually of white tapa, are passed.

The teeth were drilled through the root, and were attached as follows: A small bundle of fibers was released from every other cord on one half of the plait, threaded with beads and teeth, and its free end twisted into the corresponding cord on the opposite half of the plait. In almost all specimens both teeth and beads are used, each of the loops having six or more beads at each end and from 10 to 15 teeth in the middle. According to one informant, in ancient times small fish vertebrae were used instead of beads. In one specimen the beads are absent, the entire loop being threaded with teeth. It is evident that the twisting of the cords in the plait, the stringing of the loops, and the plaiting were carried on simultaneously.

In all the specimens examined, the teeth had apparently been drilled with metal tools. The perforations are remarkably small, and the teeth fit the cords on which they are strung so tightly that it is difficult to remove them even when the cords have been broken. Most, if not all, of the teeth used in these wreaths were obtained from the island of Ua Pou. An ordinary wreath contains from 1000 to 1500 teeth, and the demand evidently exceeded the supply, for several wreaths were seen which contained imitation teeth made of bone. A unique specimen, made entirely of bone, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *B*.

When not in use the wreath was straightened and a smooth rod, about half an inch in diameter was run through all the loops, between the teeth and the plaited band. The orna-

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292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in
237 several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they were scoured with fine sand.

321 A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced
[177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kana*, the small discs, *kana momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *packa* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent
[177] has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

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lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of coconuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packa*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

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292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American
237 museums were collected.

321 The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

> The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taavaha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *packaha* and *uhikana*.

292 A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

> "Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *packaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and
[302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

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constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption. 461

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.) 284 322 386 [283]

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In 283 322 [801]

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283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

●322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika*, *ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. [552] Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

CARVINGS ON POSTS

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 531

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving. 372

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 curved edge. Each of these adzes has its special use and in doing any piece of work, as the shaping of a bowl, great care seems to be taken to use the proper 412 tool for each stage of manufacture. In working any surface a series of light 322 glancing blows are struck instead of two or three heavy ones. Informants agree that this was also the ancient system. The blade of a stone adz could easily be shattered by a heavy direct blow, and it is related that when a *tuhuna* who had been employed to make some object became dissatisfied with his pay or working conditions he would strike a heavy blow, breaking his adz, and with this as an excuse, refuse to finish.

The small straight bladed adzes are also used as planes. The handle is grasped at the curve, with the blade below the hand, edge forward, and the tool is pushed along the surface of the wood, removing a thin shaving. Stone adzes are said to have been used in the same manner.

Very little data could be obtained on the method of using the hafted chisels other than that they were used to hollow drums and cut the lashing holes [824] in canoe parts. They were struck upon the upper end of the shaft with a *toa* wood mallet like that used in caulking canoes. (See Pl. LVI, *B*.)

GOUGES

412 The Marquesan collection in the Bishop Museum includes four implements uncommon to the group, and it has been thought best to describe them separately under the head of gouges although it can not be said with certainty that they were not hafted and used as adzes. The implement shown in Plate XLVII, *B*, 2 is 6¾ inches long, 1¾ inches wide at the bit and 1¼ inches wide at the upper end. It is almost semicircular in cross section. The cutting edge is curved, but the lower side of the bit, which is ground with a well marked bevel, is flat. The implement fits the hand well and does not appear to have been hafted.

Only slightly smaller than No. 2 and with a similar bit, gouge No. 3 shown on the same plate is distinguished from it by having parallel sides.

No. 4 on the same plate shows a small specimen whose shaft has been broken. The bit has a width of 11/16 inches and its lower surface is slightly concave. The body of this gouge is almost circular in cross section and well polished throughout, although the marks of the chipping have not been completely obliterated. The bit shows use and sharpening, and the implement was probably a carving tool.

No. 1 on this plate is completely ground and has a narrow upper and broad lower surface, both of which are flat, while the sides are somewhat rounded. The upper surface narrows toward the rear so that the blade is almost triangular at the butt (the point of greatest thickness) and the whole shape is reminiscent of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 surfaces and true angles of the stone slabs, on the other hand, could hardly have
324 been produced with any other implement. No information as to the form or material of these stone dressing tools was obtained, but it seems probable that they were fragments of cellular lava having a more or less flat, natural surface.

412 The rubbing stones used in wood working were of two types, abrasive stones, which were used to obliterate the marks of coarser tools and to some ex-
● 322 tent to shape the object, and burnishing stones, which were used to give a final high polish. All the abrasive stones seen were made from more or less water-worn lumps of coral or coraline limestone, but it appears probable that pebbles of the finer grained cellular lavas were also employed. The texture varied considerably and at least one specimen was so hard and smooth that it could have had little abrasive effect. Several rubbing stones of increasingly fine grain were used in finishing a given object, the last grinding stone being followed by the burnisher. (See Pl. XLVIII, *C*.)

Burnishing stones were small pebbles of even-textured, rather soft rock which were used only in the final stage of manufacture and had no abrasive effect. They were rubbed rapidly back and forth upon the surface to be polished, the workmen exerting a fairly heavy, even pressure. In time they acquired a peculiar glassy polish resembling that of a gastrolith. The smoother the implement the better the finish which it could impart to a bowl, so old specimens were highly prized. (See Pl. XLVIII, *D*.)

PERFORATED STONE DISKS

324 Two perforated stone disks were collected by the expedition, one, of unknown history, being obtained in the valley of Hane, Ua Huka, while the second was found lying among some skulls in a *me'ae* in the valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. Both specimens are made of rather porous lava. (See Pl. L, *A*, 1-2.) The dimensions are as follows: No. 1, length 3⅜ inches, width 2⅞ inches, thickness 1 inch, width of perforation at surface 1 inch, width of perforation at center 3-16 of an inch. No. 2, length 4 inches, width 3½ inches, maximum thickness 1¾ inches, minimum thickness 1½ inches, width of perforation at surface 1⅜ inches, width of perforation at center ⅝ of an inch. The perforation in No. 1 is almost perfectly centered, that in No. 2 noticeably nearer one end than the other. In both, the perforation appears to have been pecked rather than drilled, and is formed by two conical pits which meet in the middle of the objects in a rough edged orifice. The surfaces of both specimens are rather carefully smoothed.

Both objects were identified by an Atu Ona informant as weights for pump drills, but this explanation does not appear entirely satisfactory. The pump drill was a common Marquesan tool, and if such weights were used one would

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton · E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided 415
into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and [314]
gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections.

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; [322]
the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated. [531]

COCONUT SHELLS

The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used 415
without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to 322
have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of
withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 and are manufactured in considerable numbers. No lathes have ever been introduced into the Marquesas, and all wooden utensils are still made by aboriginal [322] processes modified only by the introduction of metal tools. The modern makers have ceased to reproduce the more elaborate ancient forms and ordinary utensils are rarely carved at the present time; but skillful carvers are still found in Nuka Hiva and Hiva Oa, and especially in Fatu Hiva, which was formerly the artistic center of the group.

415 The Marquesans employed a great variety of woods for their utensils, the favorite being *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*). This tree has a dark brown heart 824 wood and white sap wood, while its softness and even texture make it especially easy to carve. Next in importance came the temanu. This wood is light red to yellow in color and somewhat harder and less even grained than the *mio*, but still well adapted to the purpose. The trees attain a very large size, and on this account temanu appears always to have been used in ancient times for feast bowls and other large vessels. Most modern utensils are made of this wood, as the supply of large *mio* is practically exhausted. *Mei* (breadfruit) was used to a limited extent, but was considered an inferior material. Fau wood, when taken from old trees, was occasionally used, and small more or less ornamental vessels were made from sandal wood or *toa*. *Toa* was especially difficult to work on account of its hardness and its tendency to split, and objects made from it seem to have been primarily intended to show the skill of the workman. A number of other woods were sometimes used for special purposes or in the absence of better material, but according to informants, *vai*, a close grained red wood which appears well adapted to bowl making, was never used because it would split when exposed to the sun.

415 Modern bowl makers shape their utensils with adzes and knives, but knives are little used. The adzes are provided with iron blades made either from 322 plane irons or from sections of iron pipe, which has replaced the stone blades of the *toki kouma* type. (See p. 323.)

A well equipped workman employs a whole series of adzes of diminishing size, the last used being miniatures only a few inches in length. Green wood is used when possible, as it is softer and easier to work, but seasoned wood can also be used for bowls after it has been soaked in the river for several weeks. A block considerably larger than the intended object is first roughed out from the log, and is then worked down with the adz until the desired outline has been obtained. In all the examples seen approximately the final form was given to the exterior before the excavation of the interior was begun. In making round bowls a pair of European compasses are now used to outline the rim, but the shaping of the body is done entirely by eye. In shaping the exterior a light glancing blow is used, the chips detached being of such uniform size that a well made bowl just prior to polishing is covered with a multitude of small regular facets like those on a bowl of beaten brass. In excavating the interior the workman begins at the center, and gradually works back to the edges, hollowing the whole interior to the depth of about an inch. He then begins at the center once more and excavates another level, continuing until the desired depth is reached. The inside of an unfinished bowl

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years. 415 322

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary: 415 531

Katipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities). 415
Katihu. Dish. 192
Kapuha. Kind of native dish.
Kokoma. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kokipo. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapa. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipo. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kopa. Vase for kava.
Kaipu. All vases.
Ipu. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hue. All vases with large openings.
Hue maoi. Calabash.
Tipoui. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahare. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Tamoa. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaka. Small dish.
Tahoe. Oblong dish.
Tahaha. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hua. Small dish.
Pihara, Piarahare. Native dish.
Papa kotua. Covered dish for popoi.
Maoa tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Akuipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants. 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In pre-

415 European times the carving was done with sharks' teeth, rats' teeth, or shells, but
531 for nearly a century these implements have been replaced by implements of iron.
322 Practically all the tools now used by carvers are home-made and are crude, but effective. They consist of small chisels, made from large nails ground to a straight edge; curved chisels, also made from nails, and small gouges, which are usually made from umbrella ribs. Knives are apparently never used for carving.

Containers are always completely shaped and polished as if for use before carving, a practise which increases the difficulties of the artist as it makes it impossible to conceal any slips of the chisel. The bowl to be carved is soaked in a stream for some time to soften the wood, and when not being worked on is usually kept in water. Only beginners draw the designs upon the utensil before carving; the skilled workman carves entirely free hand and arranges the spacing of even the most intricate designs entirely by eye. The chisel, usually fixed in a rough wooden handle, is held with the bit below the hand, and the carver appears to work with equal facility either toward or away from the body. The incision is first marked out by pressing the chisel into the wood vertically, and is then made by pushing the tool along horizontally, with one corner of the bit at the bottom of the original vertical cut and the edge, sloping upward to the surface of the bowl at a variable angle. A long triangular sliver is thus removed; any irregularities in the cutting are dressed down with small chisels. In a very large proportion of the carved specimens all the incisions have this triangular form, but when wide spaces are to be cut away they are outlined by two cuts of the sort just described, the wood between is removed, and the bottom of the space dressed flat or left with a low central ridge. Curved chisels are used to dress the vertical sides of incisions in curved designs, while the gouges are used principally for small details or shallow designs which are incised rather than carved.

Modern carvers have a strong tendency to enlarge and simplify the details of the designs and broaden the incisions in order to increase the speed of production.

415 Carved decoration appears to have been most commonly used upon round
531 bowls, next in frequency being the boxes and the tureen-like covered dishes. At least some of the other forms were probably carved in pre-European times but no carved *toto* or oval bowls, with the exception of the bird effigies, are known. Bird effigies and some boxes were carved only upon the projecting knob, and a few bowls and dishes were decorated with a carved band below the rim, but as a rule the carving covered the entire outside of the utensil. In applying the designs the surface was rarely, if ever, treated as a whole, being broken up into a number of sections which were treated as separate units. In the actual process of carving the outlining of these sections upon the bowl was the first step, and the filling designs were applied afterward. A symmetrical arrangement of the sections appears to have always been intended, and there is usually more or less agreement between the filling designs of corresponding sections. In decorating a circular bowl the bottom was usually treated as a single unit, although it was sometimes divided into two or more parts. The sides were divided either into horizontal zones or vertical sections, and the boundaries marked either by plain

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[2]: 534 [192]

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio;* and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used. [322] [324]

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[2] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

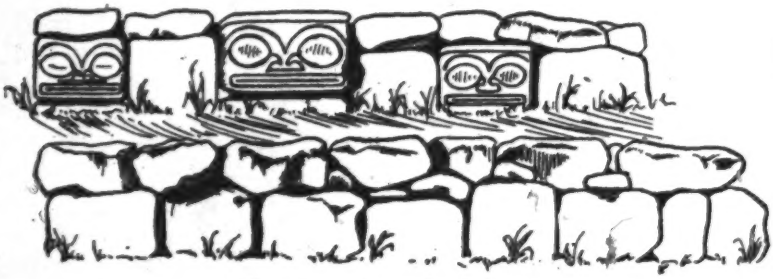
STONEWORK

● 324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532



[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
483 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred
[164] yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

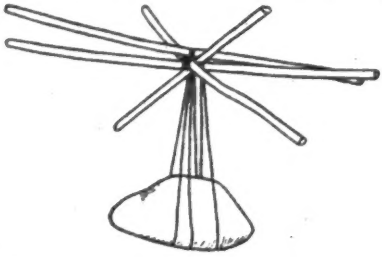


FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
[78?] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *pacpac* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *pacpac* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *pacpac* were built of rough stones throughout. The *pacpac* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *pacpac* and in a few recently built *pacpac* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. 324

The building of the *pacpac* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each successive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) "*E tuku te kea matapao kaoko*" (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STONE ARTIFACTS

412 The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of ef-
324 fective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make
[325] the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to in-
[321] dicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant
[135] exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The presence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking, grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons, with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F*.)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

counts of informants it appears probable that the stone was obtained from rock slides and bowlders in the river beds. According to information obtained by Handy in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, a boy's first adz was made from a fragment of a special black stone which was kept for that purpose in the *me'ae*. Informants were ignorant of the original source of these stones, and of how they were replaced when used up. No objects which might answer this description were seen in any of the *me'ae* visited. 412 324

The only large adz workshops visited were on the island of Ei Ao. During the late prehistoric period this island was a tributary of one of the tribes of Nuku Hiva, and the adzes made there were brought to Nuku Hiva and from there distributed in trade to all the other islands of the group. The area of these workshops, and the quantity of chips and rejects, would indicate a highly developed, long continued industry. No regular quarries were known to natives familiar with the island, but a few bowlders of phonolite suitable for adz making were seen. Small workshops are scattered all over the island, but curiously enough the center of the industry appears to have been on the top of a high ridge running along the southern side of the island, at a considerable distance from any source of material. Two striking features of the workshops of Ei Ao are the preponderance among the rejects of small thin forms, and the lack of ground specimens and grinding stones. This would seem to indicate that the trade called for chisels and carving tools rather than for large adzes and that the blades were exported unground.

The only tools employed in adz manufacture were hammerstones and grinding stones. The grinding stones consisted of smooth surfaced natural rocks of varying grain upon which the adzes were rubbed. Large natural bowlders whose surfaces have been worn into pits and grooves by adz grinding are still visible in the neighborhood of many settlements. The grinding of the gouges must have been done with some sort of small whetstone, but no examples were seen. Chants collected by Handy (personal correspondence) mention the use of sand in either the grinding or finishing of adzes, and it seems probable that the sand was placed in the grooves and hollows already worn in the large grinding rocks to hasten the abrasion.

The processes employed in adz manufacture were chipping and grinding, with a limited use of pecking. This last appears to have been used only in connection with a single specialized adz type, the *toki aa*. It is evident from rejects that the adz makers were especially skillful in chipping, bringing the implement to approximately its final form by this method. The chipping upon the bits of adzes is especially fine, the work approaching in excellence that done elsewhere by the pressure flaking process. The cutting edge of the adz was always ground

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but the finish on other parts of the implement was extremely variable, used specimens showing all conditions from simple chipping to complete grinding and high polish. According to one of the chants already mentioned the finished adz was honed on the thigh to produce a final polish. The making of a boy's first adz was accompanied by various religious observances which have been described by Handy (32).

The collections of the Bishop Museum contain nearly fifty Marquesan adzes and chisels, and an approximately equal number have been studied elsewhere. From this series it is evident that in the Marquesas these artifacts show a higher degree of variation than in any other part of Polynesia with the possible exception of New Zealand. As a whole they fall at once into two main groups, distinguished by the presence or absence of a tang, while the tanged adzes may be further divided into simple adzes, *toki aa* and *toki kouma*.

SIMPLE TANGED ADZES

The blades of the simple tanged adz are distinguished by a broad straight bit, a cross section varying from rectangular to triangular and sides which slope inward toward the poll. In the quadrangular examples the inner surface may be either flat or slightly concave. The tang is formed by chipping away a portion of the upper end of the outer surface. It can not be distinguished on the inner surface. In some of the triangular specimens the sides of the tang are also chipped away, giving the blade a slight shoulder, but this is not a common feature. As a rule these blades are ground only on the bit and outer surface, exclusive of the tang. In all the quadrangular examples the width of the inner surface is equal to or less than that of the outer surface, never greater. Many of the rectangular specimens of this type agree so closely in form and finish with the normal adzes of the Hawaiian group that in a mixed collection it would be impossible to distinguish them. (See Pl. XLV, *D*.) The triangular adzes of this type, on the other hand, are practically identical with those normal for the Society Islands. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.) The bulk of the specimens fall between these two extremes.

TOKI AA

Blades of the *toki aa* type are recognized as a separate class by the natives themselves. They are characterized by a distinct tang, a heavy blade of rectangular cross section, and a more or less complete grinding of all the surfaces. Practically all the specimens of this class are large. The most striking features of the type are the great thickness of the blade portion, which in many adzes exceeds the width of the cutting edge, and the high angle formed by the two faces of the bit, usually fifty degrees or more. The *toki aa* appear to have been the only adzes in whose manufacture the pecking process was employed. In one of the Bishop

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Museum specimens, No. B3070, the tang has evidently been shaped by this method, while an unfinished specimen, No. B3074, is pecked at the bit. *Toki aa* are said by the natives to have been used for the final dressing of planks. (See Pl. XLV, *E, F.*)

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TOKI KOUMA

The *toki kouma* are also recognized by the natives as a distinct class. They are characterized by a long narrow blade of triangular cross section, a well marked tang whose outer surface is often concave, and a narrow bit. In many examples the whole implement has a slight backward curve, the inner surface, which forms the base of the triangle, is more or less concave. The bit is formed by grinding away the base and a varying proportion of the apex of the triangular blade, and by partially grinding the sides adjacent to it. When seen from the front, the bit has the appearance of a shallow angular U with divergent sides, and the implement makes a cut resembling that of a gouge rather than an adz. In a few specimens the inner side of the bit is more or less hollowed, as in European gouges. (See Pl. XLV, *G, H.*)

Adzes of the *toki kouma* type are relatively common in the Marquesas, forming about 30 percent of all the specimens observed. They are of all sizes and were employed for a variety of purposes from the hollowing of canoes and containers to cutting ornamental designs on canoes and house posts. One specimen, said to have been used for fine carving, is 7 inches long, with a width of about ¼ of an inch at the bit. It seems certain that heavy, narrow-bitted *toki kouma* were also used in quarrying and dressing the large stone slabs employed in many Marquesan structures.

TANGLESS ADZES

The tangless adzes include a great variety of blades. The larger ones are probably true adzes while the smaller may have been either adzes or chisels. In cross section they range from nearly rectangular to triangular and in finish from a high polish on all surfaces to a simple grinding of the bit. In all examples seen the sides converge more or less toward the poll, which in some specimens is rounded or almost pointed. The bevel of the edge is in every case ground from the narrow side of the implement, which rests against the haft. In the larger specimens, the whole implement frequently has a well marked backward curve. (See Pl. XLVI, *A.*)

Adzes of this type are more numerous in the Marquesas than those of any other class. They are variable in size, outline, and cross section and appear to grade imperceptibly into the simple tanged adzes. The tangs of some specimens are so slight that it is difficult to determine in which class they should be placed.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

UNCLASSIFIED ADZES

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There are a few Marquesan adzes which defy classification and deserve individual descriptions.

A large adz 8⅞ inches long with a maximum thickness of 1½ inches is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 1. The poll is 2½ inches wide and has across its center a well marked ridge. The bit has the remarkable width of 7¼ inches. The blade is rectangular in cross section and has been smoothly ground on all surfaces. The bevel is ground at a long angle, making a thin blade unsuitable for heavy work and it is hard to see for what purpose an implement of this sort could have been employed. The specimen is heavily patinated, indicating a considerable age.

The adz illustrated in Plate XLVI, *B*, 4 has a thin, flat, completely polished blade of beautiful workmanship. It is 3 inches long, with a thickness of less than ⅜ of an inch and a width of about one inch at the top and 1⅜ inches at the bit. The edge is ground with a flat well-marked bevel, and the angles formed by the juncture of the sides with the inner surface have been rounded off.

A large adz of remarkably fine workmanship is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2. In general outline and form of tang it conforms to the *toki kouma* type, but the sides below the tang diverge rather rapidly, forming a broad bit instead of the narrow one normal in implements of that type. The lower side of the bit is considerably hollowed, giving to the cutting edge a well marked curve. The dimensions are: length, 11½ inches; length of tang, 4 inches; maximum thickness of blade, 2¾ inches; width at upper end, 2 inches; width at bit, 3¼ inches. This specimen was purchased in the island of Ua Huka and is said to be of local material and workmanship.

The still more curious adz shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 3, is the largest Marquesan adz known to the author, being 14½ inches long and weighing slightly over 6 pounds. The upper end is formed into a well marked tang 4½ inches long. Below this tang the shaft is triangular in cross section and of uniform size to within 4¾ inches of the bit. From this point the inner surface slopes forward at an angle of 40 degrees, while the sides broaden out and the outer edge slopes slightly backward. As a result of this the inner ground surface of the bit is oblong, the outer triangular. The whole surface is heavily patinated indicating an age greater than that of most of the specimens in the collection.

On Plate XLVI, 5 is shown a small and crudely made blade 3¼ inches long, one inch wide and one inch thick. The shaft is triangular, but with the base of the triangle forming one side of the implement so that its plane is across that of the cutting edge. The bit appears to be ground equally from both sides, as in an axe, and the cutting edge forms a distinct angle with the axis of the implement, as in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a turner's chisel. The shaft, either from accident or intention, is curved to fit the hand accurately, and the whole surface shows a slight but even polish of the sort acquired through wear, so that it is probable that the implement was never hafted. 412 324

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN ADZES WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

A thorough comparative study of Oceanic adzes would, the author believes, yield results of great ethnological value. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, but it seems well to point out the features which distinguish Polynesian adzes as a class from those used in Melanesia, and to indicate the distribution of the various Polynesian types. No satisfactory information is available for some parts of Polynesia, but the conditions appear to be as follows: 412 171

Melanesian adzes as a class are oval or eliptical in cross section, with smoothly rounded contours, and nearly all of them are completely ground and polished. The use of a distinct tang is unknown. Polynesian adzes, on the other hand, are triangular to rectangular in crosssection with surfaces composed of a few large planes meeting at sharp angles. New Zealand appears to have been the only locality in which the grinding and polishing of all surfaces was normal. Fully ground specimens are fairly common from Tonga, the Society, Austral and Cook groups, and from Easter and Chatham Islands, but are less numerous in collections than those which are at least partially rough. In Hawaii and Samoa fully ground adzes are almost unknown, while in the Marquesas complete grinding is practically limited to the *toki oa* type. In Tonga there appear to be two quite distinct types, one of which is clearly Melanesian while the other is an angular tangless blade of Polynesian character. Adzes of Melanesian contour and finish are present in collections from New Zealand, Easter Island, Chatham Island and rarely from the Society Islands. It thus appears that, broadly speaking, adzes of Melanesian type are present in all those localities in which there is a marked tendency toward complete grinding of recognizably Polynesian forms, while they are lacking in regions where complete grinding is rare or absent. It seems probable, therefore, that this feature is everywhere referable to a Melanesian influence, either direct or transmitted, and that the original Polynesian implement was ground, at most, upon the bit and outer face.

The angular Polynesian adzes may be divided into two main classes, tanged and tangless, each of which contains a number of subtypes. Tanged adzes are present in all the marginal Polynesian areas and extend as far west as the Cook Islands but they are rare in Samoa and absent in Tonga. They are divided into well marked local types: the Hawaiian type, the Southwestern type and the New Zealand type.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lower part of a narrow *toki kouma* whose tang has been broken off. The implement appears to be complete however, and shows no signs of hafting. It is possible that this implement marks a transition from *toki kouma* to gouges and that the two classes of implements are related. 412

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

Marquesan knives were usually made from bamboo or shell, and shells were used as scrapers, but stone knives and scrapers also existed. In the absence of iron tools, stone knives have been used as a makeshift until comparatively recent times. Pere Simeon Delmar, head of the Catholic Mission in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, has witnessed the manufacture of stone knives. He says that the knives, often six to eight inches in length, were made from flakes of a special variety of phonolite, which were detached from a core by a single sharp blow with a rounded stone held in the hand. The natural fracture gave a fairly sharp edge to the flake and it was used without retouching or hafting. When the edge became dull from use, the implement was thrown away. In M. Delmar's experience these stone knives were used only to open and scale fish. Many phonolite flakes were found in old village sites, but their certain identification as knives is impossible. (See Pl. XLVIII, *G*.) [824] [321]

Two stone artifacts were collected which appear to have been scrapers. One of these, found in an old village site, is a large semicircular spall of some basaltic rock which has evidently been retouched along its lower edge. Its form is not unlike that of some of the shell scrapers used for tapa making. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 1.)

The second specimen was collected on the island of Ei Ao. It is a thin spall of phonolite which has been worked into rectangular form and dressed along the outer end and one side with an abrupt retouch. This implement appears to be complete, and is much too thin and carefully worked to be a reject from the adz workshops. It was identified by natives as a scraper. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 2.)

RUBBING STONES

The Marquesans used rubbing stones in the manufacture of various wooden objects and in dressing the large stone slabs which are a common feature of their masonry. The large rocks upon which adzes were ground and polished have already been described (p. 321) and mention has been made of the probable use of whetstones, but it is uncertain whether rubbing stones were used in the manufacture of other stone artifacts. The modern makers of *popoi* pounders deny their use, and none of the ancient artifacts show a finish which could not have been produced by careful pecking and a final polishing with sand. The large flat 412 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 surfaces and true angles of the stone slabs, on the other hand, could hardly have
324 been produced with any other implement. No information as to the form or material of these stone dressing tools was obtained, but it seems probable that they were fragments of cellular lava having a more or less flat, natural surface.

412 The rubbing stones used in wood working were of two types, abrasive stones, which were used to obliterate the marks of coarser tools and to some ex-
322 tent to shape the object, and burnishing stones, which were used to give a final high polish. All the abrasive stones seen were made from more or less water-worn lumps of coral or coraline limestone, but it appears probable that pebbles of the finer grained cellular lavas were also employed. The texture varied considerably and at least one specimen was so hard and smooth that it could have had little abrasive effect. Several rubbing stones of increasingly fine grain were used in finishing a given object, the last grinding stone being followed by the burnisher. (See Pl. XLVIII, *C*.)

Burnishing stones were small pebbles of even-textured, rather soft rock which were used only in the final stage of manufacture and had no abrasive effect. They were rubbed rapidly back and forth upon the surface to be polished, the workmen exerting a fairly heavy, even pressure. In time they acquired a peculiar glassy polish resembling that of a gastrolith. The smoother the implement the better the finish which it could impart to a bowl, so old specimens were highly prized. (See Pl. XLVIII, *D*.)

PERFORATED STONE DISKS

324 Two perforated stone disks were collected by the expedition, one, of unknown history, being obtained in the valley of Hane, Ua Huka, while the second was found lying among some skulls in a *me'ae* in the valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. Both specimens are made of rather porous lava. (See Pl. L, *A*, 1-2.) The dimensions are as follows: No. 1, length 3⅜ inches, width 2⅞ inches, thickness 1 inch, width of perforation at surface 1 inch, width of perforation at center 3-16 of an inch. No. 2, length 4 inches, width 3½ inches, maximum thickness 1¾ inches, minimum thickness 1½ inches, width of perforation at surface 1⅜ inches, width of perforation at center ⅝ of an inch. The perforation in No. 1 is almost perfectly centered, that in No. 2 noticeably nearer one end than the other. In both, the perforation appears to have been pecked rather than drilled, and is formed by two conical pits which meet in the middle of the objects in a rough edged orifice. The surfaces of both specimens are rather carefully smoothed.

Both objects were identified by an Atu Ona informant as weights for pump drills, but this explanation does not appear entirely satisfactory. The pump drill was a common Marquesan tool, and if such weights were used one would

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

expect to find many specimens, whereas perforated stone disks are so rare that most natives had never seen one and could offer no suggestion as to their use. The actual specimens are, moreover, poorly adapted for this purpose as No. 2 is quite asymmetrical while the perforation of No. 1 is much too narrow to admit a drill shaft. Perforated disks of this sort are also found in Hawaii as a rare form. 324

SINKERS

Stone sinkers were used with at least one of the Marquesan types of fish-net, but specimens deliberately shaped for this purpose are extremely rare. Only one object which could be identified as a net sinker was seen. This was a rather crudely finished specimen of coarse lava having an almost globular body terminating in a short knob with a somewhat expanded outer end, in which a shallow transverse groove was pecked. It was about 2¾ inches long and 1¾ inches in diameter. The neck and the single groove across the center of the top are said to have served for the attachment of cords. According to the owner of this specimen, an unusually intelligent native, sinkers of this type were attached to the lower edge of the long seins used in turtle fishing. 227

A second specimen, clearly related to this form but of such fine finish that its purpose was probably ceremonial rather than utilitarian, was seen in a collection in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. The body was between 3 and 4 inches in diameter and almost perfectly spherical. The neck was very short and oval in cross section and each of the two parts into which the end was divided had been carved into a flat tiki face directed upward. The specimen appeared to be made of phonolite or some other equally hard and fine grained stone and had been carefully polished on all surfaces. Its heavy patination indicated a considerable age. This sinker, if it is a sinker, bears a remarkable resemblance to certain specimens found near the East Cape of New Zealand, which are identical in outline and in having two heads carved upon the projections at the top. A crudely made object of the same type, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, is shown in Plate XLIX, *A-B*. The New Zealand sinkers differ from the Marquesan examples in having the body of the sinker covered with elaborate carving. [171]

A stone object in the collection of Mme. Maleius, in Ta'aoa Hiva Oa, can probably be classed as a sinker. It is oval in outline, with one flat and one convex side. Down the center of the convex side a groove has been pecked, giving the whole much the form of a coffee bean. The material is a rather coarse lava, and the whole finish is rough. As far as known no other object of this sort has been reported from the Marquesas and the owner, who was thoroughly conversant with native matters, could offer no suggestion as to its use.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

By far the most elaborate pipe seen was in the possession of Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. It is shaped like the bowl and fore-stem of an ordinary straight brier pipe, but has a tiki figure carved against the curve of the bowl in three-quarter round. (See Pl. XLIX, *D.*) The convention of this little figure is curious; the eyes are indicated by raised circles on either side of the head, and there is no distinct mouth or nose. A small beak-like projection at the bottom of the head, between the eyes, suggests that it may represent a bird. A hole has been drilled between the figure and the pipe bowl at about the level of the waist. This pipe is known to be very old and has been in the possession of a single family in Atu Ona for at least three generations. 276 532

BOWLS AND TRAYS

Stone bowls and trays are rare in the Marquesas, and the few specimens extant vary greatly in form and finish. The larger objects of this sort are usually quite crude. Some of the smaller bowls, on the other hand, show great skill in manufacture and are well finished and even decorated. 415 [324]

The largest object of this sort seen was a so-called tray which was built into the upper edge of a small platform in the *tohua* of Hutuhu'u, valley of Taipi-Vai, Nuku Hiva. It appeared to be a large fragment of a lava bubble which had been smoothed and slightly excavated on the inner surface, the outside being left rough. It was 3 feet, 6 inches long, with an average width of 2 feet, and an external depth of from 6 to 9 inches. Its form was likened by the natives to that of a canoe, a small natural projection at one end being pointed out as the prow, but the depression was really roughly rectangular. It is said that the bodies of victims who were to be eaten were laid upon this tray, but no other data could be obtained.

Another large bowl or tray of an altogether different form and use, was seen in the island of Tahu Ata. It apparently had been made from an oval water-worn bowlder, the outer surface left unworked. It was seen in the course of a visit so brief that exact measurements were impossible but the dimensions were approximately as follows: length 2 feet, 6 inches, width 20 inches, external depth 18 inches. The depression was circular, narrowing toward the bottom, and was about 14 inches in diameter and one foot deep. The rim was flat and rather carefully smoothed. Upon one end of the rim there was a cylindrical projection about 3 inches in diameter, and of the same height, which was said to be the base of a small tiki figure about one foot in height which was carved in one piece with the bowl. This little figure had been broken off and carried away many years ago. The bowl was built into the pavement of a large dwelling *paepae*, but informants were not certain that this was its original position. It

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

bowl was made of some rather hard close grained stone and was finely finished inside and out. Still another specimen (B3699C) appears to be a fragmnet of a rather shallow bowl 8 to 10 inches in diameter. It is made of a soft grey stone, possibly an indurated ash. At the lower end of the curve it bears a chevron carved in high relief along whose center there is a single incised line. It seems probable that this formed part of a zigzag band running around the bowl, but the fragment is too narrow to tell certainly. No. B3699D is a fragment from the side of a rather large and heavy bowl or tray having a bottom thickness of about one inch. The outer surface was smoothly finished and decorated with closely spaced incised lines forming simple curvilinear designs. (See Pl. XLIX, *E*.) 415

POUNDERS

INTRODUCTION

Pounders were, with the possible exception of adzes, the commonest of Marquesan stone artifacts, and they still form a regular part of the domestic equipment of all native households. In ancient times they appear to have been manufactured to some extent in all the valleys but even in prehistoric days the superiority of the stone found in Ua Pou and Ua Huka had led to a localization of the industry. The finished implements were traded from these islands to the rest of the group. The manufacture of *popoi* pounders has continued in Ua Huka down to the present time, and shortly before the war large numbers are said to have been made for a German trading company which sold them in their stores throughout the group and even in Tahiti. 412

At the present time the making of *popoi* pounders appears to be essentially a spare time industry, the natives working upon them when they have nothing more pressing to do. 412 324

For the pounders three varieties of stone were formerly used, all of which appear to have been rather soft, even grained magmatic rocks. The best grade was called *ovao*, a grey rock, fine grained, strong and light. The second best was called *puhite'a*, and the third best *potako*. All these varieties are said to have been obtained from the high part of the island lying to the east of the valley of Hokatu, but as bowlders in two other valleys were pointed out as good pounder stone, it is probable that the deposits were rather wide spread. The stone does not appear to have been regularly quarried, but was obtained from rock slides and stream beds.

The only tool used in making modern *popoi* pounders is an ordinary steel axe, and even the finishing touches are given with this unwieldy instrument. The process of manufacture is as follows:

An irregular piece of stone about three times the size of the finished implement is roughed out with heavy blows of the axe until it becomes a cone. (See Pl. LI, *A*, 1.) This cone is then worked down by light blows on all sides until the general form of the finished implement is produced. This is then smoothed by light, even blows with the corner of the axe until all the contours are perfect. The neck and body of the implement are then shaved with the edge of the axe until the scratches left by the last process are obliterated. The head

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 and base are left rough. The smooth surface of some new and unused specimens would seem to indicate the use of some sort of abrasive for the final finishing, but informants who were themselves makers insisted that this was not the case. The body of the implement is sometimes rubbed with a mixture of coconut charcoal and oil which gives it a shiny black finish contrasting pleasantly with the grey of the head.

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Informants of Ua Huka insist that the ancient process of manufacture was essentially the same except that stone adzes were employed instead of the modern steel axe. The stone used on Ua Huka could probably have been worked in this way and the information may be correct for this locality, but in other islands a variety of rock was employed, some of which could hardly have been worked with stone adzes. The heads of many of the old pounders show marks which make it seem certain that they were finished by pecking.

MODERN POUNDERS

412 The modern commercial pounders all conform to a single well-marked type (Pl. LI, *A*, 2).

The pounders are characterized by a neck of oval cross section which expands to form the head and the body of the implement. There is no clear line of demarkation between these parts and it is impossible to say where one ends and another begins. From the neck the body flares outward toward the base, which is circular, so that when seen in profile the sides of the pounder appear concave. The bottom is convex, with a rather low curve, and is always left rough. The head is oval in horizontal cross section, the lower part contracting gradually toward the neck. The upper part has the form of a high rounded dome and is divided into two equal lobes by a transverse groove which extends down either side almost to the point of maximum width of the head. The surface of these lobes is left rough, apparently with ornamental intent, and the whole form is clearly phallic.

ANCIENT POUNDERS

The natives themselves classify pounders according to use, recognizing four distinct classes as follows: (1) *popoi* pounders, (2) pounders for infant food, (3) salt pounders, (4) children's pounders. They also recognize certain of these implements as forming a fifth distinct class whose use has been forgotten. As these native classifications according to use are correlated with differences in the size and form of the implements, they will serve as the basis for the present descriptions.

POPOI POUNDERS

Popoi pounders are numerically much more important than those of any other class, practically all large pounders belonging under this head. They are divided by the natives on the basis of size and weight into men's and women's pounders, the larger implements being used by the men. All *popoi* pounders are known by the generic term *kea tuki popoi* (stone to beat *popoi*) but those having flat heads are also known as *opu* (stomach). The phallic forms do not appear to have had special names. The term applied to the tiki-headed pounders was descriptive, meaning carved pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 rather abruptly, and the ends are almost vertical. The top bears a longitudinal groove instead of the usual transverse one. In No. 2 the head is smoothly rounded, with a short transverse groove.

Tiki Headed Pounders

412 531 Tiki headed *popoi* pounders represent the highest development of Marquesan stone working, the only objects which approach them in excellence being certain of the small stone figures. The expedition was fortunate enough to obtain five perfect specimens and the carved head of a sixth, while ten others were studied in private collections or from photographs. In all of these pounders the carving followed one or the other of two well-marked conventions and the series appears large enough to make possible a fairly accurate study of the type. In spite of their fine workmanship and present rarity tiki headed pounders were, and in some cases still are, used as ordinary household utensils. All informants agree that the carvings are purely decorative and have no religious significance.

In general form the tiki headed pounders agree perfectly with the angular headed type of phallic pounder already described, and it seems certain that they have been developed from these implements. According to informants the carving was done with sharks' teeth or rats' teeth, but the form of the carving tools and the method of employment have been forgotten. In the actual specimens the grooves of the carving are semicircular in cross section and exhibit a high polish. [324]

The decoration consists of two heads, formed by carving a face upon each of the lobes of a phallic pounder of normal angular type. In carving these faces two distinct conventions were employed, one of which appears to have been rare, being shown by only three of the sixteen specimens. In the normal convention the features are carved in low relief and the decorated top is set off from the neck of the pounder by a well marked groove. Each of the faces covers the entire surface of a lobe, its center line being in the middle of the outer end. The mouths are broad, in the form of long narrow ovals with rounded ends. The tongue is shown as a narrow longitudinal ridge, and the lips are broad, with a flat or slightly concave surface. In one specimen there is a narrow band between the lips and the tongue which may represent the teeth. Immediately behind each corner of the mouth a small decoration in the form of a "V" is sometimes carved. The nose is broad and flat, with almost semicircular nostrils. The eyes are carved on the upper corners of the lobe and are directed toward the side rather than forward, and the space between them is disproportionately wide. The eyes are of the usual spectacle form—a raised ring encircling a convex center—and are connected to the base of the nose at the inner end and to the ear at the outer end by narrow raised bands. As a rule the eyes are horizontal, but some specimens show a slight upward or downward inclination. The ears are represented as double scrolls, and are so placed that their outer edges fall along the line of the inner edge of each lobe. There is a well marked groove above either eye. The top of the head may be either rounded or pointed, while in one specimen broad flat grooves have been carved along either side above the eye groove, giving the head a sharp central keel. The space on the side of the pounder below the ears and between the corners of the mouths of the two faces is filled with either one or two small block figures bearing incised designs. In one specimen (not shown) a small block figure of this sort is placed in the middle of the forehead of either face.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/2 and the method of hafting is problematical. The objects carved with rats' [324] teeth indicate that the work was done by continued rubbing rather than by strokes of the chisel, as the bottoms of the carved lines show a high polish.

The most important wooden tool appears to have been the mallet. This was employed with the chisel in shaping and carving wooden objects, and was also used with caulking tools. Mallets were made of *toa* wood, and were short [824] and heavy. The specimen shown (Pl. LVI, *B*) is 11 inches long, with a maximum width at the head of 4 inches, and a maximum thickness of 1½ inches. The handle of the mallet was round or rectangular and was frequently pierced near the outer end for the attachment of a wrist loop. The head was pear shaped in outline, expanding and thickening gradually toward the outer end. The sides and end of the head were flat, with a surface at right angles to that of the broad surfaces. In use the blow was struck with the broad face, not with the edge.

No specimens of the ancient caulking tools were seen, but those used on the bow and stern seams of canoes are said to have been wedge shaped. Those used for the lashing holes along the sides were simply pointed sticks with a flat upper end. The favorite material for these implements was *toa* wood.

A long needle of hard wood (Pl. LVI, *C*) was used to sew on house thatch and to pass the cord used in canoe lashings through the lashing holes. The specimen collected is slightly over a foot in length. On one side of the point there is a short barb. The butt has a small knob, to which the cord was attached.

The pump drill was the most elaborate of the Marquesan tools. Apparently no examples have been preserved, but their form and method of use are still remembered by the older natives. The Marquesan drills appear to have been identical with those used elsewhere in Polynesia, although there are indications that some of them were equipped with stone whorls, a rare feature. According to informants, drill points were made in ancient times from a sliver of stone, a shark's tooth, or a rat's tooth. All these materials were replaced at a very early date by iron nails obtained from Europeans.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems 526
probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No 411
Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise.

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the 411
warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war.

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained [324] ●
rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

opposite ends, as some of them overlap slightly in the center of the implement. It 287 seems probable that this form is a hybrid, combining the continuous grooves of 413 the round beaters with the flat surfaces of the square type.

Tapa Anvils

The Marquesans employed anvils of both stone and wood. Stone anvils are now little used, but in former times they appear to have been part of the equipment of every household. In early times they were used for only the preliminary beating, but later were occasionally employed for the entire manufacture.

In its simplest form the stone anvil is nothing more than a large flat water-worn bowlder, but most anvils seen have been carefully worked from large blocks of stone. They are rectangular, with a length of from 18 inches to 2 feet, 6 inches; a width of from 8 inches to one foot; and a thickness from 4 to 7 inches. The tops have been carefully flattened and smoothed, the sides made vertical or nearly so. The bottom is usually left rough. Some anvils are widest in the middle, tapering evenly toward either end. An especially fine specimen from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa (Pl. LXXIV, *B*) has a longitudinal groove along either side for a short distance below the top and is remarkable in having the bottom more or less hollowed—a feature which may have resulted from its use as a whetstone for stone adzes. These carefully made stone anvils are of considerable interest, as they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania. [324]

Wooden anvils are still used in the manufacture of tapa. The only one seen was made of breadfruit wood, rectangular in cross section, and was approximately two feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches thick. This anvil differs in form from those described by aged informants, and possibly is of a modern and degenerate type. In former times two types of wooden anvils appear to have been employed. The simpler of these was a long straight log, preferably of breadfruit wood, smoothed but not otherwise prepared. The more elaborate type was made from a light colored wood, possibly a species of sandal wood, obtained on the plateau. It was U-shaped in cross section, with straight ends. Its hollowed interior made it more easily portable and increased its resonance so that the sound of cloth beating could be heard for a long distance.

Tapa Making

The paper mulberry, from whose bark the best grade of tapa was made, 287 was raised in regular plantations. Handy was informed that dead trees 18 to 20 feet high were cut down and stripped of their bark, the bark was then soaked, and finally beaten to remove the inner skin. A local informant said that live shoots 10 to 12 feet high were cut and barked while still green, and described the process of tapa making as follows:

The fresh bark was taken to a stream, where the coarse outer bark was removed with a shell scraper. The bark was not soaked before the initial beating, a point which was stressed by the informant who was familiar with both the Hawaiian and Marquesan processes of tapa making. The bark was beaten on a stone anvil with a round beater until it was similar to

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

STONE ARTIFACTS

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tanged adz	Dominant form	Dominant form	Over 90 per cent of all adzes	Dominant form	Rare	Not used
Cross section	Triangular or rectangular	Rectangular, triangular forms rare	Rectangular	Triangular	Triangular	————
Finish	Rough, complete grinding rare	Completely ground, rough finish rare	Rough, complete grinding almost unknown	Complete grinding, rough finish rare	Complete grinding unknown, very crude	Complete grinding normal
Tangless adz	Secondary importance	Secondary importance	Very rare	Rare	Normal type	Only type
Axes	Not used	North Island only	Not used	Found archaeologically, historic use doubtful	Not used	Not used
Melanesian forms	Not found	Present, distribution unknown	Not found	Found archaeologically	Not reported	Many adzes of Fijian form or manufacture
Pounders	Flat and phallic tops, flaring base, tops sometimes carved	Tops round or carved into head, no flaring base	Tops flat, or hemispherical, flaring base	Cross grip with projecting ends, flaring base	No stone pounders	No stone pounders
Pestles	Not found	Present	Common	Common	No stone pestles	No stone pestles
Carved stakes	Rare	Found on north cape, form closely similar to Marquesan one	Not used	Not found	Not used	Not used
Small figures	Fish and human, common	Human, common on North Island	Fish and human, rather rare	Fish and human, rare	Not used	Not used
Large figures	Common	Rare, limited to localities with tufa deposits	Present but rare, crudely made	Not used	Not used	Not used

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	—	—
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	—	—
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate to none develop ment, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Pale o le Fe'e only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and enclosures

Mortuary Practises

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil, in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only, method like Society Islands	Not practised
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or leprous; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	(One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	—
Vaults	Private only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STONE ARTIFACTS

412 324 [325] [321] [135]

The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of effective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to indicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The presence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking, grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons, with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F*.)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred
[161] yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

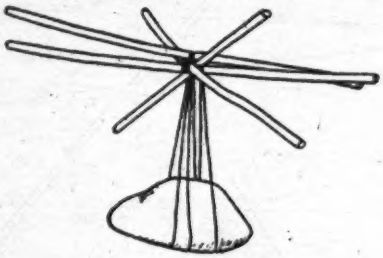

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
● 333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta*, strike; *akau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
[187] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid. 342 333

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch. 342 [531]

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (*paaa*) closing the front of the house. 342 824

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *paepae* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *paepae* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *paepae* were built of rough stones throughout. The *paepae* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *paepae* and in a few recently built *paepae* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. [324]

The building of the *paepae* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each successive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) "*E tuku te kea matapao kaoko*" (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their
333 tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *pacpac* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *pacpac* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ac* throughout the group. 342 [251]

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *pacpac*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures. 342 333

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *pacpac*, but a few *pacpac* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *pacpac*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor. 342

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details. 342 335 [824]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

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Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Fale o le Fa'e only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

Mortuary Practises

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Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details. 342 335 [824]

71 Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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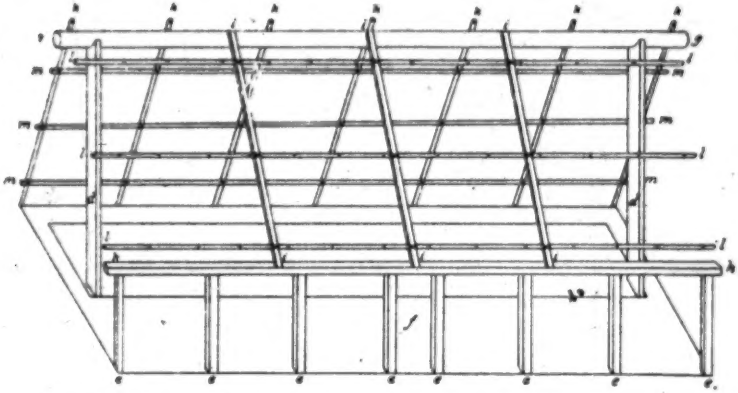

FIGURE 2.—Diagram showing framework of a house: *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts; *f*, door; *g*, ridgepole; *h*, stringer; *i*, rafters of front roof; *k*, rafters of back roof; *l*, cross braces of front roof; *m*, cross braces of back roof.

In ordinary houses the ridge pole is supported by two posts placed one at either end. These posts are triangular in cross section and taper slightly toward the top, where they are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole. (See fig. 3.)

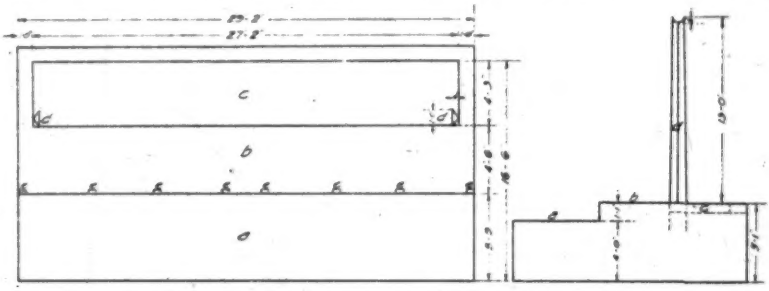

FIGURE 3.—Diagram of a house: *A*, ground plan; *B*, end view showing elevation of the paepae. The parts of the structure indicated are: *a*, paved space in front of the house; *b*, paved floor of house; *c*, bed; *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts.

Measurements of an end post from a typical dwelling house are: height, (from surface of *paepae*) 13 feet; width at bottom, 12¼ inches; width at top, 8 inches;

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thickness at center (bottom) 4½ inches; thickness at edges, 2 inches; depth of notch for ridgepole, 6 inches. The thickness of the edges remains fairly uniform for the entire length, but the central thickness decreases slightly toward the top. The end posts are planted at either end of the bed space, 6 to 8 inches within the line of the end wall of the house, their broadest sides being toward the interior of the house. In the houses of Hiva Oa the forward edges of the end posts rest against the rear edge of the paved house floor, but in those of Nuku Hiva the posts are placed a foot or more further back, giving the rear roof a much more abrupt pitch.

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In all the houses seen the ridgepole was hewn from a single log and ran the entire length of the house, projecting slightly beyond the end walls. Informants say that a palm log was formerly used for this member, but all those seen were of breadfruit wood. Much care was evidently expended in shaping the ridgepole properly. The ridgepoles seen in the Northern Division were round and had been rubbed down to a smooth surface, while those of Hiva Oa were polygonal in cross section with eight to twelve facets of approximately equal width, each of which ran the entire length of the timber. The ridgepole rested in the notches of the end posts, but was not attached to them in any way.

The front posts in ordinary dwellings varied in height from three to five feet, depending upon the size of the structure. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata they were commonly rectangular in cross section, but Stewart (59, pp. 233-236), who gives the best early description of Marquesas houses, says that those used in Nuku Hiva were round. The front posts of a large house on the island of Ua Pou were rectangular in the center, but tapered toward the top and bottom, and were almost round at the extremities. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata the central pair of posts, which formed the jambs of the door, were cut in such a way as to leave a projecting semicircular shelf at the top. When the posts were carved in the form of tiki a short cylindrical neck was usually left projecting above the head of the figure. The upper ends of the posts were either finished with a semicircular notch, like that on the large end posts, or with a neck which fitted into a hole pierced through the front stringer, or were simply left flat. It is probable that posts with notched ends or necks are ancient and that posts with flat ends were made after the introduction of metal tools.

There were usually six front posts, although houses with four and eight front posts were observed and large houses may have had more. The central pair were rather closely spaced, serving as the jambs of the door, while the others were placed at equal intervals between these and the ends of the house. In most of the structures visited the front posts were not planted in the platform; they were held in place at the bottoms by a deeply notched stringer running the entire

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 length of the house—probably a modern development. In the old house in Ua
335 Pou they were planted immediately behind the *ke'ctu* facing the raised house floor, and informants say that holes edged with flat stones were left for the front posts at the time the floor of the house was paved.

Three types of top stringer were used: A simple rectangular beam; a round log similar to the ridgepole, but of smaller size; and a peculiar L-shaped form, said to have been characteristic of the Southern Division in ancient times. Rectangular stringers were normal in recent structures and all those observed were either attached with nails to the flat tops of the front posts, or pierced with holes into which necks on the tops of the front posts fitted. The round stringers rested in semicircular notches in the tops of the front posts, and the only one seen in position was not attached to the posts in any way. The L-shaped stringers were hewn from single logs, and were placed outside the front posts, with their short arms against them and their tops level with the tops of the front posts. At each post the vertical part of the stringer was pierced with four holes, two above and two below, through which sennit lashings were passed back and forth around the front post. When the roof was in place these lashings were invisible from the outside. They were usually amplified on the inside to give an ornamental effect.

In a house at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, there was an arrangement of posts and stringers similar to that of the front wall across either end of the house, and a single rectangular beam, resting upon the rearmost posts of the end walls, ran along the under surface of the rear roof and was attached to it at eight points. It is almost certain that this feature is due to European influence. A peculiar form of end frame, said to be a modern development, is described on page 295.

THE HOUSE ROOF

342 The front roof of ordinary dwellings was supported by three heavy rafters which were commonly hewn and squared. One rafter was placed in the middle of the house over the doorway, and the other two halfway between it and the ends of the house. (See fig. 2.) There were no heavy rafters at the ends of the roof, where they might be expected. The lower ends of these rafters rested upon the stringer, and their upper ends againt the ridgepole, without extending beyond either. In well built houses the rafters were attached to both the stringer and the ridgepole by elaborate sennit lashings.

The framework thus formed was supplemented by additional rafters of bamboos, or peeled poles of fau, placed vertically at intervals of two or three inches, continuing above the ridgepole and crossing the small rafters of the rear roof. They also projected beyond the stringer and below the line of the front wall, forming narrow eaves. The light rafters were held in place by three longi-

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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the
genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of
any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands,
but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two [291]
rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While [262]
popoi made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee
and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cook-
ing utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who
have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of
Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their
sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally
affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen [161]
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 177
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, accord- 144
ing to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the
finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of
them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. 164
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of
rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other
minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands
and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life
with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their
whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural
avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely
by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near
disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension
on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse
that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally
unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 922
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the [515] sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,* which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to 621
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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The Sleeping House

342 The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a
513 stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consist-
[417] ing of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or pro-
jecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man
574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates
576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach
513 boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 [184] [251] [417 284]

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342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with 252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. 377 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415 531]

a *b* *c*

FIGURE 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi,* long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time. [415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door. 852 858

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled. 852 858 342

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue*.) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532

[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

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324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
483 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of [161] the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

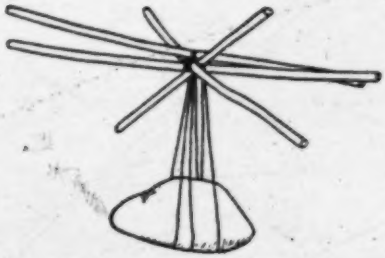

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during [787] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid. 342 333

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch. 342 [531]

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (*paae*) closing the front of the house. 342 824

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 uprights (*papa*) closing the front of the house. Just as the man who was going to build a new platform and house sent messengers (*ke'e'e*) to his various relatives and friends, summoning them to help and requiring them to bring the various articles such as stones, used in the construction—so the *pu'e* chant relates how messengers are sent to the personifications of the various elements used, summoning them to come and bring their contributions. When all the labor of construction and consecration of the new house was completed, the *ko'ina u'utina fa'e* (feast of entrance) was celebrated, releasing the new dwelling from *tapu* and freeing it for occupation.

THE HOUSE PLATFORM

House platforms (*paepae*) were rectangular, from five to ten feet high and of length and breadth to accommodate the house that surmounted it. Roughly the platform consisted of regular superposed lines of stream boulders (*kiva*) encasing a core of earth. On top there were two levels, a front lower level and a rear level about eighteen inches above the other on which the house itself stood, each occupying approximately half of the width of the surface. The upper level of some houses seen was faced with cut red stone blocks (*ke'etu*) which ran in line with the front edge of the house like a curbing, and behind which was inserted the front posts. The lower level in front (*paepae, upe*) of the house was usually open to the sky. Projecting stones were sometimes inserted into the front or side walls of the platform to serve as steps (*pi'ina*). The most common form of steps, however, consisted in a notched log. The cut red stone curbing of the upper section of some platforms was ornamented with high bas-reliefs of conventional human figures and geometric designs. Stone seats (*keho*) formed a part of some platforms, being made in two ways: either by using a long basalt column which was inserted at an angle and served as a back rest, or by carving out of soft red tufa, a seat with a sloping back. Melville (23, pp. 58-9) describes a house platform enclosed with a picket of canes that must have resembled a porch railing.

THE HOUSE

The details of the construction and a fuller study of house form will be found in Linton's report on the material culture. Briefly, the form of the native house, and its construction may be summed up by describing the general appearance, and the parts of the house. (See fig. 15.) The house was rectangular and stood on the elevated section at the rear of the platform running in the direction of the greatest length. The front (*ao*) was open in its lower section or else this space was closed with pickets of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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bamboo or hibiscus. Above this was a short front roof sloping from the horizontal joist, supported on short front posts, to the ridge pole. The ends of the house were closed with thatching, and the rear consisted of a single wall, sloping directly down from the ridge-pole to the rear of the *paepae* at a very steep angle, this wall being thatched also. The frame consisted of short front posts, supporting a joist to which the short front roof descended; two end posts that stood inside the end-thatching and supported the ridge-pole; the ridge-pole itself, rafters running from the front joist to the ridge-pole and from the ridge pole to the platform in the rear; horizontal rods attached to these rafters running the length of the house along

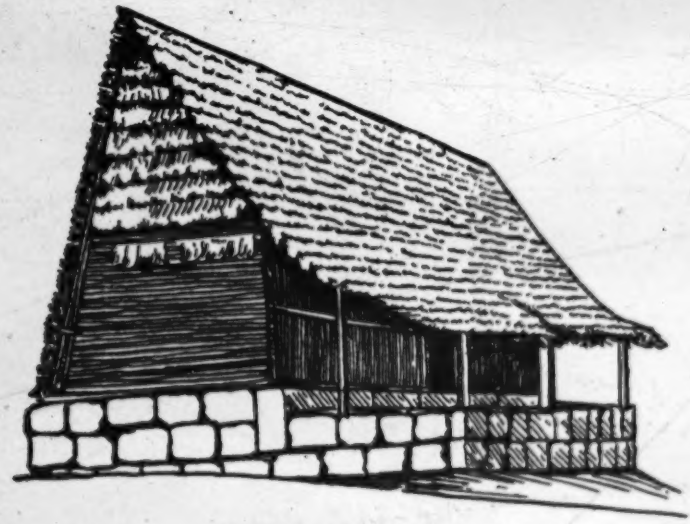

FIGURE 15.—A native house.

the back wall and under the front roofing to which the thatching mats were tied; and at the ends vertical rods, running from the ridge-pole to the ground, to which were attached horizontal rods on which the end thatching was bound.

The thatching (*uhi*) of the house consisted of mats of coconut leaves bound over the ridge pole and lashed to the horizontal rods passing beneath it; the short front roof and the long back wall were thatched usually with coconut leaf mats, though sometimes with pandanus or palmetto; the ends were most commonly thatched with breadfruit leaves strung on cord. If the front part of the house was closed there was a door between the two middle posts. Melville (23, p. 275) describes a slide door "composed

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae*, which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in
531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau*, accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e*, recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au*.

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e*.

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Homeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Mamu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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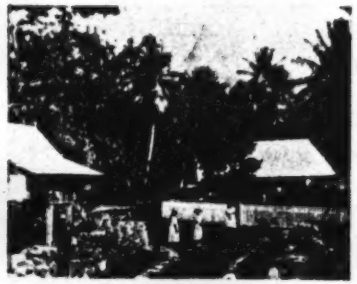

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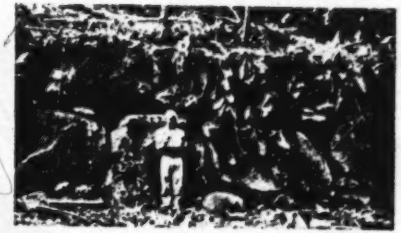

C

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[End Plate 1.]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

EULOGISTIC CHANTS

PIPINE

The *pipine* was a chant composed in honor of a young woman and sung at a feast prepared to celebrate the occasion of the singing. Such a compliment might be paid by the girl's father, by other relatives, or by friends. The song was taught to a group of young girls who, after thoroughly learning the words, melody, and rhythmic movements, sang it as the central feature of the feast. The girls were seated in rows, and as they sang, accompanied the melody by light clapping with flat hands (*papaki*), varied by the hollow-hand clapping (*pu*), the shoulders and hands at the same time being swung slowly from side to side in rhythm with the melody. The first line was sung alone by the leader or director (*kahua*), and the song was then picked up and carried on by the whole chorus. 533X

In the example presented in melodic figure 4, the young woman is described as preparing herself for the feast to be given in her honor.

POPE

It was the custom in the Marquesas for a father to erect a new dwelling for his first-born son. The *pope* was a song composed for the occasion and sung at the opening of the new house, the song being chanted in the house on the night following the formal consecration and the feast of entrance, by the relatives of the boy. The singing was accompanied by clapping, the hands and shoulders of the singers being swung from side to side in harmony with the rhythm of the song. (See melodic figure 5.) 533X 851 342

PUTU

The *putu* (melodic figure 6) was a song for a young man, chanted in his honor at a feast given to celebrate the singing. In a performance observed at Atuona the chorus consisted of men of all ages, but no women. The men stood as they sang, being arranged in concentric semicircles, having the old men with deep voices in the center, the middle-aged men next, and the young men on the outside. They all sang together, apparently in unison, except on the line *"A hau mai te oho he oho,"* which was repeated twice. The first time, this line was sung by the old men in a deep voice (*i a'o*); the second time, by the middle-aged men in a medium voice (*vaveno ae*); and the third time, by the young men in the high voice (*mouna nui*). 533X

The accompaniment consisted of drums and clapping. Throughout the whole song the singers clapped (*papaki*) regularly, one, two, three, four, followed by a rest. Occasionally the tempo of the clapping was doubled.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [157] 361 621 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 sembling a summer-house. 342 The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352] swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353] several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it [343] was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648 with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported 764 by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we 648 returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were [342] larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 CX6 Marquesas CX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 565 342 the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. [356] The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351 the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [289] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief. 342 343

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a minimum of labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*paepae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts. 342

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of [824]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 fau bark passed around the heavy split midrib which formed the upper edge of the mat. The completed house was triangular in cross section, being in fact a simple roof with the eaves resting on the ground. One of the ends was usually closed with coconut mats, arranged like those on the roof, and tied to the end rafter on each side and to the end pole. Houses of this type were simply shelters made with the minimum of labor, and were never decorated. They are still in occasional use throughout the Marquesas, and appear to be the same in all the islands.

THE DWELLING TYPE

THE HOUSE PLATFORM (PAEPAE)

The dwelling type includes practically all Marquesan buildings, whether domicilary or ceremonial, although certain religious structures reveal a modified form. Nearly all permanent houses in the Marquesas were built upon stone platforms, known as *paepae*. The use of stone platforms was so nearly universal in Polynesia that it seems probable that the idea was brought to the Marquesas by the original settlers, but the nature of the terrain was such as to greatly stimulate its development. In most of the valleys it was necessary to either terrace or excavate in order to have a level floor and the abundance of loose stone made terracing easy. Many of the *paepae* on hill slopes were simple terraces with a trench at the rear to carry off water. The front height of such *paepae* depended, of course, upon the slope and the width of the level space desired. Front walls as much as ten feet high were not uncommon but the back of the terrace was usually at the level of the original surface, or only sufficiently raised to keep the floor from being flooded in rainy weather.

Even on level ground nearly all the houses were elevated on stone substructures which were sometimes remarkably massive. The natives stated that these level ground *paepae* were intended to keep pigs from entering the house. The alternative of erecting the house on piles was prohibited by the danger that children might get under it—a serious matter under the old regime, as anything which passed over a child's head became tapu and had to be destroyed. *Paepae* on level ground ranged from simple pavements—a form usually limited to dry localities—to massive structures six to eight feet high. The average height for all the Marquesan *paepae* is about three feet. They are highest in Nuku Hiva from which island they steadily decrease southward, the Fatu Hivan *paepae* being, on the whole, the smallest in the group. All *paepae* were rectangular in outline, the upper surface being divided longitudinally into two unequal parts one of which was from eight to thirty inches higher than the other. The higher part, which was always at the rear, served as the floor of the house and the lower part as a veranda and general lounging place. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *pacpac* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *pacpac* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *pacpac* were built of rough stones throughout. The *pacpac* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *pacpac* and in a few recently built *pacpac* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. [324]

The building of the *pacpac* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each succesaive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) *"E tuku te kea matapao kaoko"* (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

342 the *pacpac*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their
333 tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *pacpac*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *pacpac*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *pacpac* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *pacpae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *pacpae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*. *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *pacpae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *pacpae*. [184] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [178] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *pacpae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *paepae* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *paepae* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group. 342 [251]

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *paepae*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures. 342 333

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *paepae*, but a few *paepae* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *paepae*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor. 342

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (*28*, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details. 342 335 [824]

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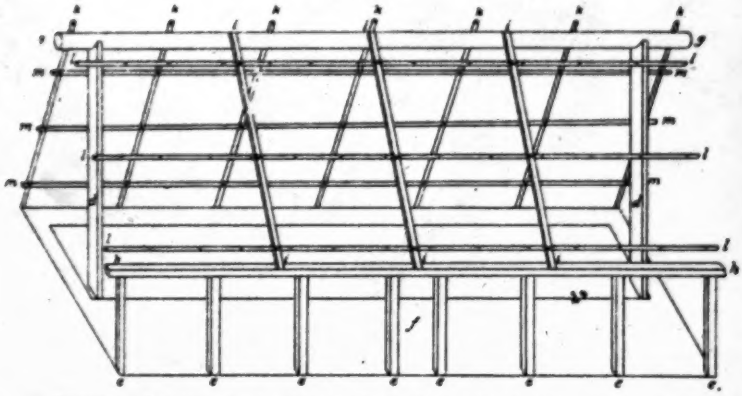

FIGURE 2.—Diagram showing framework of a house: *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts; *f*, door; *g*, ridgepole: *h*, stringer: *i*, rafters of front roof; *k*, rafters of back roof; *l*, cross braces of front roof; *m*, cross braces of back roof.

In ordinary houses the ridge pole is supported by two posts placed one at either end. These posts are triangular in cross section and taper slightly toward the top, where they are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole. (See fig. 3.)

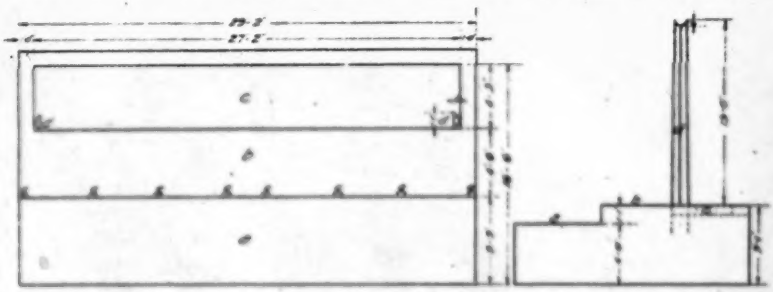

FIGURE 3.—Diagram of a house: *A*, ground plan; *B*, end view showing elevation of the paepae. The parts of the structure indicated are: *a*, paved space in front of the house; *b*, paved floor of house; *c*, bed; *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts.

Measurements of an end post from a typical dwelling house are: height, (from surface of *paepae*) 13 feet; width at bottom, 12¼ inches; width at top, 8 inches;

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thickness at center (bottom) 4½ inches; thickness at edges, 2 inches; depth of notch for ridgepole, 6 inches. The thickness of the edges remains fairly uniform for the entire length, but the central thickness decreases slightly toward the top. The end posts are planted at either end of the bed space, 6 to 8 inches within the line of the end wall of the house, their broadest sides being toward the interior of the house. In the houses of Hiva Oa the forward edges of the end posts rest against the rear edge of the paved house floor, but in those of Nuku Hiva the posts are placed a foot or more further back, giving the rear roof a much more abrupt pitch.

In all the houses seen the ridgepole was hewn from a single log and ran the entire length of the house, projecting slightly beyond the end walls. Informants say that a palm log was formerly used for this member, but all those seen were of breadfruit wood. Much care was evidently expended in shaping the ridgepole properly. The ridgepoles seen in the Northern Division were round and had been rubbed down to a smooth surface, while those of Hiva Oa were polygonal in cross section with eight to twelve facets of approximately equal width, each of which ran the entire length of the timber. The ridgepole rested in the notches of the end posts, but was not attached to them in any way.

The front posts in ordinary dwellings varied in height from three to five feet, depending upon the size of the structure. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata they were commonly rectangular in cross section, but Stewart (59, pp. 233-236), who gives the best early description of Marquesas houses, says that those used in Nuku Hiva were round. The front posts of a large house on the island of Ua Pou were rectangular in the center, but tapered toward the top and bottom, and were almost round at the extremities. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata the central pair of posts, which formed the jambs of the door, were cut in such a way as to leave a projecting semicircular shelf at the top. When the posts were carved in the form of tiki a short cylindrical neck was usually left projecting above the head of the figure. The upper ends of the posts were either finished with a semicircular notch, like that on the large end posts, or with a neck which fitted into a hole pierced through the front stringer, or were simply left flat. It is probable that posts with notched ends or necks are ancient and that posts with flat ends were made after the introduction of metal tools.

There were usually six front posts, although houses with four and eight front posts were observed and large houses may have had more. The central pair were rather closely spaced, serving as the jambs of the door, while the others were placed at equal intervals between these and the ends of the house. In most of the structures visited the front posts were not planted in the platform; they were held in place at the bottoms by a deeply notched stringer running the entire

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342 335 length of the house—probably a modern development. In the old house in Ua Pou they were planted immediately behind the *ke'etu* facing the raised house floor, and informants say that holes edged with flat stones were left for the front posts at the time the floor of the house was paved.

Three types of top stringer were used: A simple rectangular beam; a round log similar to the ridgepole, but of smaller size; and a peculiar L-shaped form, said to have been characteristic of the Southern Division in ancient times. Rectangular stringers were normal in recent structures and all those observed were either attached with nails to the flat tops of the front posts, or pierced with holes into which necks on the tops of the front posts fitted. The round stringers rested in semicircular notches in the tops of the front posts, and the only one seen in position was not attached to the posts in any way. The L-shaped stringers were hewn from single logs, and were placed outside the front posts, with their short arms against them and their tops level with the tops of the front posts. At each post the vertical part of the stringer was pierced with four holes, two above and two below, through which sennit lashings were passed back and forth around the front post. When the roof was in place these lashings were invisible from the outside. They were usually amplified on the inside to give an ornamental effect.

In a house at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, there was an arrangement of posts and stringers similar to that of the front wall across either end of the house, and a single rectangular beam, resting upon the rearmost posts of the end walls, ran along the under surface of the rear roof and was attached to it at eight points. It is almost certain that this feature is due to European influence. A peculiar form of end frame, said to be a modern development, is described on page 295.

THE HOUSE ROOF

342 The front roof of ordinary dwellings was supported by three heavy rafters which were commonly hewn and squared. One rafter was placed in the middle of the house over the doorway, and the other two halfway between it and the ends of the house. (See fig. 2.) There were no heavy rafters at the ends of the roof, where they might be expected. The lower ends of these rafters rested upon the stringer, and their upper ends againt the ridgepole, without extending beyond either. In well built houses the rafters were attached to both the stringer and the ridgepole by elaborate sennit lashings.

The framework thus formed was supplemented by additional rafters of bamboos, or peeled poles of fau, placed vertically at intervals of two or three inches, continuing above the ridgepole and crossing the small rafters of the rear roof. They also projected beyond the stringer and below the line of the front wall, forming narrow eaves. The light rafters were held in place by three longi-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tudinal poles, usually single bamboos, which ran the full length of the inside of the roof. The two outermost poles were placed eight inches to a foot above the stringer and below the ridgepole; the third pole was placed midway between them. They were attached to all the rafters by lashings of sennit or bark string. Both the front and rear roofs projected six inches to a foot beyond the end walls. 342

One house in Hiva Oa (Pl. XL. *C*) had a narrow porch supported by an additional row of posts, topped by a stringer. These posts were planted in the *paepae* about two feet in front of the house wall. The rafters of this porch were inclined at a lower angle than those of the roof. This feature was not observed elsewhere and was probably due to European influence.

The rear roof extended from the ridgepole to the ground. It was usually supported by eight main rafters, but these were not hewn so far as observed. They were simply peeled hibiscus poles of slightly larger diameter than those used for the remainder of the roof. In some houses all the rafters of the rear roof were identical in size and material. Between the main rafters were smaller poles placed two or three inches apart; at the peak they crossed the similar poles of the front roof forming a crotch. These smaller poles were secured in position on the rear roof by three cross poles of bamboo, the highest being opposite the top crosspiece of the front roof, the lowest about eighteen inches above the floor, and the third midway between them. All the rafters were lashed to these cross poles.

All the early descriptions of Marquesan houses mention the rear roof as perpendicular or descending at a very steep angle, and the old pictures show this feature, also a front roof inclined at less than forty-five degrees. Actual measurements prove that the old authors have exaggerated both these features. The pitch of the rear roofs ranges from eighty degrees in some of the houses of Nuku Hiva to as low as sixty-five degrees in an old dwelling on Hiva Oa. The pitch of the front roof seems to have been rarely, if ever, less than fifty degrees, with about sixty-five degrees as normal. In one old house in the valley of Hana Hehe, Hiva Oa, the pitch of the front and rear roofs is about sixty-five degrees for each.

The roofs of all Marquesan houses were thatched, and a variety of material was employed. In recent buildings coconut mats appear to be the most common, but two or even three sorts of thatch were not infrequently used on the same structure. The thatching mats, which were eight to twelve feet long and one foot to eighteen inches wide, were made by splitting a coconut frond down the midrib and interweaving the leaflets of either half to form a long narrow mat of checkerwork pattern. Mats of this sort are still in common use in most parts of Polynesia. The mats were placed on the roof either singly or in pairs, with the midrib edge up and were tied to every third or fourth rafter with loops or sennit or sewed on with bark string. A large wooden needle was used for sewing. The [824] [412]

342 thatch was lashed to each rafter with a single cord running the height of the roof. The bottom tier of mats was laid on first, and the successive tiers were laid on shingle fashion, with a deep overlap. As the successive layers were rarely more than two or three inches to the weather, a well-made roof would be from four to eight mats thick.

An almost equally common form of thatch was made from leaves of the 324 breadfruit tree. Long straight upland reeds, or occasionally hard-wood shoots, were gathered and the leaves were strung on these by holes pierced at the juncture of the stem and leaf, the top of one leaf resting against the bottom of the next. These rods were then attached to the rafters in overlapping rows in the same manner as the mats. When in position the leaves stood edgewise on the roof. Thatch of this sort, although shaggy and rather unpleasing in appearance, is very effective and is said to outlast that of coconut mats. Where bread fruit leaves were used for thatching, coconut mats were usually substituted for the first two or three rows.

In ancient times a third form of thatch, made from palmetto leaves was used. The leaves were strung on light rods at intervals of twelve to eighteen inches, the rod passing from side to side through the juncture of the leaf and stem. The rods were tied to the rafters so that the leaves lay flat and overlapped like shingles. According to informants palmetto was commonly used to thatch the houses in *me'ae*, but was not tapu for other structures. The only example seen was on the front roof of an old chief's house in Ua Pou.

The use of pandanus for thatch is mentioned by Jardin (33, p. 51), who says that this material lasted longer than either coconut mats or breadfruit leaves, but the practice is now obsolete and only one fragment of doubtful authenticity was seen. This fragment, found in the debris of a house of Tahitian form, consisted of a hardwood rod over which the leaves had been doubled, with the two ends pinned together by a splinter a short distance below the rod. A somewhat similar technique is followed in the making of sugar cane thatch in Tonga.

Grass was very rarely used for thatch but the chief of Tetai, one of the small side valleys in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, is remembered as having occupied a grass-thatched house, the frame of which was of ordinary Marquesan form.

342 The method of closing the peak of the thatched roof was very simple and effective and is still employed for all thatched roofs. In the crotch formed by the crossing of the small rafters above the ridgepole, a small pole was laid with its top flush with the rafter ends. Several layers of coconut mats were then laid longitudinally over this and bent down on either side so that their lower edges extended some distance below the top of the last tier of thatching. These mats were then secured in place by long wooden splints passed through them from side to

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side between the main ridge pole and the small pole. On some houses a layer of pandanus leaves was laid over the ridgepole before the small pole was put on. These leaves were then secured by an additional pole on either side of the roof placed in the angle formed by the intersection of the small rafters. 342

THE HOUSE WALL

The Marquesan house was substantially an open shed with the rear roof extending to the ground. The walls merely served to close the openings in the structure and could be removed wholly or in part without effecting the stability of the house. Work sheds and cook houses were unwalled, and it is probable that in former times some more pretentious structures were also quite open, for several end posts were seen that were carved on both sides. The outer side would have been invisible in a walled house. Most buildings were provided with end walls, although many ceremonial structures and even dwellings were open in front. The framework of the end walls usually consisted of four or more light poles arranged like the sticks of an inverted fan, with one end resting on the edge of the *paepae*, the other against the ridge pole. The mats or leaf-packed rods used at thatch were tied to these poles just as they would be tied to the rafters. When the ends were not thatched a number of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter were lashed horizontally to the uprights. These poles were placed either touching or at intervals of about an inch, and were cut to fit accurately the width of the aperture. In some houses the upper part of the end walls was of thatch, the lower part of poles. (See Pl. XL, *C*.)

The entire front wall with the exception of the door space was occasionally covered with thatch, but the practice does not seem to have been common. In a house visited in Hokatu, Ua Huka, one-half of the front was thatched with coconut mats; the other half was left open. As a rule, however, the front wall consisted of a series of separate units or panels each of which filled the space between a pair of front posts. These panels were made of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter. In all the front walls seen the poles were placed side by side and fastened together by cords running over and under so as to form a sort of heavy pole-mat flexible laterally but not longitudinally. (Similar pole-mats were used as coffin covers in Hiva Oa and Fatu Hiva.) These mats were then strengthened by three crosspieces lashed to the back, at right angles to the poles and at equal intervals. The panels were usually placed between the posts in such way that the crosspieces were horizontal, and fitted into notches cut in the sides of the front posts, but occasionally they were placed with the braces vertically, the poles of the mat then being horizontal. In one house two light poles running from the door posts to the end of the house were added on the outside, but these were not attached to the panels.

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THE HOUSE DOOR

● 342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and placed between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae*, and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*. (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *ke'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

CARVINGS ON POSTS

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 59

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving.

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

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1. Straight horizontal lines. Bands of these were used to separate zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones. This motif with its variations is shown in Figure 4, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.
2. Straight diagonal lines. Used to fill zones (fig. 4, *e*).
3. Series of parallel zigzag lines running horizontally (fig. 4, *f*).
4. Bands of alternate interlocking triangles (fig. 4, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles whose bases are formed by the sides of the zone. The interiors of these triangles are filled with lines parallel to the base, lines parallel to one side, or a series of V's whose sides are parallel to those of the triangle (fig. 4, *j*).
6. Large diamond shaped figures covering the length and breadth of a zone, leaving four triangles at the corners (fig. 4, *k*).
7. Small diamond shaped figures arranged in close order to fill an entire zone (fig. 4, *h*).
8. Irregular combinations of diagonal lines (fig. 6, *d*).

The Marquesans appear to have never used checkerwork, patterns formed of groups of small triangles, or cross hatching, in their house post decorations.

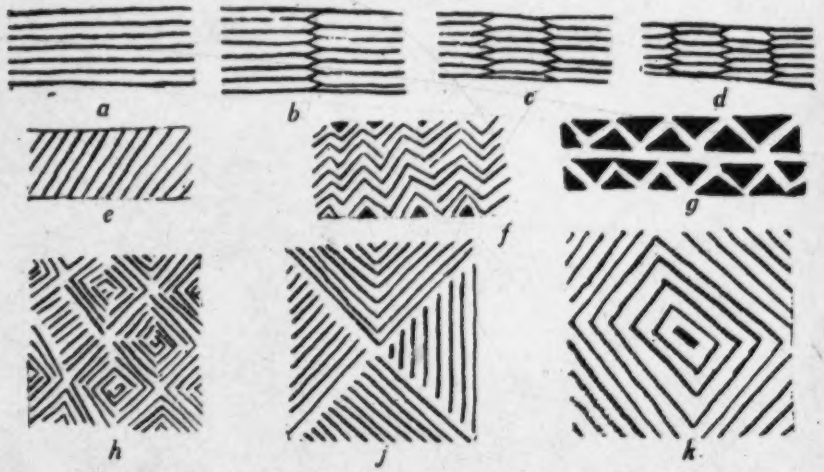

FIGURE 4.—Angular-geometric designs carved on house posts: *a*, straight horizontal grooves; *b*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-half the width of the post; *c*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post; *d*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth of the width of the post; *e*, diagonal lines; *f*, parallel zigzag lines; *g*, interlocking triangles; *h*, small diamond shaped figures; *j*, groups of four triangles; *k*, large diamond shaped figures. Reproduced from rubbings.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

The curvilinear designs used in house post decoration may be reduced to a few simple elements, but these are combined with each other and with angular-geometric designs to form a bewildering variety of patterns. The basic elements are:

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1. Circles, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *a*).
2. Ovals, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *b*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, either plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference, (fig. 5, *c*, *d*, *e*).
4. Series of parallel wavy lines (fig. 5, *b*.)
5. Irregular curves (fig. 5, *a*.)

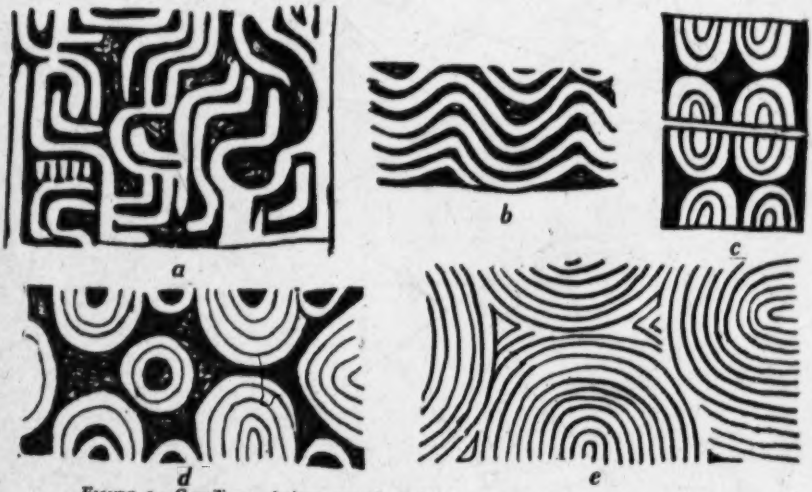

FIGURE 5.—Curvilinear designs carved on house posts: *a*, irregular curves: *c*, *d*, *e*, segments of circles or ovals; *b*, series of parallel wavy lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

When used in patterns the arrangement of these design elements is never perfectly symmetrical, although in some designs, notably those formed by four semicircles or semiovals (fig. 5, *a*), there is some approach to balance. Many of the patterns consist almost entirely of irregular curves and are completely unsymmetrical, no two elements corresponding in size or position. Interesting features of the curvilinear decoration are the complete absence of the conventionalized human faces used in all other forms of Marquesan carving and the practical absence of spiral forms.

COMBINED ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC AND CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

Angular-geometric and curvilinear designs frequently occur together in the same zone, the common arrangements being:

1. Curvilinear designs, especially concentric circles or ovals, superposed upon angular-geometric designs (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).
2. Curvilinear designs used to fill one or more of the elements of a geometric pattern.
3. Gradual transitions from angular-geometric to curvilinear designs, as in the case of some bands of parallel lines which grade imperceptably from zigzags at one end to wavy lines at the other. In all such combinations the angular-geometric motifs appear to be the basic ones.

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342 531 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

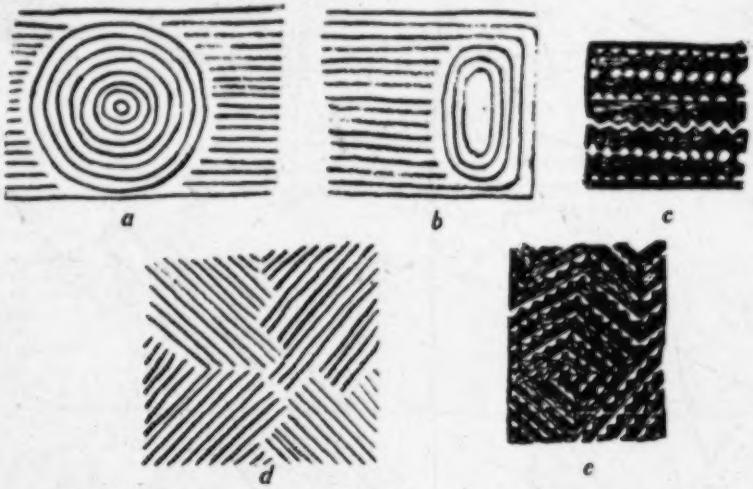

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 531 284 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the materials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

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The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

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The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

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left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the crosspiece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord. This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left. Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each hand being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

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and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anauu'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 [824]

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

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342 raising the entire house on posts, or by making the roof of disproportionate height. Houses of both types appear to have been used in all the islands, but the larger type shows more or less local variation in the form of the *pacpac*, in size, and in decoration. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *pacpac* was as a rule much wider in proportion to its length than in the islands further south and in Nuku Hiva many *pacpac* were provided with a pit for tapu objects. The use of cut stone as edging for the house floor, although of sporadic occurrence in all the islands, was most frequent in Nuku Hiva and least frequent in Fatu Hiva. The decoration of the dwelling *pacpac* with ornamental masonry appears to have been limited to Nuku Hiva, and its decoration with stone figures, to Hiva Oa, with a single doubtful example from Nuku Hiva. As a class the houses of Nuku Hiva were the largest in the group and those of Fatu Hiva, the smallest and most poorly built. Carved posts are said never to have been used in the dwellings of Ua Huka, were rare in Nuku Hiva, but were very common in Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. Ornamental lashings were used everywhere in the Marquesas, but appear to have played a more important part in the decoration of houses in the northern than in the southern part of the group.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN HOUSES

342 171 Structures corresponding to the Marquesan small house type (p. 271) are of rather wide occurrence in Polynesia. They are recorded from Hawaii, where they represent the original form from which the other house types were developed. They are also found in Tonga and in the Society Islands. The dwelling house type, as described on page 272, is characteristic of the Marquesas, and so far as known is peculiar to that group of islands.

It seems probable, therefore, that the original settlers of the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of the small house type and that the dwelling type is a later local development. The small house, while easily made, was inconvenient on account of the lack of head room and the large amount of waste space under the edges of the roof on either side. To develop the dwelling type from the small house type it was only necessary to raise the roof on one side and prop it up with posts placed along the outer edge. Even now small houses are occasionally enlarged in this way. The use of a stringer along the front of the house to keep the rafters from sagging between posts would be a step requiring no great inventive genius, while an increase in the pitch of the rear roof, cutting down the waste space along its lower edge, would soon follow. The complete absence in the Marquesas of houses with both front and rear walls is rather curious as the natives were in occasional contact with the Tuamotus and Society Islands, where walled houses were in regular use.

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On the basis of house type, Polynesia as a whole may be divided into two parts: a central part, including Tonga, Samoa, and to a lesser degree the Society Islands, in which the houses were oval, with rounded apses; and a marginal portion including New Zealand, the Marquesas and Hawaii, in which the houses were rectangular. In the central section there was no distinction between floor space and bed space, and the platform was unimportant. Some of the houses were furnished with wooden stools. Legged pillows of wood or bamboo were in regular use. In the marginal section there was a permanent division of bed and floor, a stone platform was used everywhere but in New Zealand and there was no furniture.

The Marquesan house had little in common with the central Polynesian type, and appears to be intermediate in form between the two varieties of the marginal type—that is, the Maori and the Hawaiian. In the arrangement of the frame and the common use of a stone platform and side entrance, it resembles the Hawaiian form. On the other hand the use of carved decoration links it with the Maori form, as does also the occurrence of a slide door. The *fata'a*, or store house on poles, finds no parallel in Hawaii or central Polynesia, but it closely resembles the Maori *pataka*. The use of ornamental lashings is absent in both Hawaii and New Zealand, but is highly developed in many parts of the central area. The best explanation for these facts appears to be that the Maori, Marquesan and Hawaiian forms are descended from a common ancestor, but that the Maori and Marquesan houses have been affected by some influence which introduced house carving and the *fata'a* type of structure, an influence which did not reach Hawaii. The Marquesan houses were then further modified by the introduction of ornamental lashings, a feature which did not reach either Hawaii or New Zealand.

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LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low	[342]
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone	
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent	
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)	
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped	
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)	
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)	
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common	
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used	
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common		
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house		
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare	[415]
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used	
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow	

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA	
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)	[287]
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa	[304]
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)	
Incrusted bead ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded	[292]
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common	

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Comparative Table Material Culture

Houses

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Platform	Constant, large, rectangular	Absent	Nearly constant, rectangular	Rare in historic times, rectangular	Limited to temples and chiefs' houses, oval	Rare or lacking
Shape	Rectangular	Rectangular or round (South Island)	Rectangular	Oval or rectangular	Oval, nearly round	Oval
Framework	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts or right triangle roof support	Indirect ridge pole support or end posts	Three posts together in center and ridge pole; detachable opens	Indirect ridge pole support, end posts not used
Entrance	Side	End	Side or end	Side	Sides of house open	Side
Door	Wooden slide door or mat	Wooden slide door	No door or mat hung in doorway	No door or mat hung in doorway	———	Mat door
Interior	Permanent division into floor and bed	Permanent division into floor and bed	Division into floor and bed common but not constant	No division in historic houses; present in ancient times	No internal division	No internal division
Decoration	Ornamental lashings, posts carved with designs and into Caryatid figures	Posts carved into Caryatid figures, carved panels, woven panels, painted rafters	Rudimentary ornamental lashings, no carved decoration	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving
Furniture	No stools, permanently fixed log pillows, soft pillows	No stools, soft pillows or solid wooden pillows	Stools (rare) soft pillows	Stools, legged pillows	Legged pillows, no stools	Legged pillows, no stools
Houses on posts	(Pata's) Store-house and dwelling for old men; elaborately decorated	(Pataka) Store house for food and tapa objects; elaborately decorated	Men's house, no decoration	Small storage places for sacred objects	No houses on posts	Occurrence of store houses on posts uncertain
Sacred houses	High roofed	No sacred houses except those for instruction, those like dwellings	Like dwellings, also tapa covered pyramidal structures	Like dwellings	Like dwellings	Like dwellings

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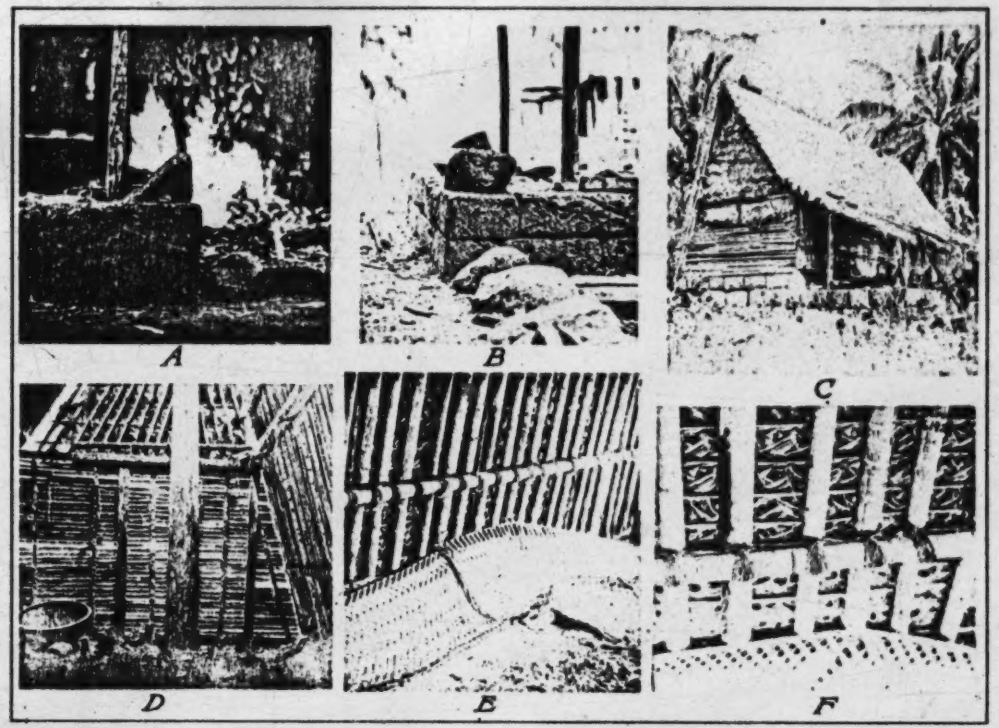
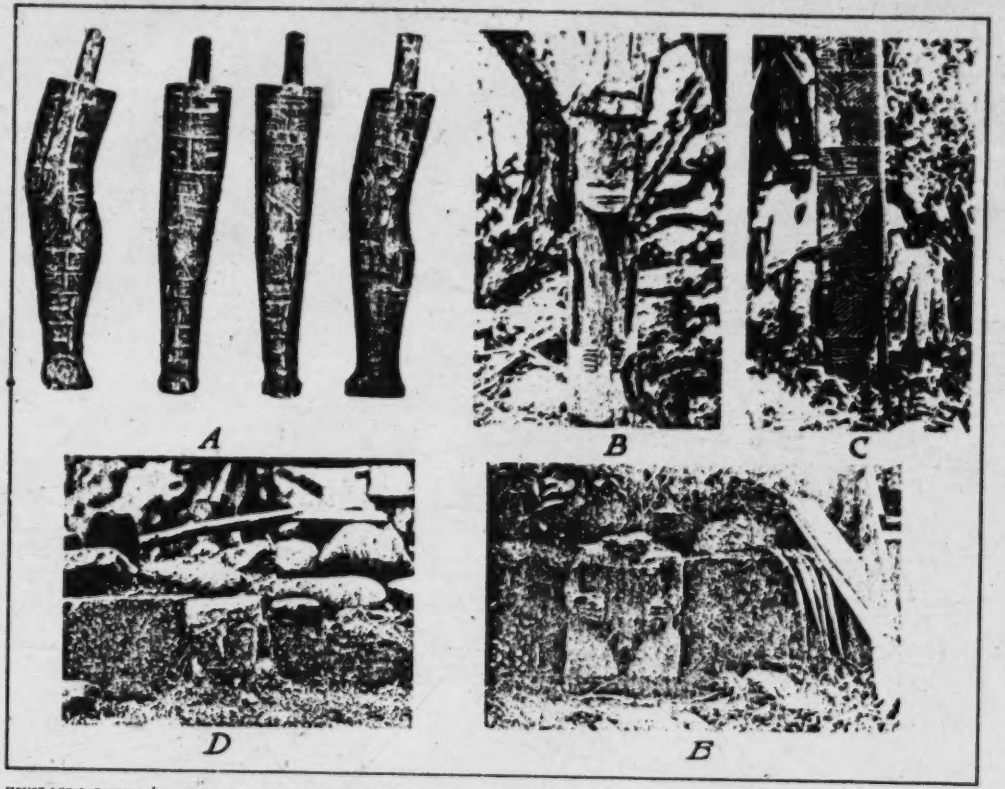


HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OLD HOUSE AT ATUONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR ROOF.

[nd plate 1]



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

T. Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
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End plate 27

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Households were graded

in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households. 592 554

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed. [565]

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. 342 592 554 [483]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

554
that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social 584
elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely 592
took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several 554
generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was mov- 584
ing toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by 592
marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to 622
his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, [597]
the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an aban- 342
doned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a 554
household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the 554
rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required 584
wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in 592
his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their [556]
status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the 883
interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342] to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the [231] dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however [626] and such girls are known as vehine mākō -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 114 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 342 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 183 a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
377 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[445
531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[445] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua*, prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina*, which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina*. Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, [759] because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vale*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it. 764 778

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery. [343]

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 sembling a summer-house. 342 The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352] swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353] several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it [343] was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648 with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief. 342 343

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a minimum of labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*paepae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts. 342

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of [824]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were ied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304^x definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 881 chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [841] success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304^x with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343 ● *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602 the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561] forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a,* coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea,* a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of *304 262 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, "*Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki*" (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the
● 34f usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this
[552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description: 712 344

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 292 714 [304]

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] [554] members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

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619 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms
344 which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills
778 which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal
[782 of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen
764] and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usu-
595 ally two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka.* (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place. 778

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukau*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa: 778 346

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

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778 346

the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 346 825

On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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778 An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what 346 rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukau*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'U AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *tovana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

778 The *ananiu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *ananiu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *ananiu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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346 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called
538 *ahu* (pile or mound).
869 The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu,
873 consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

346 The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with
538 which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been
869 made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vevena*, in which the *vevena* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tihi*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te hoehoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ho'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te hopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (37, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups). Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 *A.* Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the
● 346 center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.
417 *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua
291 Pou.
312 *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.
D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.
F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna uai* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona,
291 Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him
304 standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.
B. Te-ike Papuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.
C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)
D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.
E. Homeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.
F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.
G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.
H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.
I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.
J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.
L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand
532 designs.

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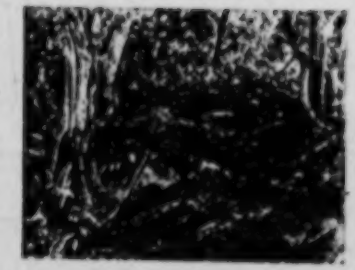

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[End Plate 1.]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

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ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *he'eu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

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the other front posts faced outward. A small figure on the end post of a mortuary house also faced inward. It seems probable that this was the usual arrangement for end posts. The human figures were carved in full round, the convention employed being substantially the same as that used in the large idols of wood and stone. The heads were cylindrical, with flat faces upon which the highly conventionalized features were carved in low relief. They were finished at the top with a narrow horizontal band, above which a cylindrical neck considerably smaller in diameter than the head, supported the ridgepole or stringer. The ears, shaped like the chord of a circle, were shown as two thin flanges, projecting from either side of the head slightly behind its center. The forward surface of these flanges was carved with two scrolls of unequal length, the upper one being longer. The scrolls met at a point in line with the outer corner of the eye. In some figures a hole was pierced through the center of the lower scroll. A figure seen in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, differed considerably from these. The roof timber of this house had rested directly upon the head of the figure without any intervening band or neck. The head was narrow, and short vertically with a marked occipital projection. The face was directed upward at an angle of about 35 degrees, and the features, although much weathered, indicated a high nose and generally naturalistic treatment.

The heads of the figures in a building usually showed uniformity in treatment and size, but the proportions of the body varied considerably, not only between the end and front posts but even between individual front posts. In the end posts the bodies and legs were unnaturally elongated, the idea evidently being to have the figure cover as much of the post as possible. In the front posts (Pl. XLI, *B*) the bodies were long and the legs disproportionately short or even lacking. The bodies as a rule showed little attempt at modeling, and were formed by a few simple planes; the arms were usually at the sides with the hands resting on the stomach. Both the upper arm and forearms were disproportionately short, and showed no attempt at modeling. The space between the upper arm and body in most figures was pierced, while the forearm was carved in rather low relief upon the body. In one specimen the hand was raised to the mouth and the upper arm was shown in the usual vertical position while the forearm and hand were unnaturally elongated; the space between the forearm and chin was pierced. The legs were always shown in a semi-flexed position with the space between them pierced. The thigh was usually short and the lower leg disproportionately long and heavy, but in the specimen from Atu Ona, the legs are naturally proportioned and well modeled. The feet were rarely indicated. The sex was usually shown but conventionally and without exaggeration of the parts.

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

CARVING ON POSTS

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (*59*, pp. 233-6). An informant of U'a Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 59

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving. 532

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

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and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anana'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 [824]

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

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	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[532] Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[764] Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices [782]
were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates. 527 728

THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe. 527 349

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles
349 forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity
476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anauu'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 [824]

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844
1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by suc- 565
cession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and re- 565
semble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 342
the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior [356]
of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264]
the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565
or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351
the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are [287]
merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

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The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 [784] [251] [417] [284]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1115 used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the [237] tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small [352] nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

?770 The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

182 ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192] **Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.**
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu, Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of
pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or
six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the
occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to
make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer
like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of
age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children
before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an
advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right
of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not
subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly
domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care
of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch
fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are
all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in
the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in,
such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the
ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole
attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed
barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men.
Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with
great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid
piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated
to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get
on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would
otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from
the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom
of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes
for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone
and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of
mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden
harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 sembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The 342 sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352] swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353] several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the en- [343] trance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648 with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

342 333 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE HOUSE DOOR

342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and placed between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae,* and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the owner of the house. Two short additional pieces of palm log sometimes were laid transversely at either end of the bed space, just within the bottoms of the end posts of the house; rarely the log along the back of the bed space was omitted. The space enclosed by the logs was first filled with a thick layer of tips of palm fronds, or with ferns. Over these were laid several coconut mats, similar to those used for thatching. The mats at the rear were occasionally placed over the back log and tied to the rafters at a height of about eight inches (Pl. XL, *E*). Over the coconut mats in turn were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips, three-eighths of an inch or more in width. Mats of this sort were tapu to men, and the use of the word *moena* as a term of reproach is known to have led to at least one murder in recent times. The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahua'a*, which was not tapu to men. The *kahua'a* was long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was so placed that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed. The outer edge of the *kahua'a* was tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head alone, called *pa'i pa'i*, was sometimes placed over the *kahua'a* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair.

Occupants of the bed lay with their heads toward the wall, the *kahua'a* supporting the head and shoulders and the *moena* the lower part of the body. With persons of ordinary height the feet projected over the inner log and rested upon the bare stone pavement.

The elaborate pillows found in some parts of Polynesia were not used in the Marquesas, but a pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahua'a*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, made from bundles of shredded *fei* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

According to informants a special form of bed was used at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa in the houses of a fishermen's sacred place, and by at least some of the priests. This bed consisted of two or more pairs of short posts, connected at the top by crosspieces, supporting a layer of small closely spaced poles. The whole formed a long rectangular bench, or shelf, raised eighteen inches to two feet above the ground. Four elaborately carved wooden legs in the Bishop Museum may belong to a bed of this type. (See Pl. XLI, *A*.) In the fishermen's sacred place each of the houses, which were very small, contained two of these beds, one along either side. Priests, after they had eaten of the sacrifice, continued to live with their families when not engaged in religious rites, but slept in a separate raised bed built for them in the common dwelling. Only coconut mats were used upon the beds of priests and fishermen, due to the ceremonial uncleanness of bed mats

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*. (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

MATTING AND BASKETRY

MATS

The twin arts of matting and basketry appear to have been less developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of tropical Polynesia and both have been nearly destroyed by European contact. No mats of the better sort are now manufactured and the processes employed are unknown to most of the natives. Only three materials appear to have been used for mats, ti leaves, coconut fronds, and the leaves of the pandanus. Mats made from ti leaves were small crude affairs, hardly deserving the name. They were used only to line and cover *ma* pits. (See Pl. LXVI, *A*.) They were made as follows: 285 [824]

A quantity of the leaves were collected and the stems and heavy portion of the midrib removed, without breaking the inner surface of the leaf. These stemmed leaves were laid in bundles of three or four, the face of each leaf being against the back of the one below. These bundles were then placed side by side with a wide regular overlap, always from the same direction, and were pinned together with splints about two inches long made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet or from bamboo. Three of these splints were used to join each pair of bundles, one being placed in the middle and the other two near either end. In doing the work a long splint was used; a portion of the end of the splint was broken off each time and left as a pin. The resultant mat was as wide as the length of the leaves and could be extended indefinitely by pinning on new bundles.

Coconut mats are still regularly made in the Marquesas; the work is done by men and women indiscriminately. They are employed mainly as thatching for houses, to cover large earth oven and in ancient times they were used on beds, under the fine mats. The coconut mats are made as follows: [352]

A coconut frond, usually that of a young tree, is split longitudinally and the midrib, to which the leaflets of either half are attached, is pared thin enough to be rather flexible. Alternate leaflets are then directed forward and backward and interwoven in a simple checkerwork. The outer edge of the mat is finished by braiding the tips of the leaflets together in a continuous longitudinal strip. The size of these mats naturally depends upon that of the frond from which they are made, ordinary specimens being 14 to 20 inches wide and 6 to 12 feet long. A common variation of this technique is to employ two half fronds placed side by side, the midribs being joined together by twisting a leaflet around both at intervals of one to two feet. The leaflets of both fronds are then interwoven to form a mat of single thickness like that just described. A still further variation consists in placing two half leaves together with the midribs at opposite edges and interweaving the leaflets in checkerwork. This last technique is rarely used at the present time.

The better Marquesan mats, used principally upon beds, were made from pandanus. These bed mats were as a rule long and comparatively narrow, being intended to cover the space between the two coconut logs. They were of two sorts, the distinction being apparently one of shape and use. The mats upon which the legs rested were called *moena*, those upon which the body rested *kakuaa*, those for the head *p'ai p'ai*. (For shape and arrangements of these mats 285 352

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind
[352] of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *hoau* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re-weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but
285 one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple over-
531 lay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal
[302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that
285 mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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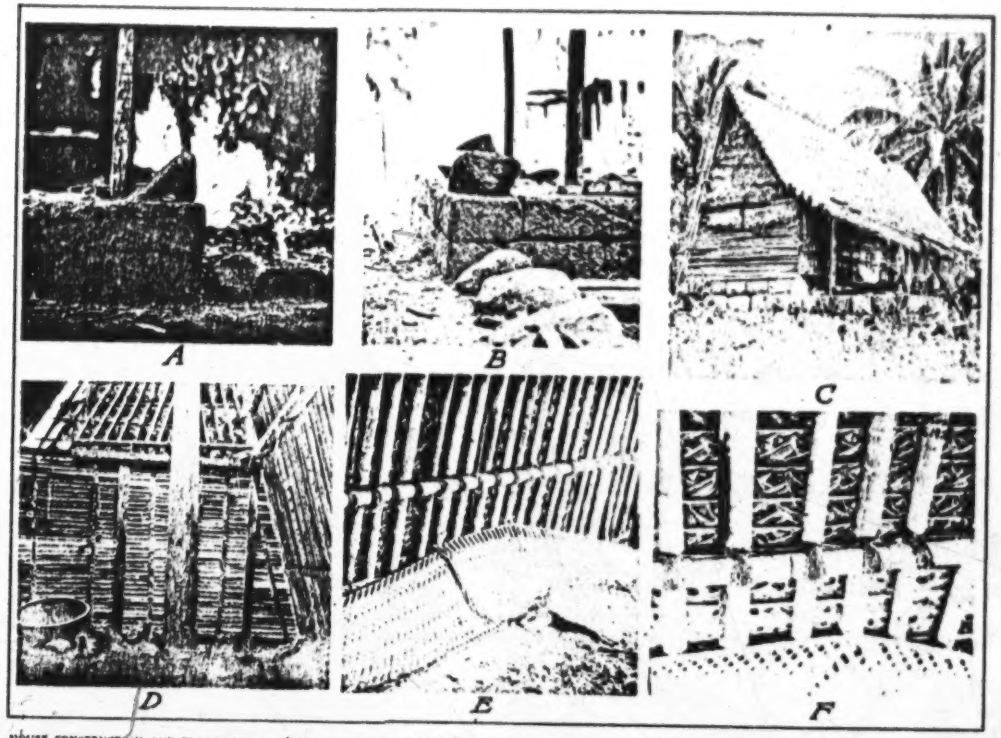
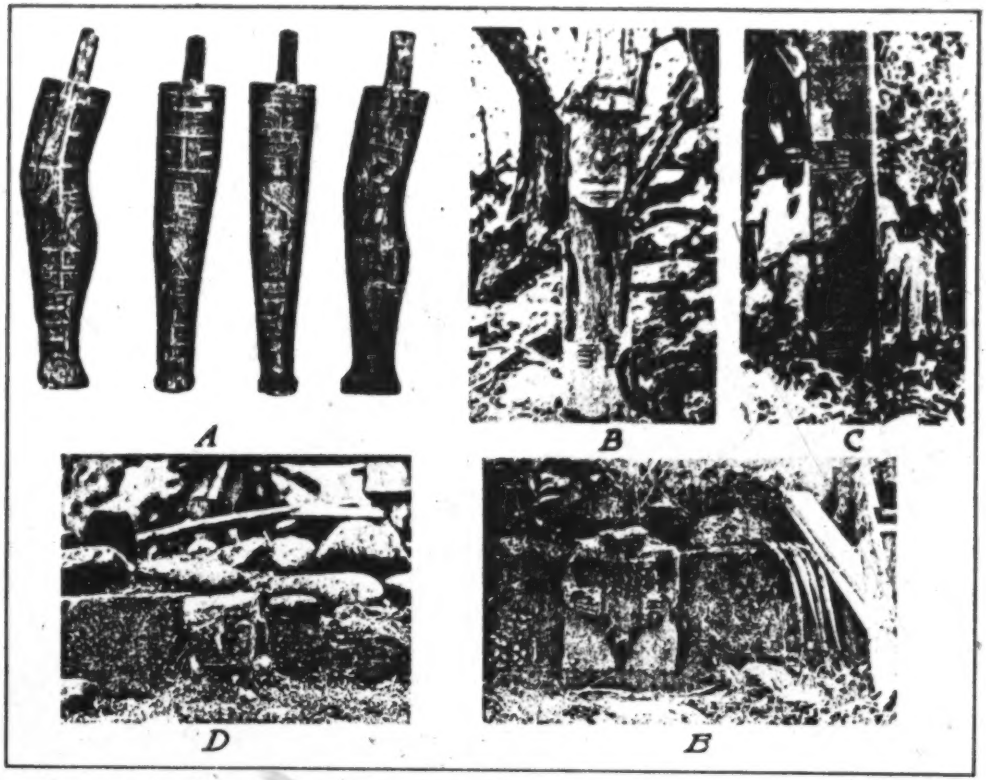


HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OLD HOUSE AT ATHONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR ROOF.

[nd plate 1]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

End plate 27

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10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thor-
oughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief,
who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual [837]
hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the car-
goes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but
just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that
there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe.
Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of
this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual
benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load [422]
of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private indi-
viduals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was
organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the
goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual
surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being
taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade
visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although
they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of
feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the
Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made
mention of the great number of things they had in their houses,
rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they
employed in making things. These articles were accumulated
and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517] 513
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 352

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352] sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177] contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412] rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165] cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825] normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753] do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a

1804. May. disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 342
sembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352]
swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353]
several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the en- [343]
trance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648
with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6 .

absent (Pl. XVII, *a-b*). One figure (Pl. XVII, *c*) has a triangular body 531x and thin, spindly legs.

One motif which recurs a number of times seems to be a conventionalized representation of a human being. It depicts only the head and shoulders, the head being a triangle with apex pointing downward and joined to an inverted U. In some figures there is a longitudinal line drawn through the center of the U, making that portion of the figure look like a small letter m. This third or central vertical line represents the trunk of the body, while the outer lines represent the shoulders and the arms of the person (Pl. V, *b*).

USE OF DECORATIVE DESIGNS

Except for objects carved in recent years there is little indication that the carver had a preconceived notion of the completed decoration. The Marquesan did not make a pattern and then arrange his designs to achieve a symmetrical effect. He used whatever designs occured to him at the time so that no two objects are decorated exactly alike and seldom is an object found which has what is known as balance. Certain carvers did, however, develop an individual style and their work may be quite easily recognized even in a large collection by the choice of designs, the general arrangement of the designs, or the technique in the carving.

Designs on House Posts

In addition to house posts carved in the round according to the tiki 531x convention (p. 5) there are a great many posts with angular geometric 412 and curvilinear designs. In former times the designs were cut on the posts 353 by stone adzes but metal tools have been used for many years. This change has had very little influence upon the selection of designs.

It will be noted that the designs are never applied in a continuous 531x band running the full length of the post but are carved in sections of various widths. 353 Each section is separated from the next either by a single line or by a group of parallel lines at right angles to the long axis of the post. A few posts show an irregular longtitudinal division somewhere near their center. This consists of an area of uncarved wood separating the carvings of different designs.

Angular geometric motifs are predominant in the designs on house posts but compared with recent work the older carvings show a more liberal use of curvilinear patterns. With the assistance of Ralph Linton (22) the following summary of the design elements and motifs used in the house post decorations has been prepared:

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ANGULAR GEOMETRIC DESIGN ELEMENTS

X 531 353

1. Straight horizontal grooves used singly or in series to separate the sections or zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones (Pl. II, *a*). Variations of this design element include:
   a. Horizontal grooves with length equal to half the width of the post, arranged in two vertical series so that the outer ends of corresponding grooves of each series are at alternate levels and their points interlock (Pl. II, *b*).
   b. Horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post, arranged in three vertical series, the outer ends of corresponding grooves of the two outer series being at the same level and the inner series alternating with them (Pl. II, *c*).
   c. Horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth the width of the post, arranged in four vertical series, the outer ends of corresponding grooves of the two outer series being at the same level and the two inner series alternating with them and with each other (Pl. II, *d*).
2. Straight diagonal grooves, used to fill zones (Pl. II, *e*).
3. Series of parallel horizontal zigzag lines (Pl. II, *f*).
4. Narrow bands of plain alternate interlocking triangles (Pl. II, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, their bases forming the sides of the zone, the interior of the triangles being filled with:
   a. Lines parallel to the base.
   b. Lines parallel to one side.
   c. A series of V's, diminishing in size as they approach the base with sides parallel to the sides of the triangle. Two or more varieties of fill may be used in different triangles of the same zone (Pl. II, *h*).
6. Diamond-shaped figures:
   a. Large diamonds with lateral corners touching the edges of the post, leaving four triangles in the corners of the zone (Pl. II, *j*).
   b. Small diamonds arranged in close order to fill the entire zone. The space within these diamonds is filled either with concentric diamonds or with angular (commonly broken) spirals, with sides roughly parallel to the sides of the diamond (Pl. II, *k*).
7. Wide straight lines with one or both edges scolloped (Pl. III, *c*). The lines in some designs are so arranged that the edges of the scollops nearly meet, giving a beaded effect approaching that found in bowl decoration. In other designs the scollops interlock in such a way that a wavy line is formed. The wide scolloped line is carved in horizontal position, worked into zigzags, into a series of V's filling a triangular space, and into an angular spiral.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

1. Circles, single or in concentric series (Pl. III, *e*).
2. Ovals, single or in concentric series (Pl. III, *f*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, commonly half or quarter sections, plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference. (Pl. III, *g-h*).
4. Parallel wavy lines (Pl. III *a*).
5. Irregular curves. In some of the older house posts the irregular curves are worked into mazes that fill entire zones (Pl. III, *b*).
6. *Mata* (Pl. XII, *A, a-e; B, a-d*).

Of the curvilinear design elements the segments of circles and ovals appear to be most in favor, the irregular curves taking second place.

Many house posts show angular geometric and curvilinear patterns employed together. There are zones in which a series of concentric ovals is superposed upon a series of concentric diamonds, zones of concentric circles upon a background of horizontal parallel lines (Pl. III, *e*), and

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

zones in which a semi-circle is substituted for a V in a series of V's, used 531x to fill a triangle. One post shows a series of concentric ovals superposed 353 upon a series of V's, and a group of six wide horizontal lines superposed upon the concentric ovals making a triple overlapping of design.

One design motif consists of two quarter sections of concentric ovals placed side by side so as to form a half oval with the sections separated by two, or by three, horizontal lines which project out beyond the outer oval. (Pl. III, *g*). This design is probably related to the concentric ovals pierced on one side by a horizontal line, used frequently in under-arm tattooing (18).

Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition photographed a house post which displays a zone filled with two segments of concentric ovals and a small pierced oval so arranged as to give the appearance of a *mata*. The representation may not have been intentional, for no other example of a *mata* carved on a house post is known.

Designs on Canoe Models

The study of designs used to decorate canoes has of necessity been lim- 531x ited to an examination of canoe models as no complete Marquesan canoes 501 have been preserved from ancient times and the fragments of old canoes photographed by members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition do not show any designs. The old canoe models in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are very exact in their construction so that it seems probable that the designs carved on those models are likewise good replicas of the ones formerly used. The newer models are carved on the bottom as well as on the bow, stern, and side planks. Canoes which actually saw service were not carved in this manner and it is therefore difficult to judge the value of the designs on the recent models.

Like the house posts, the designs on the canoe models are inscribed 531x between parallel lines which run transversely to the long axis of the canoe. These zones are of various widths and some of them are divided longitudinally. Both angular geometric and curvilinear patterns are used separately and in combination. On the bottom of one model are no angular geometric patterns and on the side planks only two angular figures consisting of concentric triangles at either end (Pl. VI, *d*). One motif on the top of the bow piece combines angular geometric with curvilinear figures.

The bow and stern pieces and side planks of most of the canoe models are carved with purely angular geometric designs. These are for the most part straight, horizontal, and diagonal grooves used in series to separate zones and also to fill zones, diagonal grooves so arranged as to give the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 [784] [251] [417] [284]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 dishes here. The *ma*, almost like clay, is dug out of its hole, carried to the house in a bowl, and placed on the *hoaka* or long, wooden trough to be kneaded. If it is very old and hard, it must be softened with water. Indeed throughout the preparation of *popoi*, water as a lubricant is used so freely as to become an important ingredient. When it is kneaded into a soft dough, it is wrapped in small packages, enveloped in fau leaves and tied with the bark. Today these packages are boiled in water in kerosene cans or large iron pots, but it is the earth oven in which they were originally baked, that we should include in this description.

354 252 [415]

The average oven is a hole dug in the ground, about two feet deep, three feet wide, and four feet long. In the bottom of it is placed the firewood (*vehie*), and on top of this, stones deeply pitted, which do not burst with heat. Fire was made originally by rubbing a small stick along a groove in a larger stick. (See description under The Dwelling, The Cook House.) In this oven (*umu*) the stones are heated thoroughly, part of them then removed with a *kipo* (which is a kind of long-handled dipper made with a stick passed through a coconut shell), or with the *koke mei* (tongs of two sticks bound together with fau bark which, as its name indicates, is primarily designed to lift roasted *mei* from the fire.) A thin layer of earth is spread over the remaining stones, their heat tested by the bare foot of the cook; the packages of *ma* are put in on a criss-cross of green guava sticks or petioles of fau leaves, to keep them from burning; the remaining stones are heaped about the packages, and the whole is covered with fresh *mi'o* leaves and then overlaid with earth.

252 *Ma* is tested like cake, by thrusting a small stick into a package to see if the dough still adheres to the stick. When it does not, the *ma* is cooked. The packages (*koumu*, Hiva Oa, *vahima*, Nuku Hiva—8) are taken out of the oven and unwrapped; the *ma* is placed on the kneading trough and pounded into a smooth paste with the stone *popoi* pounder (*kea tuki popoi*). It is pounded when hot preferably, since fermentation follows quickly when it is pounded cold and the *ma* does not keep so well. After pounding, it is again wrapped in leaf packages and kept until needed. In time it collects maggots and must be washed in salt water before being eaten, but it keep this way for some time.

It is this *popoi ma* which is mixed with the fresh breadfruit to make *popoi mei*. The fresh breadfruit has been ripened with a green guava stick and is now roasted on a wood fire. The blackened and charred skin is peeled off, the core removed, and the flesh mixed with water and pounded on the board until quite soft. Then a hole is scooped in the middle of the white *mei*, the brown *ma* is taken from its package and put into it, the two are kneaded together, with the constant addition of water to make

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 mouth with strips of the fau bark and are hung on green poles across a trench in the ground, three or four feet deep and sometimes long enough to accommodate twenty nets of *feikai*. For many hours large fire-wood has been burning in the trench, and there is now a hot bed of stones in the bottom. These are covered with green sticks, leaves, and a layer of earth. Across the trench are placed the poles with their burden of nets hanging just so as to escape the covered stones. The *feikai vaihopu* is steamed all night under a cover of leaves and earth and bark. When it is taken out, the coconut is all absorbed, except for a coating of sweet, curdled sauce called *kahikahi*. *Feikai* will keep for days in an unopened basket, but must be eaten at once when opened. In Atu Ona, this *feikai* is called *feikai mei pa'a*. Mr. Linton watched the process there and described it as follows (in words and pictures):

Making *feikai* is an elaborate process requiring six days as a minimum. In pre-preparing it, small breadfruit, although apparently not of any special species, are pierced at the stem end with a bamboo, the fragment being broken off in the hole. These pierced breadfruit are then placed in special containers made by removing the bark from a fau log about eight inches in diameter, allowing it to keep its original form. These bark troughs are then lined with fern and the breadfruit laid in them in a single line, (Pl. VI, *C*) the bark being bent back and tied with numerous strings in such a way as to form a closed tube(Pl. VI, *D*). The breadfruits are left in this tube for four days, by the expiration of which time they have become so soft that they are easily peeled and the pulp can be separated from the core with the fingers.

In the meanwhile, several holes about eighteen inches in diameter and a foot deep, have been dug, and these are now lined with a layer of fau leaves. Within the fau leaves, four *ti* (*Cordyline australis*) leaves, tied in pairs by the tip, are laid so that they form a cross, and over these, three or four sections from the center of banana leaves. The banana leaves are wilted before use, to give greater flexibility, and a piece of the midrib about five inches long is left protruding at either end. The successive linings of the hole provide a bucket-like container, and in this is placed the pulp of three or four breadfruit, depending on their size, and about a quart of water. To this is then added sweet juice made by grating and squeezing the kernels of sprouted coconuts and a little coconut meat (Pl. VII, *A*). The ends of the *ti* and banana leaves are then brought up together and tied with a long strip of fau bark, whose ends are twisted together above the hole (Pl. VII, *B*) and attached by means of the rope to a second similar bundle, the pair being hung on a pole supported some distance above the ground (Pl. VII, *C*). Occasionally, a single pair of *ti* leaves is used instead of the four, and there are individual differences in the tying, that enable the owners to identify their bundles in the large oven.

[354] The bundles are cooked in an unusually elaborate earth oven. These ovens are generally used in common by several families, all of whom assist in their construction. The largest seen was over ten feet in diameter and about three feet in depth, and would hold one hundred bundle of *feikai*. The oven is filled with a mixture of large stones and logs, and a fire kept going for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time the boulders are red-hot. The stones and the embers are then raked out, and the oven is lined with an even layer of hot stones, which are covered with a layer of moist earth about three inches thick. A number of peeled *fau* logs six to eight inches in diameter, are then laid across the depression, and the bundles, in pairs, are hung across these so that their weight is partly supported by them (Pl. VII, *D*). Immediately above the logs a single layer of unpeeled fau poles, about an

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, 565 342 as I have before observed in describing the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for [356] their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, 351 of the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [487] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167): 622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed. 622 592 357 [C89]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape
592 (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was
357 to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself
689 with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a*, which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation-
592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just
622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived
357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka*, skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana*, and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto*. Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for 491
the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same 554
manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with 122
this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gatta- 554
newa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he 784
steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his 554
family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, 357
&c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been 000
taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

● 361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating [71] themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [36] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

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312
[361]

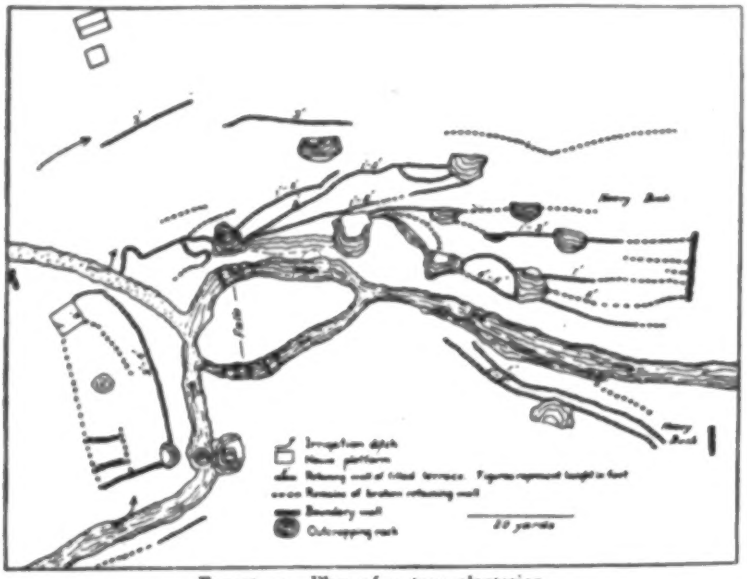

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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648 some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

132 THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuma*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopiio menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. „In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[145
531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi,* long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[755 escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an [776 372] old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

This section deals with the artifacts, other than containers, which formed 128
part of the equipment of a Marquesan household. The implements were for the most part used either in the collection or preparation of food.

TOOLS FOR FIRE MAKING

Fire was made in ancient times in the Marquesas by means of the fire 372
plow, a method common to all Polynesia. The fire plow consisted of two parts, the bed and the plow (Pl. LVI, *G*.)

The favorite material for the bed was a large dry stem of the fruit cluster of the coconut palm which, being fibrous, aided in the collection and retention of dust upon which the [824]
success of the operation depended. The second best material was fau wood. The bed was not as a rule shaped, but in the better specimens its top was flattened slightly to prevent the plow from slipping during the first few strokes. A little earth was sometimes rubbed on the bed at the beginning of the operation to increase the friction.

The plow was simply a short stick, usually of fau wood, sharpened to a straight or slightly convex edge, about one-fourth of an inch wide.

In fire making two men were usually employed, one of whom held the bed firm while the other manipulated the plow (Pl. LVI, *H*).

The bed was placed upon the ground with the end toward the plowman slightly elevated. The plow was grasped in both hands, forming an angle of about 45 degrees with the bed, and was rubbed rapidly back and forth, care being taken to stop each downward stroke at exactly the same point. As the rubbing continued, a groove was formed in the bed and a small pile of wood dust collected in the lower end of this groove. The speed of the rubbing was gradually increased until both groove and plow were smoking; then, at the right instant, the point of the plow was driven slightly beyond the end of the previous strokes and buried in the dust. A spark was thus kindled and gently blown to a coal, then dumped off into tinder made from tree cotton or shredded coconut fiber. A new groove was made each time fire was to be kindled.

In spite of the introduction of matches practically all adult Marquesans can still make fire by this process, and the time required is surprisingly short. One expert individual repeatedly made fire in between 25 and 30 seconds. The process requires a perfect muscular control which is only acquired with long practise, the trick lying in stopping all the strokes at exactly the same point and lengthening the last only enough to bury the plow in the dust without scattering it.

Native informants insisted that fire was kindled in ancient times by striking sparks from two stones, but it seems probable that this process was borrowed from Europeans at such an early time that its origin has been forgotten. Fire making sets consisting of quartz crystals, a piece of steel, and a section of bamboo filled with tree cotton are still used by the poorer natives.

?: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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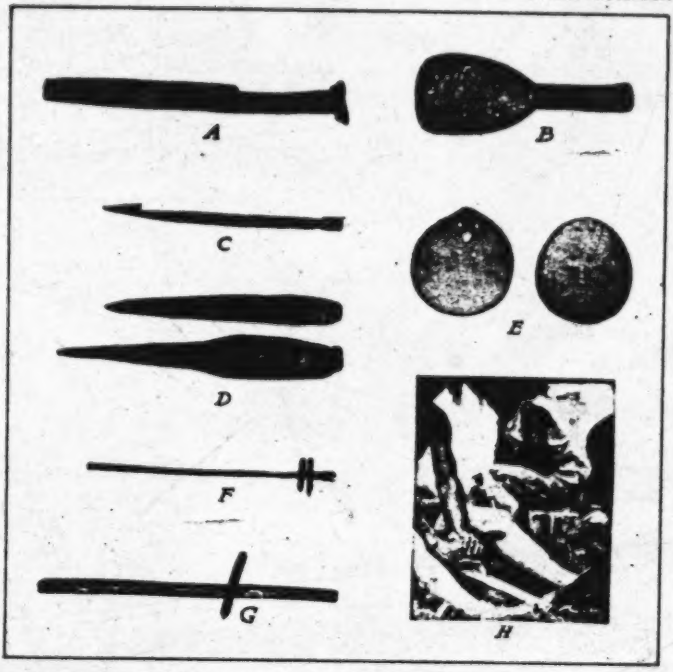

[372]

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS: *A*, SHARK SKIN RASP; *B*, MALLET; *C*, THATCHING NEEDLE; *D*, TOOLS FOR MAKING COPRA; *E*, BOWLS OF LARGE SPOONS OR LADLES; *F*, COTTON SEED EXTRACTOR; *G*, FIRE STICKS; *H*, METHOD OF USING FIRE STICKS.

[end plate 17]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 167 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. [326] May. [315] Cogeo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[289] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

412 According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dispatch human victims for sacrifice.

[824] [782]

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

[824] [171]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by ●[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation- 848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption.

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.)

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34),
[824] the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kivu*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

[412]

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [386] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is dscribed as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained. 287

When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.

When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people inclines them to prefer the natural tint. [386]

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*henu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.) 285

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net. 226

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiifiii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiifiii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills. 226 [286] [386]

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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302 They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt [386] cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. [324] Mar. [315] Cooee. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

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ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 was so heavy, however, that several men would have been required to move it and it must have been fixed in some special place. It was said to have been used [386] to dye tapa with saffron.

A third stone bowl was seen in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, and is known to have been the property of the last queen of that valley. It was made of red tuffa of the sort ordinarily employed for large stone slabs, and was very roughly finished. The dimensions were as follows: diameter, 18 inches; external depth, 14 inches; thickness of rim, 3 inches. It was said by the owner to have been used to keep fire in, in the house at night, but this seems to have been an unusual practise and no other bowls of the sort were known to the natives.

A peculiar stone tray was collected in the valley of Taipi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This specimen is made of rather coarse lava, worked all over but poorly finished. The outside is decidedly asymmetrical—somewhat oblong in shape with rounded ends. One end of the tray has a curious flat projection running from a short distance below the rim down the outside of the bowl to the bottom. This projection is 5½ inches long, 3⅛ inches wide at the upper end and 2 inches wide at the lower end, at the top it is 1 inch thick, at the bottom ½ an inch. The upper end and sides of the projection are somewhat undercut, and a shallow transverse groove runs across the lower end ¾ of an inch above its tip. The internal depression of the tray is nearly rectangular, 11 inches long, 7¼ inches wide and ¾ of an inch deep. The bottom is flat, the sides curving upward abruptly. The outer surfaces of the tray recurve slightly at the rim. The dimensions of the tray are: length, 14⅝ inches; width, 9¼ inches; maximum thickness, 4½ inches. This tray was used by its owner to grate saffron root and was described by him as an heirloom. There is good evidence, however, that he found it while clearing land only a short time before its purchase and its ancient use remains uncertain. (See Pl. 1, *B-C*.)

The specimens described have all been of large size and rather crude workmanship. Certain fragments in the collection of the Bishop Museum, however, prove that there were in the group small and finely made stone bowls. No. B3699A is a fragment of a bowl or tray, its size being too small to make exact determination possible. The material is some soft, rather close-grained, grey stone, and the whole surface, including the fracture, is heavily patinated. The walls are about ⅞ of an inch thick, and the internal depression ⅜ of an inch deep at the rim. The rim is flat, and the object appears to have been finely finished on all surfaces. Another fragment (No. B3699B) is of a small circular bowl about 6¾ inches in diameter and 2¾ inches deep. The walls are ⅜ of an inch thick at the rim and about 1¼ inches thick at the bottom. The outer sides recurve slightly at the rim, which is flat with rounded edges. This

283 The cords of the large fish net (ti'eno) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ka'aea* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber.
[824] This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the
[227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as
[534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

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Finished three plait cord is stored in long cylindrical rolls wound to give an ornamental effect. Many strand cord on the other hand is said to have been commonly wound in thin flat rolls like European tape. (See Pl. LXV, *B*.) 283

The only dyed coconut fiber cord collected was of the three strand variety, but it is probable that the more intricate plaits were also occasionally colored. All the specimens seen were reddish brown, tan or black, but red is mentioned in native stories and Stewart, a reliable authority, speaks of yellow and white sennit used in house lashings. The reddish brown and tan sennit appears to be natural. The Tongan method of deepening the color by baking, if originally known to the natives, has been forgotten. The lightest shade of tan sennit was made from fiber of the leaf sheath. Three methods of coloring the black sennit were described. 283 386

The bark of the *mai'i* tree was beaten up with stones and the juice squeezed into large wooden bowls. The finished sennit was then steeped in the juice for several days, until it became black. It was then removed and buried for three days in the mud of a taro patch, washed, and dried. A second method consisted of burying it in the mud for a longer period without the preliminary dyeing, while a third method consisted of rubbing the finished cord with a mixture of *ama* nut soot and water.

It seems probable that when mention is made to red sennit the darker shades of red brown are referred to, but at least some red sennit was made by painting the fiber, apparently after plaiting, with the seeds of the arnotto (*Bixa orellana*). Yellow sennit was colored with saffron, the cord probably being made from the light colored fiber of the leaf sheath. White sennit must, from the nature of the fiber, have been incrusted or painted rather than dyed, and it is quite possible that it was produced by rubbing the finished cord with a paste made from shell lime or from a fine white earth, extensive deposits of which occur in Nuku Hiva. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that fans were whitened in this way.

Although most Marquesan cordage was made from either fau bark or coconut fiber a number of other fiber plants were known and used. The most important of these seems to have been the pineapple. Pineapple fiber is still used for thread and for very small fish lines, and is prepared as follows: 283 824

The fresh green leaves are taken one by one, laid across a banana log, and scraped longitudinally with any sharp-edged instrument. The bowl of an ordinary metal spoon was seen used for this purpose. Continued scraping removes all the flesh of the leaf, leaving a few soft fibers which are then dried in the sun. The women convert these fibers into thread by rolling them upon the bare thigh with the palm of the hand. To make fish lines either two or three strands of this thread are twisted together, the finished line being passed rapidly through a flame to singe off the lint.

Banana fiber is said to have formerly been used for certain kinds of cord, but this material has not been employed for many years. To prepare the fiber,

287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy.

This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not cer-
287 tain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop
366 Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark
287 of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen
531 has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

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be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas. 291

TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women. 304

The tattooing was done with bone combs. 304

The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *heana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.) 413

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink. 304 386

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

304 the flat stone. There were twenty nuts in each string, although the reason for this was unknown to the informant. The soot which collected on the under side of the flat stone was 386 scraped off and packed in a small coconut shell (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 1). To make the charcoal pigment, coconut charcoal was pulverized with a small stone pounder. For this purpose smooth circular pits, common in large stones near villages, are said by natives to have been used as mortars. These pits are so numerous, however, that they must have been used for other purposes as well.

304 In tattooing, the mounted comb was held in the right hand, and a tapping stick of *toa* wood, about one foot long, in the left. A tapa rag was wrapped around the last two fingers of the right hand. The designs to be tattooed were usually drawn on the body in charcoal, but the most experienced artists frequently worked free hand. The comb was dipped in the ink and driven into the skin by a sharp blow from the tapping stick, the coloring matter running down the teeth into the wound. After each stroke the blood was wiped away with the rag.

The body was tattooed in sections, three days being allowed between operations for the healing of the wound. The texture of the skin does not seem to have been greatly altered by the operation, and flesh carving of the sort done by the Maori was unknown. The process was a long and painful one.

The many social and ceremonial observances connected with the tattooing of men, and especially of chiefs' sons, are described by Handy (32). A discussion of the practice of tattooing and of the designs used has been published by Willowdean C. Handy (32 *a*).

MUTILATIONS

The bodily mutilations practiced by the Marquesans were circumcision (32), the piercing of the ears and depilation.

The natives of both sexes pierced the ears for the attachment of ornaments. The operation was performed with a special awl-like instrument. The favorite material for these instruments was human bone, but bird bone and even tortoise shell were sometimes used. Practically all ear piercers were carved at the upper end, the decorations consisting for the most part of conventionalized human faces or figures. (See Pl. LXXV, *B*.) Many specimens have a loop of sennit permanently attached to the upper end, while almost all are drilled for suspension. Such piercers were treasured in families as heirlooms, but seem to have no religious significance.

The ear aperture was somewhat larger than in pierced European ears, being ¼ to ½ of an inch in diameter, but dilation of the ear lobe does not seem to have been practiced. Some of the men's ear ornaments strongly suggest ear plugs, however, and it is possible that dilation of the ear lobe, common in Melanesia, was at one time practiced in the Marquesas. If so, it had become obsolete before the historic period, as it is not mentioned by any of the early writers.

Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, coconut oil scented with sandalwood. 302

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this purpose. In Hiva Oa this is called *cna*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *cka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *cna*, but it seems certain that the *cka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*cna*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it. 302 386 824 [249]

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says: 302

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house: they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *cna* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

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x304 386 [834] Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had prepared the pigment *(hinu)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu* operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaahi*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

x304 413 When the *tuhuna* arrived, bringing his instruments in a bamboo case seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(ivi heana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [461] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

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342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae,* which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in 531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

● 396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau,* accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e,* recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au.*

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e.*

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

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hair. The human hair was omitted from the decorations of fishing canoes. The crew and warriors who were to go on board were embellished with materials similar to those used in ornamenting the canoe itself and new paddles with small images carved at the upper end of the handle were made. 396

Certain details of canoe building at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, supplement the above account. Four hundred men were employed in the building of a certain canoe at Pua Ma'u, working under the direction of four *tuhuna*. The work was done where the tree was felled and where a decorated house was erected for the workmen. Workmen and *tuhuna* were fed by the chief, twenty men being employed in this work. The place was *tapu* to women and to strangers. Any intruder from another valley would be killed and eaten. "When the canoe was finished a great feast was held at the place of manufacture, the workmen's house being decorated with ferns and wild vines."

In the sacred chant called *oho au o Motuhaiki*, which is part of the *tona pou* chant (see Chants), and which was probably used in connection with canoe-building, are mentioned the stages in the construction of a canoe: finding the tree, trimming it, felling it, measuring and cutting out the proper length, and hollowing the hull; then building the shed for it, placing the body on two log supports in the house, thinning down the sides, polishing the body with crushed coral; then naming the various parts attached to the hull, side-boards, bow, stern, seats, etc. The first master canoe-maker was, traditionally, Motuhaiki, who noosed the sun, so that he might have sufficient time to finish his work.

Canoes, like everything else, were named. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that new canoes were named after old ones that were worn out. Not only was the canoe itself named, but every part, the bow-piece, sternpiece, sideboards, seats, bailers, paddles, and so on.

Launching

Just before a canoe was launched, the crew and warriors were assembled about it in the *oho au*, and the *pu'e* was again chanted. The vessel was then carried into the water with all its paddlers and warriors aboard, the canoe and its crew alike being ornamented. Soon after a new war canoe had been consecrated and launched, the chief who owned it sent it to raid an enemy bay and secure sacrifice victims. It was for this purpose that the canoe had been built, and its consecration was not regarded as complete until its *mana* had been thus demonstrated. A chief would sometimes send his warriors to get victims at the time of the building of the canoe to give it *mana*.

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396 The recitation of the *pu'e*, creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo*, the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

396 789 Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana*, power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

396 All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

Types of Canoes

501 As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having

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a rail around it. The supplies for a voyage were kept here and in the body of the canoe, and the people on board lived on the platform and below decks. According to a trustworthy Fatu Hiva informant, such a canoe would have two sails, the masts being stepped in the usual place in the forward end of each hull. War canoes and canoes for exploration—according to modern natives—were as much as sixty feet long. So far as I know, however, there is no record of a canoe of this size, although no limitation in the materials at the disposal of the native nor in his ability to utilize them would have prevented him from making canoes of this size or even larger. 501

Porter (24, p. 102) describes small temporary craft as follows:

> "They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

Materials for Canoes

Materials used most for canoe-making were *temanu, hutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and *mi'o*. The size of the canoe desired frequently determined the choice of a tree. The *temanu* was the largest of the available trees, and furnished the most durable wood. According to Linton breadfruit trees were used for smaller canoes. 324 396

Parts of a Canoe[6a]

The main parts of a canoe consisted of the hull, adzed out of a tree trunk; detachable bow and stern piece; sideboards lashed on the edges of the gunwale; and an outrigger. 501

The main body or hull (*vaka, tua, tekee*) of the canoe was made of a hollowed single tree trunk. The bow (*piha, au'au, kanihi, hopeta*), a separate piece, was usually upturned, but both Cook (6, p. 711) and Stewart (26, p. 219) describe horizontal bows. Linton aptly describes the stern (*mu'i, hope au'au*) as narrowing "rapidly to form the tail, which was a long projection like a thick plank with the edge up, rising from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees." (20.) The sideboards (*hue tana*) consisted of single hewn boards (*papa*) lashed (*humu*) to the gunwale of the canoe, but it is probable that the sideboards of some canoes were built up with several boards, for Porter (24, p. 79) described the sides as made of many pieces of the breadfruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibers of the outside shell of coconut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of

6a The terminology is from Dordillon's ms. and from Linton's and my own notes.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 of the boy's sacred staging, the making of his adz and of the canoe that was to be made with adz.

The Tona-Pou Chant

The first of these chants was called simply *tona pou,* which when translated seems to mean simply "his post." This chant was for the sacred house elevated on a staging (*fata'a, tona pou*) for the boy. The object of the chant is evidently to free the structure from evil influences and to bring the good influences potent to aid in the rite. What connection the chant may have with the post outside the house, on which the spirits of ancient priests came to rest, is not apparent. I infer that the *fata'a* consecrated at this rite was that which would in future serve the boy as his *tapu* eating house and store house. (See The Family.)

The chant following this was called *tona pou no Pohu.* In the first part of it the forehead, eyes, mouth, and other features of the youth are mentioned—with what significance I was unable to ascertain. The rest of the chant has to do with house furnishings and the altar with its decoration. A short chant called *oho-au no ihi* follows, recounting the catching of certain fish, doubtless those used in connection with the rite.

539 Lastly comes a longer and most interesting chant, called *oho-au no*
396 *Motuaiki* (work-house of Motuhaiki). Motuhaiki was an ancient master canoe builder. The first part of this chant describes the making of the rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun when he desired to have more time to finish his work. Then Motuhaiki and Hope'outo'i, another canoe maker and patron of carpentry, are referred to in connection with the making of the new adz for the boy, the piece of stone from which the adz was made being a chip off the block (*fatu*) described above, which is also mentioned. The chant describes the stages of making the adz head and lashing it to its handle. Then it proceeds to the successive stages of the manufacture of the canoe and its parts. This section of the chant was undoubtedly that which followed the recitation of the *pu'e* when that chant was used in connection with canoe making.

539 After this part, which has reference to canoe making, there follow others having to do with the making of a loin cloth, robe, headdress, and necklace for the boy (evidently those worn ceremonially in connection with the rite); then a section descriptive of the building of a temporary shelter (*oho-au*) for the boy to sleep in, the erection of fau poles (*koufau*) as a sign of the *tapu;* the erection of a shrine; and lastly, the preparation of food, the eating of which completed the boy's rite.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

MODERN CANOES

FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Tahuku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

indicates the speed with which new appliances of obvious value are accepted by the natives. 501
The new outrigger is indirect, and consists of three elements, the float, the uprights, and the 356
crosspieces. The float consists of a peeled log of fau wood four to five inches in diameter, [824]
slightly shorter than the canoe. This is usually sharpened at the forward end only, the cutting being done entirely from the lower side, but a few specimens were seen which had been sharpened at both ends, apparently with the idea of making the canoe completely reversible. The uprights, about two feet long, are usually made of small barrel staves. A triangular notch about two inches deep is cut in the upper end. Eight inches below this notch the uprights are pierced by a rectangular hole an inch and a half to two inches square. These uprights are permanently attached to the float. The unnotched ends of the staves are wedged into longitudinal slits near either end of the upper surface of the float. The crosspieces are peeled poles of fau or hard wood about eight feet long and three inches in diameter at the butt. Their outer ends are sharpened so that they will readily pass through the rectangular holes in the uprights.

The outrigger is assembled and attached as follows: The squared ends of the cross poles are fitted into the holes of the uprights, their points projecting about two inches on the outer side. The whole outrigger is then placed on the right side of the canoe, the crosspieces extending across it on the line of the hard wood plugs, with their butts projecting a few inches beyond the left gunwale. One end of a light rope is then fastened to the projecting end of the front crosspiece, outside the upright. The rope is then carried over the top of the upright, through the notch, and along the crosspiece to the inner side of the right gunwale. It is then passed back and forth diagonally over the crosspiece and around the inside and outside ends of the plug until the crosspiece is held rigidly. The rope then runs along the crosspiece to the left gunwale, where the same lashing is repeated. Some slack is then left in the canoe, and the left end of the rear crosspiece is lashed, the rope passing from there to the right gunwale lashing the crosspiece there, and out along the crosspiece and over the end of the upright to the outer end of the crosspiece, where it is tied. Any rope left over is carried back along the crosspiece and coiled in the canoe.

An outrigger of this sort can be attached or removed in a few moments, and the single rope used to lash it is available for other purposes when not in use on the canoe. When a canoe is beached the owner usually removes the outrigger at once and stores it in a safe place, thus making the canoe useless and safeguarding it from theft.

Small fishing canoes of the type described are rarely used for trips of any 502
length. They are not sailed but are commonly paddled by two men. One man sits on the stern crosspiece of the outrigger where it crosses the boat, while the other wedges himself between the thwarts amidships. Most of these canoes are completely reversible, and they are sometimes paddled with the outrigger on the left instead of the right. The narrowness of these craft, and their high center of gravity (for the paddlers sit practically on top of the canoe) make them very unstable, and in spite of the outrigger they frequently capsize. The natives right them by getting on the outrigger and forcing it down under the canoe and up the other side.

VAKA POTI

The *vaka poti*—a craft that appears to be a local development—is an inter- 501
esting example of the native adaptation of European ideas. It may be described as follows:

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As the name indicates, the *vaka poti* is a hybrid of canoe and boat, and is larger and more seaworthy than the fishing canoe, being twenty to twenty-five feet long with a maximum beam of two to two and a half feet. A long strip of breadfruit or temanu wood, eight inches to a foot in width, about four inches thick and tapering to a point at both ends, serves the double purpose of keel and bottom. It is smoothly rounded on the outside and slightly hollowed along the center of its upper surface. This is probably an extreme modification of the dugout underbody of the old built up canoes. Longitudinal slots are cut in either end of this keel and into these two flat, slightly curving pieces of temanu wood are bolted. These serve as the stem and sternposts of the boat, and are identical in form. Short light ribs are then bolted to the keel along both edges, their short lower arms resting upon its upper surface. The sides of the boat are built up with thin planks of commercial lumber which are laid on with an overlap from above downward—that is, the boat is clinker built. These planks are carefully dressed along the points of contact to insure a tight joint, and are fastened into grooves in the sides of the stem and sternpost. The gunwales are finished with a narrow flat strip of wood. At either end of the boat, immediately below this strip, a triangular piece of plank is put in, decking the last two or three feet of the bow and stern. The boat is braced by three broad flat thwarts which also serve as seats. One of these thwarts is placed in the middle and the other two at either end, two to three feet within the edges of the end deckings. The forward thwart is pierced with a hole three or four inches in diameter which, with a corresponding block on the keel, serves to step a mast. These crafts are always provided with an outrigger similar in shape and attachment to that of the fishing canoe, but of proportionately greater size.

Alexander, who visited Nuku Hiva in 1899, saw a slightly different form of outrigger in use with the *vaka poti*. He says (2, p. 746): "From the gunwale to the outrigger float of these canoes is an average of 7 feet. The outrigger frame consists of five pieces of wood, namely, two poles or crosspieces seized across the gunwales 4½ feet apart, one forward and the other aft of center; two stanchions connecting crosspieces of the outrigger float, and a brace which is seized to crosspieces just outside the gunwale. That part of the crosspieces between the gunwales answers the purpose of thwarts, the upper side being hewn to a flat surface. The outboard ends are sized to the perpendicular pieces, or stanchions, the length of which is, as a rule, the distance from the gunwale to the water line. These pieces are sized to the top side of the float, the sizings extending all the way around the float, but done so neatly as to offer little resistance to the water. The crosspieces, float, and stanchions are braced with withes to prevent them from being twisted and thrown out of position by coming in contact with rocks. . . . The material used in sizing the outrigger frame together is coconut fiber twisted into a small line."

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A *vaka poti* is normally handled by four men, one of whom sits in the stern and steers with a paddle while the other three row with short oars of ordinary European form. The bow and stern oars are placed on the side opposite the outrigger, the middle oar on the outrigger side, working within it.

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Every craft of this sort is provided with a leg of mutton sail of canvas like that commonly used on ships' boats. When not in use the sail is stored under the short deck at one end of the boat, while the poles which serve as mast and boom are lashed along the crosspieces of the outrigger. The heavier of these poles, which is about nine feet long, serves as the mast. When the sail is to be hoisted, the mast is passed through loops of string tied along one edge of the sail, the loop nearest the masthead being firmly tied to the pole. Two light ropes are then attached to the masthead opposite each other and the mast is stepped, the butt passing through the hole in the forward thwart and resting in the hollowed block in the keel. The two ropes from the masthead are then fastened to the forward outrigger crosspiece just outside the gunwales of the canoe. A third rope is sometimes run from the masthead to the prow, but this is not common. The lighter pole serves as the boom and passes through the loops along the lower edge of the sail. The outermost loop is firmly tied to the boom, and a rope is attached to its outer end. The boom is then gradually thrust outboard until the sail is fully spread and only the inner end of the boom rests against the mast. This end simply rests against the mast and is not attached to it.

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501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

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Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

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The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

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which had been worn out or damaged. The names of the Pua Ma'u canoes were Vaimakamaka, the largest and most important, Vaioto, Taipehe and Meaupiau. 396 501 [552]

The canoe normally consisted of nine parts, the underbody, bow piece, stern piece, two side planks, and four strips used to cover the side seams. Certain other parts were occasionally added. Each of the large sections was usually hewn from a single piece of wood, while the strips were made of bamboo.

The underbody of one large canoe and part of a second underbody, which had been made in two pieces, were seen in the valley of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva. The history of these objects had apparently been forgotten by the Hakaui natives, but according to Atu Ona informants one of the underbodies belonged to a canoe called Mo'ote which was made in that valley by a *tuhuna* named Kaneautia. This canoe was sent to the chief of Hakaui by a chief of Atu Ona in exchange for *enamoa,* a yellow paint or dye used for anointing the body, prepared in Nuku Hiva by a secret process. The debris of a great temanu tree from which this canoe is said to have been made is still to be seen in Atu Ona.

Hakaui informants said that the two underbodies had belonged to separate craft, not to a single double canoe. On the other hand Christian (10, p. 180) mentions two old canoes in this valley which, from their location, seem to be the same as those here referred to and gives a photograph of a large double canoe, unquestionably Marquesan, which he implies belongs with the reference. In this photograph each of the canoes appears to be complete in itself while the attachment consists of three cross poles, easily removable. It seems probable, therefore, that these canoes were used both singly and together.

A study of the complete underbody—which had been exposed to the weather and was much rotted and warped—brought out the following particulars:

It was 40 feet, 6 inches in length, with a maximum central width of 4 feet, which tapered to 2 feet, 6 inches at the ends. The original depth could not be accurately determined. The two ends of this underbody were identical.

The section of an underbody was much better preserved, having been stored under an overhanging cliff which protected it from the weather. If the underbody of which this had formed a part was similar to the complete specimen it must have been over 60 feet in length. Some old canoe models, which appear to be very accurate, clearly show that the two ends of underbodies were not always the same, the forward end often being made much broader and deeper to facilitate the firm attachment of the bow piece. The extreme shallowness and narrowness of the outer end of the section proves that it was the stern, and if we assume that the whole underbody was of the broad bowed type it is possible that it was not more than 40 to 45 feet in length. The dimensions of the section were as follows: Length 34 feet, 11 inches; maximum width (at a point 4 feet from the inner end of the section) 3 feet, 4 inches; width at stern, 1 foot, 6 inches; maximum depth (outside) 1 foot, 9 inches; depth at tip of stern 4½ inches. The walls were 1½ inches thick at the upper edge, increasing gradually to 2¼ inches in the center of the bottom. The cavity of the underbody had, in cross section, the form of a rectangle with rounded corners. The middle of the canoe was flat bottomed, becoming gradually more rounded toward the stern.

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396 The rim of the underbody was flat and straight throughout its length, except for the last
501 six feet of the stern where the walls of the underbody were thickened to form a longitudinal ridge about two inches below the upper edge. (See Pl. XLII, *A*.) The lower part of this ridge curved smoothly into the contour of the bottom, while the upper part ran back in a flat bevel at an angle of about 40 degrees to the line of the outer edge of the flat rim. The bow and stern of all underbodies appear to have been finished in this way. The tip of the underbody was cut squarely across, and the outside was flat and vertical. The rim was somewhat broader here than along the sides and had, in the center of its interior surface, a broad, rounded point, left at the time of its excavation. This feature is shown in small canoe models, and both the bows and stern of underbodies were probably finished in this way. The projection corresponded to a similar projection on the under surface of the stern and bow pieces, and no doubt helped to strengthen and make rigid their juncture with the underbody.

The inner end of the canoe section observed at Hakaui was especially interesting as it showed the method of finishing a joint. The bottom was cut squarely across, and had no holes for lashings. The sides were cut back for a distance of two feet, the lower edge of the cut sloping upward gradually until its perpendicular inner end was only eight inches high. The surfaces of the side cuts were beveled, running to a thin edge on the inside, and were pierced with triangular holes for lashings. (See Pl. XLII, *B*.)

A row of similar holes was pierced through either side of the underbody about an inch below the rim. There were no holes at the ends. The lashing holes were an inch and a half in width and approximately an inch in depth, the base of the triangle being upward, and were placed at intervals of five to six inches.

Along each side of the section there was a row of three small projections which had been left at the time the canoe was hollowed out. These projections were six inches wide and five and a half inches high, the upper edges were two inches below the rim of the underbody. They had been carved into the form of squat human figures with disproportionately large heads, but the details had been practically obliterated. The projections were arranged in pairs, facing each other; the interval between pairs was 9 feet. 11 inches. The natives could give no information as to their purpose, but it seems certain that they served as supports for thwarts or seats. The complete underbody had no projections of this sort and these projections do not appear in any of the models studied.

224 Both underbodies were made of temanu wood and had been carefully rubbed down inside and out, obliterating all tool marks and giving the surface a finish as smooth as that of an ordinary bowl.

The Bow Piece

So far as known no bow pieces of Marquesan built up canoes have survived but excellent descriptions which check up with the accounts of early voyagers and the old canoe models were obtained from informants.

In a canoe with a forty-foot underbody the bow piece would be about fourteen feet long. Its shape (difficult to describe) can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a section of an old and apparently very accurate canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*). For the sake of convenience in description the bow piece may be divided into three parts, the deck, the neck and the figurehead. The deck was the rearmost section, which was enclosed between the ends of the side planks and bounded in front by a transverse flange, the breakwater, which kept head seas from entering the canoe. The deck of the bow piece was of the same width as the underbody, with a flat upper surface and vertical sides. The under surface was deeply hollowed, the lower edges being of the same width as the sides of the underbody upon which they rested. Triangular lashing holes were pierced through the sides a short distance above the lower edge,

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while two other holes, one on either side, were pierced through the angle formed by the top and sides about half-way between the breakwater and rear end of the deck. The upper lashing holes, which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks, did not pierce the cavity of the bow piece. 396 501

The neck, or portion lying between the breakwater and the figurehead, was two to three times the length of the deck. Its upper surface was flat, and was the same width as the deck immediately in front of the breakwater, tapering gradually toward the forward end. Its lower surface was hollowed for about one-half its length, the outer end of the excavation being cut to leave a semicircular projection like that already mentioned in the description of the ends of canoe underbodies. Beyond the end of the excavation a heavy flange projected downward, its lower edge being flush with the bottom of the end of the underbody when the bow piece was in position. On the outer side this flange curved up smoothly to the base of the figurehead. The lower edges of the sides of the excavated portion fitted accurately to those of the underbody, and were pierced with lashing poles. Above the edge, however, the sides sloped inward, the flat upper surface of the neck projecting beyond them on either side in a longitudinal flange.

The angle which the neck formed with the body of the canoe seems to have varied considerably. In the specimen photographed the neck is practically parallel to the upper edge of the underbody, and the early accounts and pictures would seem to indicate that this was usual. According to informants, however, it curved upward sharply beyond the end of the underbody, and all the recent canoe models show this feature in more or less exaggerated form. In the double canoe shown by Christian (10, p. 180), the neck of the bow piece of one canoe is of the form already described and curves upward at only a slight angle, while the neck of the other canoe curves up much more abruptly. In the second specimen the upper surface of the neck does not project over the sides, but curves down into them smoothly, as in the normal stern pieces.

The form of the figurehead and its relation to the neck can best be described by comparing it to a long handled shovel laid back up, the neck corresponding to the handle and the figurehead to the blade. The base of the figurehead projected out sharply from the neck on either side, while the forward end was semicircular or was bluntly pointed. The upper surface was convex, the point of greatest thickness being at the middle of the rear end. It was carved into a single, large, flat face, chin forward. The convention was the usual one except that the broad mouth was crescent shaped, and the ears were represented by thin semicircular flanges which projected from either side of the head just beyond its juncture with the neck. [532]

The Stern Piece

Two forms of stern piece were employed in the Marquesan built up canoe. The one shown in the accompanying picture (Pl. XLII, *E*) is apparently the commoner type. For the sake of convenience in description this form may be divided into three parts—the body, deck and tail.

The body of the stern piece was that part which rested upon the underbody of the canoe. It formed a third to a half of the total length of the stern piece, supporting the deck and tapering off into the tail at the rear. The lower surface of the body was deeply hollowed, while the outer sides curved inward gradually meeting in a distinct ridge along the median line of the upper surface. The lower edges were cut to conform accurately to the upper edges of the stern of the underbody, and were pierced with holes for lashings. The rear end of the body terminated in a heavy, downward projecting flange which rested against the stern of the underbody and was identical in form and arrangement with the corresponding flange on the bow piece.

The deck, although hewn in a single piece with the body, had the appearance of simply resting upon it, its sides and rear edge projecting beyond the sides of the body. Its upper

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surface was flat and almost rectangular, curving up into a transverse flange at the rear. At the forward edge of the body there was a narrow vertical flange, extending from its lower edge to the deck, which served to make a close joint between the stern piece and the side planks. The edges of the deck were pierced with two vertical lashing holes which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks. The inner end of the stern piece was sometimes considerably thicker than that of the bow piece, raising the level of the stern deck. When such was the case the height of the transverse flange at the rear end of the deck, really a stern breakwater, was less than that of the bow breakwater. The upper edges of the two breakwaters were always at the same level.

In the two oldest canoe models studied, a long oval projection with an almost circular depression in its upper surface extended from the center of the stern breakwater over the body. The only genuine stern piece seen did not show this feature and it is not found in the more recent canoe models. The purpose of the projection was not learned.

The stern piece narrowed rapidly to form the tail, a long flat projection, like a thick plank with the edge up, which rose from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees. It might be either straight or slightly curved, and was pierced near the outer end and along its length with two or more holes, or slots, which served for the attachment of various ornaments.

The stern piece of one of the large canoes in Hakaui referred to (p. 303), is said to have been eighteen feet long and of the type just described.

In the second form of stern piece (Pl. XLII, *C*) the deck and body parts were of the same form, but the rear end fitted down closely upon the stern of the underbody, without overlapping or projecting beyond it. Informants insisted that all canoes had the high tail piece, but were uncertain how it was attached to this form of stern. Fleurieu (23, pp. 131 to 132) says: "The stern is made of two planks four inches high, placed on edge and rising in the form of an elongated and flattened S." Stewart, an unusually trustworthy observer says: "From the keel on each side a light round timber extended, curving gradually upward like the runners in the front of a sleigh, and terminating in a broad flattened blade, six to eight feet above the water." (59, p. 244.) It seems probable, therefore, that in stern pieces of the sort just described the tail was made in two pieces which were lashed one on either side of the canoe.

Side Planks

The side plank of a Marquesan built up canoe was a flat piece of wood of the same thickness as the rim of the underbody and a foot to a foot and a half in width (Pl. XLII, *G*).

The upper edge was hewn into a narrow gunwale, the inside of which was flush with the surface of the plank, while the outside projected as a narrow flange. The lower half to two-thirds of the plank was cut away at either end in a long curve, so that while the length of the upper edge was equal to the distance between the outer surfaces of the breakwaters when the bow and stern pieces were in position, the length of the lower edge was only slightly greater than the distance between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. At the points of contact of the side planks with the end pieces, the inner surface of the planks was cut away to insure a tight joint, the cutting being deepest at the lower edge and becoming gradually shallower toward the top. As a result of this, the upper part of the side plank was forced out somewhat when it was in position so that the whole plank formed a slight angle with the sides of the underbody.

A series of triangular lashing holes, corresponding to those of the underbody in size and position but with the base down, were pierced through the side planks a short distance above its lower edge. Additional holes for the outrigger lashings were made through the upper edge immediately below the gunwale. There were usually three of these, the two outer holes being placed a short distance within the points of contact of the side plank with the bow and

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stern pieces, while the third was midway between them. Other lashing holes were pierced through the lower edges of the projecting ends of the side plank and served to attach it to the bow and stern pieces, while still others were made under the gunwale at either end to serve for the attachment of bow and stern platforms. Where a supplementary breakwater was used, holes for its attachment were pierced through the forward ends of the side planks near their outer edges. 396 501

The Strips

Four strips were used to cover the seams between the underbody and the side planks, bow and stern pieces.

The strips were of unequal length, the two outside strips extending the full length of the underbody while the inside strips only covered the space between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. The upper edges of the inside strips were cut away for a short distance at either end so as to form a close joint with the lower corners of the bow and stern pieces. The strips were made either of soft wood or bamboo and were an inch to an inch and a half in width. When bamboo was used a stalk was split lengthwise and the divisions at the joints cut out. The wooden strips were rounded on the outside and hollowed longitudinally on the inner surface. On long canoes the strips were made in several sections, but there seems to have been no definite order in the arrangement of these. Although the edges of the strips were cut to fit the sides of the canoe as accurately as possible, their purpose appears to have been to protect the pad used between the underbody and the upper sections rather than to make the seam watertight.

Other Canoe Parts

Other elements were sometimes incorporated into the built up canoes.

A supplementary breakwater was in common use (Pl. XLII, *F*), consisting of a thin plank, in the form of a broad flat crescent with stubby points, which was sometimes attached to the upper edge of the bow breakwater. The lower edge of this plank rested upon the top of the breakwater and was accurately fitted to it, while the sides projected beyond the sides of the bow piece. It was attached by lashings to the center of the breakwater and at the ends of the side planks.

A second feature, of greater ethnological interest, was the use of bulkheads. No information was obtained from the natives in regard to bulkheads, but they are shown in certain canoe models and are mentioned by Porter in his description of the Ua Huka canoes. He says: "Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing." (49, p. 79.) Judging from the models, these planks were cut to fit accurately the interior of the canoe, being notched on either side to accommodate the strip covering the side seam. The tops were flush with gunwales to which, in one model, they were fastened by single lashings near the top on either side.

It is probable that thwarts designed simply to strengthen the canoe were not used, but the war canoes had seats for paddlers. According to informants the seats were flat planks resting upon the top of the inside strips. Large canoes might have as many as ten seats.

ASSEMBLING THE CANOE

In some of the larger valleys the canoes were kept in special houses on the beach, and were probably left assembled at all times. According to informants in other places, canoes were usually taken to pieces as soon as they were beached and the parts carried up into the valley. A highly probable explanation of this

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See [237] section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501
396
[314]

with feathers, beaten in. Langsdorff (38, p. 173) says that the seams were covered with the gum of the breadfruit tree, but this was not mentioned by informants or by any other early visitor. All accounts agree that the craft leaked so badly that one or two men were kept constantly employed bailing.

THE OUTRIGGER

All canoes, when not fastened together in pairs, were provided with outriggers. Quiros (50, p. 28) says that they had "outriggers of cane on either side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys." Porter (49, p. 102) also mentions the use of double outriggers in connection with large canoes differing somewhat from the type now under discussion. Canoes appear, however, to have been normally fitted with a single outrigger on the right side.

This outrigger was of indirect type, consisting of crosspieces, uprights and a float. In the smaller craft two crosspieces only were used, in the larger canoes there were three, the third being in the middle. These crosspieces passed over the canoe, their right ends projecting beyond it, and were lashed firmly to the side planks by cords passed through holes in the upper edges of the side planks.

Each of the uprights consistel of four or six small sticks or splints. When four sticks were used they were placed two on either side of the crosspiece, and the lower ends of each pair rested together, the upper ends being some inches apart so that they formed a V. Each of these V's in turn sloped outward from the crosspieces; their attachments to the float were a foot or more apart. Informants say that this form of upright, although much more difficult to make than the modern one, was superior to it. In landing through a heavy surf the forward end of the float often strikes bottom, and with the modern heavy upright the canoe is turnel end over end. When the old upright was used the thin sticks of which it was composed broke easily, and the canoe would land without capsizing. The lower ends of the uprights were wedged into slots in the upper surface of the float, which consisted of a hibiscus log sharpened at the forward end.

CANOE PLATFORMS

According to old accounts the large war canoes were provided with platforms at bow and stern, while Porter (49, p. 101) mentions an additional central platform on which the chief sat. The use of such platforms is only vaguely remembered by the natives and these platforms are not shown in the newer models. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that the platform was made of small sticks and covered with a mat, and that the stern platform was considerably higher than the one in the bow. In two old models the stern platforms are made as follows:

Two rather large peeled sticks were laid across the canoe, the inner stick being close behind the forward end of the stern piece while the outer was just in front of the breakwater. Two other poles were then laid across the ends of these, lengthwise of the canoe, and the whole lashed to the side planks with bark rope passed through holes in the canoe. The rear ends of the second pair of poles projected slightly beyond the stern breakwater. Two more cross poles were laid on the ends of these, above which two very long poles were placed lengthwise, their tips projecting back almost to the tip of the upward curving tail. The four upper poles were then lashed to the frame formed by the four lower ones. The bow platform was built on the same principle except that the tops of the second set of poles were flush with

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 531 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual 501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with 532 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle." 292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war. 411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed: [824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●411 of ironwood: *matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,* lance: *maaeki,* lance of pandanus wood; *kohaa,* weapon of pandanus wood; *kaaeki,* wooden lance

[531]

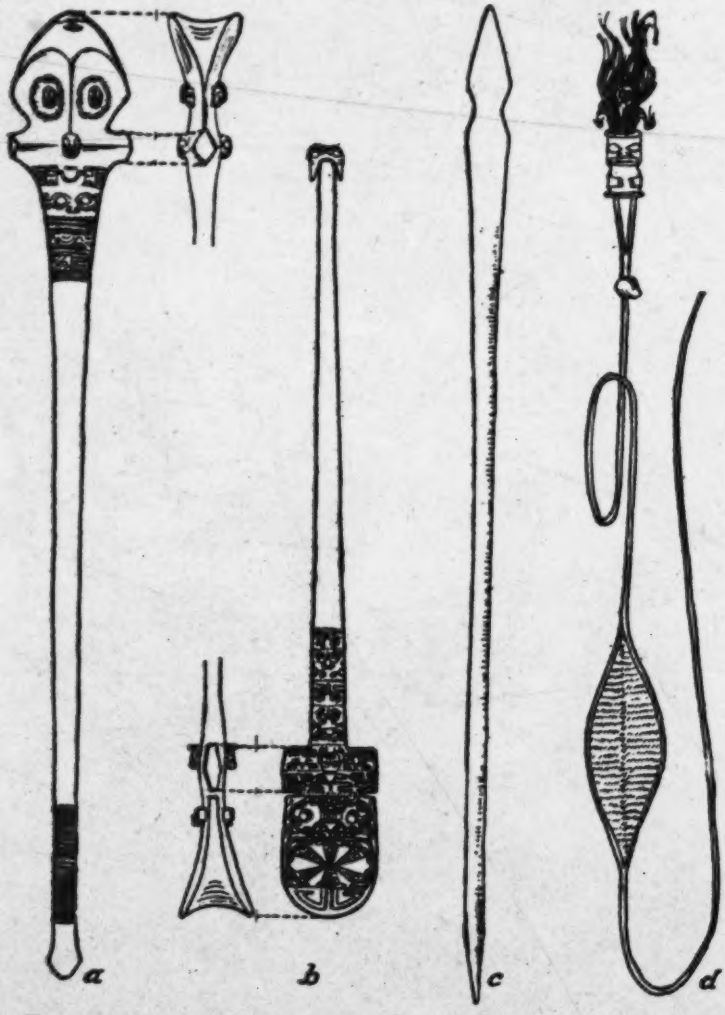

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

of *eki* bush; *epu,* kind of lance. The *miomiota* or *miopatu* was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders. 411

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7). 726 [776]

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association with womankind. [783]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411] length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276] intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - -	19,200

726 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
●411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity. 411

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes. 548 726

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 266 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 674

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no informa-
524 tion was obtained. He says:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was some-
411 times used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems 526
probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No 411
Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise.

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the 411
warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war.

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained [324]
rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe.

● 411 No satisfactory information in regard to the form of the ancient slings was obtained from the natives, but specimens preserved in the Peabody Museums at Cambridge and at Salem, prove that two forms were in use. (See Pl. LXX, *A*.)

The simpler of these, represented by a single specimen, consisted of a broad flat plait of coconut fiber, between five and six feet long, without a pocket. The cord tapered at either end, one extremity being finished with a loop for the fingers and the other with a simple knot. In another form the two cords were slender and there was a pocket of coconut fiber about five inches long with a central width of about two inches tapering toward either end. The end of the sling that was retained in throwing was also made from coconut fiber, while the release cord might be made either of coconut fiber or of twisted fau bark. A short distance from the end of the retained cord a loop two to three inches long was formed by dividing the braid into two strands which were again interwoven beyond it.

In a specimen in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (20, p. 46, No. 2) the end of the retained cord was finished with a small tiki figure of human bone from which hung a hair tassel. As may be seen from the photograph the pockets were often elaborately and beautifully woven. Some specimens of the second type are over five feet in length when ready for action, giving the thrower great range but little accuracy.

A warrior going into battle carried his sling wrapped around his hand and Langsdorff (38, pp. 150-160) says that natives from other valleys, when attending feasts, "commonly have with them a sling for stones, but it is bound around the head so as to have rather the appearance of an ornament than a weapon of defence."

Most early visitors agree that the Marquesan slingers were poor marksmen, but Porter, who fought against them, says (49, p. 87)—"The stones are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy as to render them almost equal to musketry." Evidence of the force of slung stones is offered by a missile of this sort in the valley of Omoa, Fatu Hiva. The stone has been driven into a crack between two rocks so solidly that the repeated efforts of curio hunters have failed to dislodge it.

SPEARS AND LANCES

Several types of spears and lances were employed by the Marquesans, but very few examples have been preserved. There are no authentic specimens in the museums of the Atlantic Coast. The only spear remaining in the group, as far as known, is a short javelin preserved as an heirloom in the family of the chief of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa. This spear is approximately five feet long with an average shaft diameter of three-quarters of an inch. The lower end tapers to a blunt point, while the upper end is flattened and expanded laterally to form a sharp edged blade whose form may be seen from the accompanying illustration drawn by Mrs. E. S. Handy (fig. 10). An entirely different type of throwing spear is mentioned by Porter (49, pp. 86-87) who says: "The other kind [of spears] are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract." 411

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long. Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant, [824]

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.) [227]

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this 411 531

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 type are elaborately carved according to a set convention, the decoration of the numerous
531 specimens examined varying only in minor details (Pl. LXIX, *A*).

Each side of the club is treated as a separate unit, but the arrangement and position of the various decorative elements on the two sides, and to a lesser degree the designs employed, correspond. The carvings upon a single side are arranged as follows:

At the lower end of the expanded portion, next the handle, there is a broad transverse band composed of decorative designs. Above this is placed a tiki face, minus the mouth, whose ears rest against either edge of the club. Above this face in turn, filling the space between it and the bottom of the knobs, is a narrow band of carving broken in the center. The inner ends of the sections are connected by narrow curved bands, or the space between them is filled with one or two small detached designs. Above this band, on the line of the lateral knobs, a small tiki face in high relief is carved centrally. The section above the lateral knobs is divided into two equal parts by a low longitudinal keel and upon each of the halves thus formed is carved a large circle or oval having in the center a head in high relief from which lines run radially to its circumference. Above these circles, on the extreme end of the club, a flat tiki face is carved centrally. The curve of the thick outer end of the club extends upon either side to within about two inches of the lateral knobs and in a few specimens small faces, directed laterally, are carved at its lower extremities.

Practically all old *uu* have a glossy black finish given by burying the finished implement for some time in the mud of a taro patch and then rubbing and polishing with scented coconut oil (*pani*).

The *uu* have always been much sought after by collectors and this demand
411 has resulted in their continued manufacture although the best modern examples are only caricatures of the ancient specimens. The carefully worked out contours of the old clubs have given place to flat surfaces and angles, and the simple and rigidly conventionalized decoration to elaborate and meaningless carvings. The finish of the modern specimens is usually rough, and the wood is always left the natural color, making them easily distinguishable. (Pl. LXIX, *B*.)

The second type of Marquesan club, called *parahua* (Dordillon, 17) is also well represented in collections. It has a handle identical with that of the *uu* but the elaborately worked out head is replaced by a sharp edged blade closely similar in form to that of a modern American canoe paddle (Pl. LXIX, *E*). Weapons of this type appear never to have been carved or blackened, and are as a whole longer than the *uu*. Some of these paddle clubs are remarkable for their size and weight, one specimen in the Bishop Museum being 7 feet, 9¼ inches long with a blade length of 2 feet, 10½ inches and a maximum blade width of 7 inches.

In many *uu* and *parahu* there is a small hole pierced through the expanded lower end of the handle, probably for the attachment of a wrist loop, and in some specimens the grip is wrapped for a distance of 5 to 8 inches with fine plaited

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord. to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals. 411

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouvai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouvai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one. 411 293

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompon of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown. 411

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says: 727

727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and passes under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 171 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

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The Hawaiian and Micronesian slings are much cruder in construction than the Marquesan slings, and have little in common with them. The Marquesan and Society slings, on the other hand, are practically identical, corresponding not only in form, but even in such minor details as the occasional use of fau bark for the release cord. It is rather curious that such close correspondence should be coupled with the use of prepared stones in the Marquesas and their absence in the Society Islands. 411 171

The information on Marquesan spears is too incomplete to justify extensive comparison, but it is suggestive that the practise of cutting or piercing the shafts of javelines so that the head would break off in the wound appears to have been limited to the Marquesas and New Zealand. The thrusting spear with long easily broken barbs appears to have no Polynesian parallel, but is rather suggestive of certain north Australian forms.

A comparison of Polynesian club forms is especially interesting. The Hawaiians seem to have made only secondary use of the club, and the Hawaiian examples for the most part are short bludgeon-like weapons of rather inferior workmanship. There are some indications that a longer bat-like type was also in use, but it seems to have been numerically unimportant. The Marquesans seem to have entirely lacked short clubs, both their types, the *uu* and paddle club, being heavy and of unwieldy length. The natives of the Society Islands used clubs of two types, one a short bludgeon, the other a long club with a sharp edged lozenge shaped head. Examples of the long club examined strongly resemble the spears of the Cook Islands which in turn, appear to be copies of metal prototypes. The Maoris used several types of club which seem to fall into two classes, long staves and short, sharp edged weapons, such as the mere. The Maori weapons are well known. In Samoa and Tonga we find a great variety of clubs, most of which are of types also found in Fiji. These weapons have been fully described by Churchill (69). As a whole they show little resemblance to the forms found in marginal Polynesia. Even the nuclear Polynesian paddle clubs bear much less resemblance to those of the Marquesas than the Marquesan ones show to some Melanesian weapons, notably those from the Solomon Islands.

No clubs at all resembling the Marquesan *uu* appear in other parts of Oceania, and it seems certain that it is a local development. If we ignore its decoration we find that the *uu* differs from the paddle club only in the thickening of the end and the lateral knobs. The handles of the two types are identical, and in both the head has a rounded outline, flat oval cross section, and sharp edges. It is evident that the *uu* as a whole represents a highly conventionalized face to which the knobs bear the relation of ears. As projecting ears are a common fea- 411 171 532

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 ture of Marquesan figures it is quite possible that the knobs might be added to
171 a paddle form on which a face had been carved with the idea of rendering the
human likeness more complete. The thickening of the end is more difficult to
532 account for, but this also may have arisen from the native artistic convention which calls for wide curves over the eyes. It is but a slight step from the paddle club to the *uu*. Evidence of the priority of the paddle club is offered by the use of small replicas as chiefs' insignia.

411 The distribution of narrow-bladed staves is especially interesting. In Polynesia their use appears to have been limited to two localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand, with a related form in Easter Island. The Marquesan staves are as a rule longer than those from New Zealand, but the blade form is practically identical, the differences between the two types lying in the treatment of the upper end, or head, which in New Zealand was usually carved into a head with a projecting, pointed tongue, and in the Marquesas was finished with a pompom of human hair. In both, the shaft immediately below the head was covered with a woven sleeve. The Easter Island implements are clearly related to these staves, but differ from them in having a broader blade, no sleeve, and an upper end carved into two heads placed back to back. The Marquesan staves grade into the paddle clubs, although they always retain the characteristic decoration of the head. As paddle clubs appear to be lacking in both New Zealand and Easter Island it seems improbable that the stave was developed from this weapon. Certain Melanesian digging sticks now in the Field Museum are identical in blade form with the Maori and Marquesan staves, and there are even a few examples in which the upper ends are carved and decorated. A. B. Lewis of the Field Museum says that he has frequently seen digging sticks employed as staves by the older men in Melanesia, and it would appear not improbable that the staves of the Maori and Marquesans have been derived from some such tool. The fact that the Maori stave was an important weapon does not militate against this assumption, as even among the Maori digging sticks were sometimes used as weapons while many of the Melanesian examples are known to have been used interchangeably as tools and clubs. The Fijian chiefs' staves lack the flattened blade, just as do many of the Fijian digging sticks.

It is rather curious that large weapons edged with sharks' teeth appear to have been entirely lacking in the Marquesas, although at least two forms were in use in the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 297, p. 413).

Weapons resembling the Marquesan double pointed spike (*ake henua*), were rather common in Hawaii, while a related form was important in the Society Islands. Their use in Samoa and Tonga seems doubtful, although the data from those islands is still too incomplete to allow of a definite statement.

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Containers

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Boxes	Oval, often bird form, tight cover	Oval, tight cover	Round, tight cover	Present, form unknown	Round, tight cover	No data
Bowls with legs	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Oval form common	Common	Common

Weapons

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Clubs	Paddle club and ua, no bludgeon or throwing club	Characteristic local forms	Short bludgeons, stone headed club (rare); throwing club	Bludgeon, modified paddle club, sickle club, no throwing club	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important
Short tooth weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Many pronged weapon and sickle	Not used	Not used
Bow	Toy and for fishing	Used traditionally as weapon	Toy and for rat hunting	Used in chief's game	Toy and fishing	Important weapon
Sling	Important	Occasionally used as weapon, also toy	Important	Important	Common	Little used
Sling stone	Double conical	Not shaped	Double conical	Not shaped	No data	No data
Throwing cord	In games only	Stick with cord	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Spear with head cut to break off in wound	Present	Several types	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Chiefs' spears	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top decorated with hair	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top carved	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Armor	Not used	Several thicknesses of mats	Thick mats and wicker helmets	Breast plates of heavy fiber, helmets	One-piece suit like Gilbert Islands, very rare	Not used

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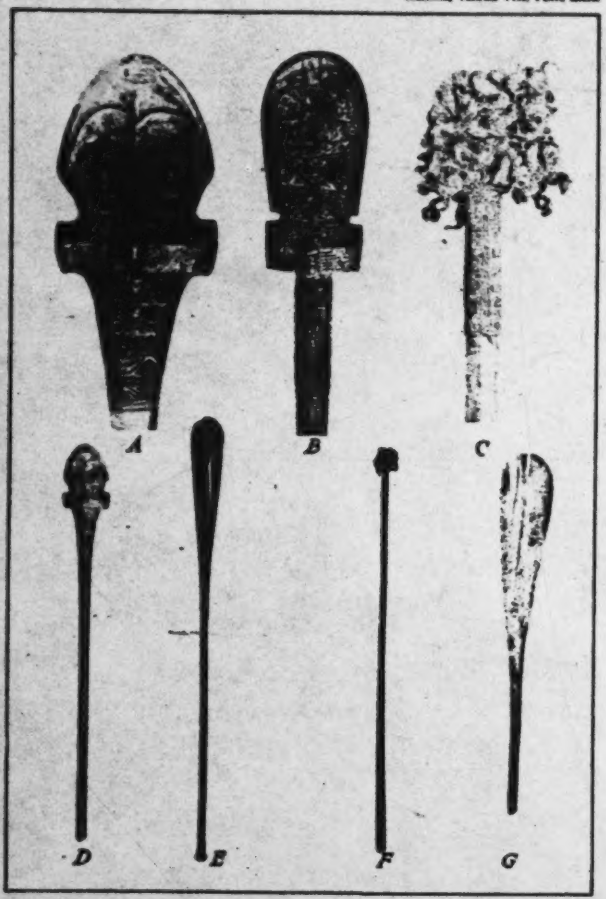

CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF OLD UU; *B*, HEAD OF MODERN UU; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, UU, FRONT VIEW; *E*, PAHAHU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (KUUVAI).

[end plate 30]

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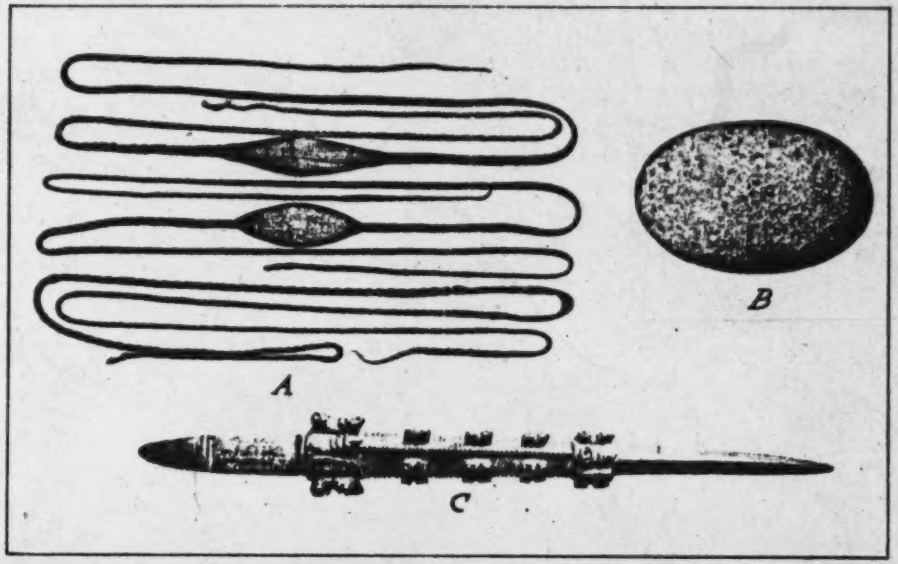

SLINGS AND HARPOON: *A*, SLING, OUTSIDE AND INSIDE VIEWS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, SLING STONE; *C*, HEAD OF HARPOON (UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM).

[end plate 31]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

represented by two sets of curved toothed grooves set end to end. The 531X whole lower half of the figure is plain and was probably intended to represent the mouth.

The noses on the tiki faces are of the conventional tiki type, but some of them are much longer than others. One war club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) shows the nostrils detached from the rest of the features although in proper position. This same club shows a nose on the second tiki face which consists of concentric semi-ovals closed at the bottom, a form more characteristic of a *mata*. The ears are present in some of the tikis and absent in others. When present they are invariably represented by double curvilinear spirals.

The lower of the three divisions, which united represent the mouth of the large tiki, is filled with a lot of small detail carving consisting of short vertical and longer horizontal parallel lines, simple angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*), zigzags, interlocking triangles with rounded apexes filled with curves roughly parallel to the sides of the triangles and having innumerable transverse lines, plam leaf motifs, concentric circles with and without a groove in the center, concentric ovals and half ovals pierced by a straight groove, quarter sections of concentric ovals, concentric squares pierced on one side, single and double broad hooks, and angular and curvilinear spirals. In several clubs a more or less symmetrical effect is achieved in this band by the presence of two long, narrow grooves in horizontal position and centrally located, each ending in a pierced oval at the outer edge of the club and frequently having a larger pierced oval directly above and below the long grooves, the remaining space being variously filled.

Designs on Modern War Clubs

The war clubs made in recent times for trade and for the tourists are [439 inferior to the older specimens in quality of carving and in simplicity and 411] effectiveness of decoration. Even the shape of the clubs has degenerated. Every square inch of available space on the sides of the heads of the modern war clubs is carved, and the tiki, which is the central concept in the decoration of the ancient clubs, is poorly delineated. A greatly elongated forehead has become the center of decoration and the eyes have been shoved down and brought closer together. In place of small tiki heads carved in the half round, the modern clubs show oblong-shaped projecting knobs with tiki faces carved in low relief on the front surface, or round, undecorated knobs. A similar knob represents the nose, and the ears—undecorated in the older specimens—are elaborately carved in angular geometric designs. As representation of a mouth, the wide carved

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's
[558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous cere-
monial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous
[411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone, although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and
412 shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the coconut shell also.

Over the seams between the sideboards and the hull, both inside and outside, were strips made of wood or bamboo (*teka, vaho, teka oto, ta'i, ʻpatua*). Caulking of the seams at this place and at the point of attachment of bow and stern-piece was done usually with coconut cord fiber (*kaha*), or with feathers (*hu'u manu*). Langsdorff (18, p. 173) describes caulking with moss over which was rubbed resin from the breadfruit tree. Bulk-

[412]
[284]

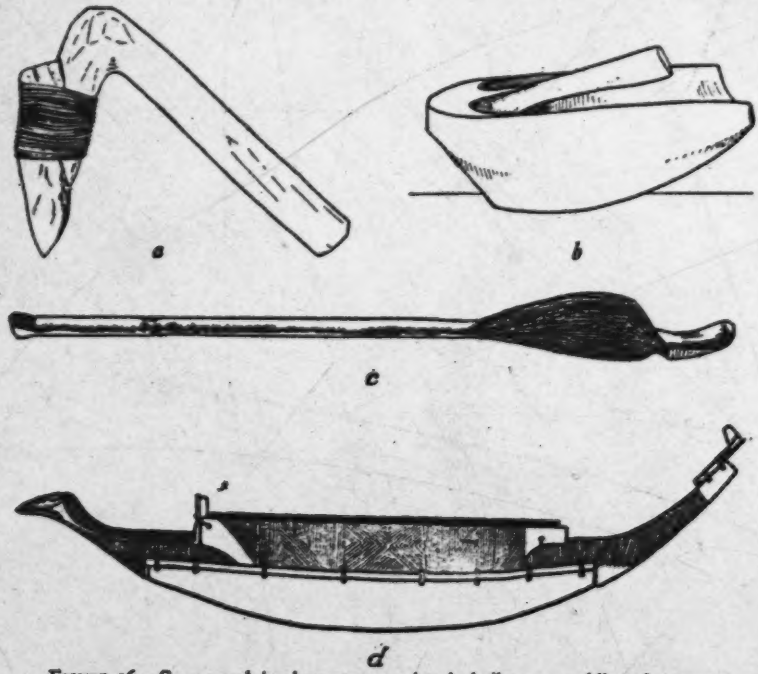

FIGURE 16.—Canoe and implements: *a*, adz; *b*, bailer; *c*, paddle; *d*, canoe.

heads in the body of the canoe are described by Porter. Seats (*papa tau*) for paddlers rested on an inner strip (*teka oto*) which covered the inboard seam between the sideboard and the hull. These strips were bound and held in place by sennit. The two rods (*kiato, hoa*) supporting the outrigger were usually fau poles; Marchand (22, p. 131) describes rods of bamboo. The supporting rods passed across the top of the canoe, being lashed to the top of each gunwale, or sideboard, by means of sennit that passed around the rod and through holes in the board. These lashings were ornamental

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34),
[824] the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kiva*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

[412]

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [366] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is dscribed as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

251 When the fruit is sufficiently tender,
252 the women peel it with the *pu kava*, a shell in which two sharp-edged
[412] holes have been filed, and lay it on a bed of fau leaves with a cover of leaves, to ripen further.

The next day, the flesh is so tender that it may be squeezed off the core with the hand. The cores are thrown away, the flesh is put into a temporary, shallow hole, lined with plaited coconut leaves and with banana leaves, or into a *hoa no te ma*, an above-ground basket of plaited coconut leaves attached to a circle of fau pegs driven into the earth (See Pl. v, *A*). Linton describes one of these in detail:

> These containers are made as follows: A number of small saplings are driven into the ground forming a circle four to six feet across. Inside these, mats woven from coconut fronds are placed in pairs so that the walls will be everywhere two or more mats thick. The midribs at the upper edges of the mats are attached to the saplings with strips of *fau* bark. Three tiers of mats are placed one above the other, giving the walls a height of about two feet. The bottom of the container is not covered Inside these mats, a thick layer of banana leaves is placed vertically, covering the floor and sides. The mat walls are called *puru*, the leaf lining *au meika ameika*.
>
> After the container has been filled with pieces of breadfruit, the ends of the leaves forming the inner lining are bent back so as to cover the top, and are weighted with large stones.

When the *mei* has been drained of some of its water in this temporary hole, and fermentation has started, it is transferred to the permanent silo, or *ma* pit.

For daily use, each family has its own *ma* hole. Pits were dug near the house with iron-wood sticks (*ko fenua*). Mr. Handy has seen one family *ma* pit, which was lined with stones; Krusenstern describes them as being paved with stones (16, p. 161); Dordillon gives the word *pakeko* or *pakeho*, to define a hole lined with masonry, in which to put fermented breadfruit; but the usual container seems to have had only earthen walls. High on the mountains, in ancient times, great tribal *ma* pits were dug for storage against famine. These tribal pits are no longer used, as a rule, though Mr. Handy has seen one at Hapa Toni, Tahu, Ata, containing *ma* a hundred years old, which is occasionally eaten at the present time. (See also 15, p. 47.)

Krusenstern also describes a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona valley on the way to Pua Ma'u, which is 15 feet deep on a side, and is at present 25 feet deep. It was formerly 15 feet deeper. The sides are of volcanic clay, with even, ornamental courses made with tools, running around in parallel rows, called *pouao*. The Ati-ku'a had five of these built on hill tops.

Linton says of these tribal pits:

> They are sometimes in or near the feast place, but are more often in the hills where they would be safe in case of attack. Some of them are of great size, the

[i.e., breadfruit.—Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation —boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio,* which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tia*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi.* Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi.* Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi.* The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'aku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

Bananas.—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Some- [251] times they are preserved by drying. Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

tudinal poles, usually single bamboos, which ran the full length of the inside of the roof. The two outermost poles were placed eight inches to a foot above the stringer and below the ridgepole; the third pole was placed midway between them. They were attached to all the rafters by lashings of sennit or bark string. Both the front and rear roofs projected six inches to a foot beyond the end walls. 342

One house in Hiva Oa (Pl. XL. *C*) had a narrow porch supported by an additional row of posts, topped by a stringer. These posts were planted in the *paepae* about two feet in front of the house wall. The rafters of this porch were inclined at a lower angle than those of the roof. This feature was not observed elsewhere and was probably due to European influence.

The rear roof extended from the ridgepole to the ground. It was usually supported by eight main rafters, but these were not hewn so far as observed. They were simply peeled hibiscus poles of slightly larger diameter than those used for the remainder of the roof. In some houses all the rafters of the rear roof were identical in size and material. Between the main rafters were smaller poles placed two or three inches apart; at the peak they crossed the similar poles of the front roof forming a crotch. These smaller poles were secured in position on the rear roof by three cross poles of bamboo, the highest being opposite the top crosspiece of the front roof, the lowest about eighteen inches above the floor, and the third midway between them. All the rafters were lashed to these cross poles.

All the early descriptions of Marquesan houses mention the rear roof as perpendicular or descending at a very steep angle, and the old pictures show this feature, also a front roof inclined at less than forty-five degrees. Actual measurements prove that the old authors have exaggerated both these features. The pitch of the rear roofs ranges from eighty degrees in some of the houses of Nuku Hiva to as low as sixty-five degrees in an old dwelling on Hiva Oa. The pitch of the front roof seems to have been rarely, if ever, less than fifty degrees, with about sixty-five degrees as normal. In one old house in the valley of Hana Hehe, Hiva Oa, the pitch of the front and rear roofs is about sixty-five degrees for each.

The roofs of all Marquesan houses were thatched, and a variety of material was employed. In recent buildings coconut mats appear to be the most common, but two or even three sorts of thatch were not infrequently used on the same structure. The thatching mats, which were eight to twelve feet long and one foot to eighteen inches wide, were made by splitting a coconut frond down the midrib and interweaving the leaflets of either half to form a long narrow mat of checkerwork pattern. Mats of this sort are still in common use in most parts of Polynesia. The mats were placed on the roof either singly or in pairs, with the midrib edge up and were tied to every third or fourth rafter with loops or sennit or sewed on with bark string. A large wooden needle was used for sewing. The [324] [412]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STONE ARTIFACTS

412 The original settlers of the Marquesas must have been in possession of ef-
324 fective wood working tools, as they would otherwise have been unable to make
[325] the large seagoing craft necessary for so long a voyage. There is nothing to in-
dicate that they were familiar with metals, and these tools must therefore have been
[321] of stone or shell. In Oceania the use of shell adzes is practically limited to localities
in which stone is rare or absent and it seems probable that the first arrivals in the
Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of stone working and of at least the
simpler implement forms. The islands of the group, with a single unimportant
[135] exception, are volcanic, having a great variety of lavas, basalts and tuffas, but
they contain no workable deposits of sedimentary or metamorphic rocks. The pre-
sence of obsidian is questionable. The primitive implement maker thus had an
abundance of material at hand which could be worked by the processes of pecking,
grinding and chipping but no minerals which could be pressure flaked. Deposits
of workable stone occur in practically all the large valleys, and although there
was a distinct tendency toward local specialization and trade, implements of all
the known types appear to have been at least occasionally manufactured in each
locality. The stone working industry was thus in the hands of many persons,
with a corresponding increase in the chances of individual variation. There are
a few indications of the existence of local implement types, but the differences
are unimportant.

HAMMERSTONES

The hammerstone is the foundation of any stone industry. Marquesan hammerstones were simply hard, water worn pebbles of convenient size and form which were obtained from stream beds or bowlder beaches. They were not shaped and appear never to have been hafted, and can be distinguished from other pebbles only by the battering of the ends. (See Pl. XLVIII, *F.*)

ADZES AND CHISELS

Under this head it has been thought best to describe all stone implements other than gouges, which have a cutting edge transverse to their long axis. No axes have been reported from the Marquesas. Many implements may, from their form, be at once identified as true adzes, but there is a large class of tangless blades whose use can not be established by the form and it seems best to describe them as a group rather than to risk the error of an arbitrary division into adzes and chisels.

Adzes and chisels appear to be uniformly made of phonolite. The material varies more or less, especially in the larger specimens, and it is evident that it was obtained from several sources. No adz quarries were visited, and from the ac-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

counts of informants it appears probable that the stone was obtained from rock slides and bowlders in the river beds. According to information obtained by Handy in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, a boy's first adz was made from a fragment of a special black stone which was kept for that purpose in the *me'ae*. Informants were ignorant of the original source of these stones, and of how they were replaced when used up. No objects which might answer this description were seen in any of the *me'ae* visited. 412 324

The only large adz workshops visited were on the island of Ei Ao. During the late prehistoric period this island was a tributary of one of the tribes of Nuku Hiva, and the adzes made there were brought to Nuku Hiva and from there distributed in trade to all the other islands of the group. The area of these workshops, and the quantity of chips and rejects, would indicate a highly developed, long continued industry. No regular quarries were known to natives familiar with the island, but a few bowlders of phonolite suitable for adz making were seen. Small workshops are scattered all over the island, but curiously enough the center of the industry appears to have been on the top of a high ridge running along the southern side of the island, at a considerable distance from any source of material. Two striking features of the workshops of Ei Ao are the preponderance among the rejects of small thin forms, and the lack of ground specimens and grinding stones. This would seem to indicate that the trade called for chisels and carving tools rather than for large adzes and that the blades were exported unground.

The only tools employed in adz manufacture were hammerstones and grinding stones. The grinding stones consisted of smooth surfaced natural rocks of varying grain upon which the adzes were rubbed. Large natural bowlders whose surfaces have been worn into pits and grooves by adz grinding are still visible in the neighborhood of many settlements. The grinding of the gouges must have been done with some sort of small whetstone, but no examples were seen. Chants collected by Handy (personal correspondence) mention the use of sand in either the grinding or finishing of adzes, and it seems probable that the sand was placed in the grooves and hollows already worn in the large grinding rocks to hasten the abrasion.

The processes employed in adz manufacture were chipping and grinding, with a limited use of pecking. This last appears to have been used only in connection with a single specialized adz type, the *toki aa*. It is evident from rejects that the adz makers were especially skillful in chipping, bringing the implement to approximately its final form by this method. The chipping upon the bits of adzes is especially fine, the work approaching in excellence that done elsewhere by the pressure flaking process. The cutting edge of the adz was always ground

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 324 but the finish on other parts of the implement was extremely variable, used specimens showing all conditions from simple chipping to complete grinding and high polish. According to one of the chants already mentioned the finished adz was honed on the thigh to produce a final polish. The making of a boy's first adz was accompanied by various religious observances which have been described by Handy (32).

The collections of the Bishop Museum contain nearly fifty Marquesan adzes and chisels, and an approximately equal number have been studied elsewhere. From this series it is evident that in the Marquesas these artifacts show a higher degree of variation than in any other part of Polynesia with the possible exception of New Zealand. As a whole they fall at once into two main groups, distinguished by the presence or absence of a tang, while the tanged adzes may be further divided into simple adzes, *toki aa* and *toki kouma*.

SIMPLE TANGED ADZES

The blades of the simple tanged adz are distinguished by a broad straight bit, a cross section varying from rectangular to triangular and sides which slope inward toward the poll. In the quadrangular examples the inner surface may be either flat or slightly concave. The tang is formed by chipping away a portion of the upper end of the outer surface. It can not be distinguished on the inner surface. In some of the triangular specimens the sides of the tang are also chipped away, giving the blade a slight shoulder, but this is not a common feature. As a rule these blades are ground only on the bit and outer surface, exclusive of the tang. In all the quadrangular examples the width of the inner surface is equal to or less than that of the outer surface, never greater. Many of the rectangular specimens of this type agree so closely in form and finish with the normal adzes of the Hawaiian group that in a mixed collection it would be impossible to distinguish them. (See Pl. XLV, *D*.) The triangular adzes of this type, on the other hand, are practically identical with those normal for the Society Islands. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.) The bulk of the specimens fall between these two extremes.

TOKI AA

Blades of the *toki aa* type are recognized as a separate class by the natives themselves. They are characterized by a distinct tang, a heavy blade of rectangular cross section, and a more or less complete grinding of all the surfaces. Practically all the specimens of this class are large. The most striking features of the type are the great thickness of the blade portion, which in many adzes exceeds the width of the cutting edge, and the high angle formed by the two faces of the bit, usually fifty degrees or more. The *toki aa* appear to have been the only adzes in whose manufacture the pecking process was employed. In one of the Bishop

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Museum specimens, No. B3070, the tang has evidently been shaped by this method, while an unfinished specimen, No. B3074, is pecked at the bit. *Toki ao* are said by the natives to have been used for the final dressing of planks. (See Pl. XLV, *E, F.*) 412 324

TOKI KOUMA

The *toki kouma* are also recognized by the natives as a distinct class. They are characterized by a long narrow blade of triangular cross section, a well marked tang whose outer surface is often concave, and a narrow bit. In many examples the whole implement has a slight backward curve, the inner surface, which forms the base of the triangle, is more or less concave. The bit is formed by grinding away the base and a varying proportion of the apex of the triangular blade, and by partially grinding the sides adjacent to it. When seen from the front, the bit has the appearance of a shallow angular U with divergent sides, and the implement makes a cut resembling that of a gouge rather than an adz. In a few specimens the inner side of the bit is more or less hollowed, as in European gouges. (See Pl. XLV, *G, H.*)

Adzes of the *toki kouma* type are relatively common in the Marquesas, forming about 30 percent of all the specimens observed. They are of all sizes and were employed for a variety of purposes from the hollowing of canoes and containers to cutting ornamental designs on canoes and house posts. One specimen, said to have been used for fine carving, is 7 inches long, with a width of about ¼ of an inch at the bit. It seems certain that heavy, narrow-bitted *toki kouma* were also used in quarrying and dressing the large stone slabs employed in many Marquesan structures.

TANGLESS ADZES

The tangless adzes include a great variety of blades. The larger ones are probably true adzes while the smaller may have been either adzes or chisels. In cross section they range from nearly rectangular to triangular and in finish from a high polish on all surfaces to a simple grinding of the bit. In all examples seen the sides converge more or less toward the poll, which in some specimens is rounded or almost pointed. The bevel of the edge is in every case ground from the narrow side of the implement, which rests against the haft. In the larger specimens, the whole implement frequently has a well marked backward curve. (See Pl. XLVI, *A.*)

Adzes of this type are more numerous in the Marquesas than those of any other class. They are variable in size, outline, and cross section and appear to grade imperceptibly into the simple tanged adzes. The tangs of some specimens are so slight that it is difficult to determine in which class they should be placed.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

UNCLASSIFIED ADZES

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There are a few Marquesan adzes which defy classification and deserve individual descriptions.

A large adz 8⅜ inches long with a maximum thickness of 1½ inches is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 1. The poll is 2½ inches wide and has across its center a well marked ridge. The bit has the remarkable width of 7¼ inches. The blade is rectangular in cross section and has been smoothly ground on all surfaces. The bevel is ground at a long angle, making a thin blade unsuitable for heavy work and it is hard to see for what purpose an implement of this sort could have been employed. The specimen is heavily patinated, indicating a considerable age.

The adz illustrated in Plate XLVI, *B*, 4 has a thin, flat, completely polished blade of beautiful workmanship. It is 3 inches long, with a thickness of less than ⅜ of an inch and a width of about one inch at the top and 1⅜ inches at the bit. The edge is ground with a flat well-marked bevel, and the angles formed by the juncture of the sides with the inner surface have been rounded off.

A large adz of remarkably fine workmanship is shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2. In general outline and form of tang it conforms to the *toki kouma* type, but the sides below the tang diverge rather rapidly, forming a broad bit instead of the narrow one normal in implements of that type. The lower side of the bit is considerably hollowed, giving to the cutting edge a well marked curve. The dimensions are: length, 11½ inches; length of tang, 4 inches; maximum thickness of blade, 2¾ inches; width at upper end, 2 inches; width at bit, 3¼ inches. This specimen was purchased in the island of Ua Huka and is said to be of local material and workmanship.

The still more curious adz shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 3, is the largest Marquesan adz known to the author, being 14½ inches long and weighing slightly over 6 pounds. The upper end is formed into a well marked tang 4½ inches long. Below this tang the shaft is triangular in cross section and of uniform size to within 4¾ inches of the bit. From this point the inner surface slopes forward at an angle of 40 degrees, while the sides broaden out and the outer edge slopes slightly backward. As a result of this the inner ground surface of the bit is oblong, the outer triangular. The whole surface is heavily patinated indicating an age greater than that of most of the specimens in the collection.

On Plate XLVI, 5 is shown a small and crudely made blade 3¼ inches long, one inch wide and one inch thick. The shaft is triangular, but with the base of the triangle forming one side of the implement so that its plane is across that of the cutting edge. The bit appears to be ground equally from both sides, as in an axe, and the cutting edge forms a distinct angle with the axis of the implement, as in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a turner's chisel. The shaft, either from accident or intention, is curved to fit the hand accurately, and the whole surface shows a slight but even polish of the sort acquired through wear, so that it is probable that the implement was never hafted. 412 324

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN ADZES WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

A thorough comparative study of Oceanic adzes would, the author believes, yield results of great ethnological value. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, but it seems well to point out the features which distinguish Polynesian adzes as a class from those used in Melanesia, and to indicate the distribution of the various Polynesian types. No satisfactory information is available for some parts of Polynesia, but the conditions appear to be as follows: 412 171

Melanesian adzes as a class are oval or eliptical in cross section, with smoothly rounded contours, and nearly all of them are completely ground and polished. The use of a distinct tang is unknown. Polynesian adzes, on the other hand, are triangular to rectangular in crosssection with surfaces composed of a few large planes meeting at sharp angles. New Zealand appears to have been the only locality in which the grinding and polishing of all surfaces was normal. Fully ground specimens are fairly common from Tonga, the Society, Austral and Cook groups, and from Easter and Chatham Islands, but are less numerous in collections than those which are at least partially rough. In Hawaii and Samoa fully ground adzes are almost unknown, while in the Marquesas complete grinding is practically limited to the *toki aa* type. In Tonga there appear to be two quite distinct types, one of which is clearly Melanesian while the other is an angular tangless blade of Polynesian character. Adzes of Melanesian contour and finish are present in collections from New Zealand, Easter Island, Chatham Island and rarely from the Society Islands. It thus appears that, broadly speaking, adzes of Melanesian type are present in all those localities in which there is a marked tendency toward complete grinding of recognizably Polynesian forms, while they are lacking in regions where complete grinding is rare or absent. It seems probable, therefore, that this feature is everywhere referable to a Melanesian influence, either direct or transmitted, and that the original Polynesian implement was ground, at most, upon the bit and outer face.

The angular Polynesian adzes may be divided into two main classes, tanged and tangless, each of which contains a number of subtypes. Tanged adzes are present in all the marginal Polynesian areas and extend as far west as the Cook Islands but they are rare in Samoa and absent in Tonga. They are divided into well marked local types: the Hawaiian type, the Southwestern type and the New Zealand type.

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The Hawaiian type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, relatively thick blade, and grinding upon the bit, or the bit and outer surface only. Fully 90 per cent of the Hawaiian specimens have this form, but its only occurrence outside that group appears to be in the Marquesas, where it is one of the rarer forms (Pl. XLV, *D*).

The southeastern type is characterized by a triangular or subtriangular cross section, a relatively thin blade with a long bevel, and a more or less distinct shoulder where the blade meets the tang. It is often completely ground, and is normally better finished than the Hawaiian type. This is the dominant form in the Society, Austral and Cook islands, and in Easter Island, and is not uncommon in the Marquesas, although the specimens from that locality are inferior in finish to those from further south. Several examples of this type are known from New Zealand but it is lacking in the Chatham Islands and in Hawaii. (See Pl. XLV, *A-C*.)

The New Zealand type is characterized by a rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section, approaching in this respect the Hawaiian type. It is distinguished from the Hawaiian type by its thinner blade, rounded tang, and by a more or less complete grinding of all surfaces. It does not seem to occur in any other part of Polynesia although certain large adzes from the Chatham Islands may be a variant of this type.

The *toki aa* appears to be about equally common in the Society Islands and the Marquesas with related forms in the Cook and Austral islands and possibly in Easter Island. It is lacking in New Zealand and Hawaii. It is impossible to fix its point of origin, but the complete grinding characteristic of the type is at variance with the ordinary Marquesan practice and it seems probable that it was introduced into that group from the south.

The *toki kouma*, with slight modifications, is found throughout the same range as the *toki aa*. A very few examples come from New Zealand. It is entirely lacking in Hawaii although a few chisels from that locality have a slightly similar blade and bit form. Some examples from southeastern Polynesia and New Zealand are completely ground. The type is numerically important only in the Marquesas, and this, coupled with the fact that all Marquesan *toki kouma* show the rough finish characteristic of the group, may indicate that it was developed there. The occurrence of adzes like that shown in Plate XLVI, *B*, 2, in which a blade and tang of *toki kouma* type are coupled with a broad bit, lend support to this theory.

The *toki kouma* is sharply set off from all other Polynesian adz types by the fact that it was hafted with the base of the cross section triangle against the handle, a reversal of the ordinary practice. Among true adzes the nearest

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oceanic approach to the *toki kouma* form of blade and bit seems to be found in certain shell specimens from Micronesia. 4/2

Tangless adzes have been reported from every part of Polynesia for which there is satisfactory information. In New Zealand a well marked local type had been developed, with a thin blade of rectangular or nearly rectangular cross section ground on all surfaces. In Tonga also there appears to have been a distinct local type, characterized by a short, broad blade, relatively thin, and completely ground. The bulk of the Tongan specimens, and of the tangless adzes from all other parts of Polynesia, show such uniformity that one is forced to conclude that all were made after an established pattern. This universal type is characterized by quadrangular to subtriangular cross section, sides which converge toward the poll, and grinding upon the bit and outer face only. (See Pl. XLVII, *A*.) 171

The dominance of the two main adz types—that is, tanged and tangless—shows the same distinction between Samoa and Tonga on the one hand and marginal Polynesia on the other, which we have already noted in our study of houses and canoes. The tanged adz is dominant everywhere in marginal Polynesia, and lacking in the Samoa and Tonga. The tangless adzes throughout marginal Polynesia may be explained as a result of western Polynesian influence, but their comparative rarity in the Society Islands where western Polynesian influence is strong, and their frequency in the Marquesas, where such influence appears slight, is an argument against this. The wide distribution of tangless adzes, their relative simplicity and ease of manufacture, and their remarkable uniformity wherever found, suggest that they represent a primitive type originally known to all the Polynesians. Specimens collected in the Marquesas link the tangless adzes with both the rectangular and triangular tanged forms and both probably have been developed from the tangless adz.

The Polynesian distribution of the Marquesan adz types would seem to indicate more or less contact with the Society Islands and Southeastern Polynesia in general, while the remarkable similarity of some of the specimens to normal Hawaiian forms suggests an influence from that group also. The importance of the tangless adz may indicate a western Polynesian influence, but is more easily explained as a primitive survival.

METHODS OF HAFTING

Different methods were employed in the hafting of chisels and adzes. No really ancient specimens of either type were seen but the hafted adzes studied agree with the descriptions of informants and are almost identical with the iron bladed adzes still in ordinary use throughout the group, so they are probably good reproductions of the ancient form. The data in regard to the hafting of 4/2

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 284 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of [824] three plait coconut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental [531] lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

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of the haft, brought out, and pulled taut. In the third specimen, which was made by the Atu Ona informant, the lashings were laid on in alternate diagonal loops beginning at the bottom. These loops crossed each other along the line of the middle of the tang, giving an ornamental effect. The last two binding loops at the top were horizontal, while two more loops were passed around the haft above the blade. The end was made fast by tucking it under the last few turns of cord on the right side. (See Pl. XLVIII, *A*.) The maker insisted that this form of lashing was the ancient one and it is probable that several forms of ornamental lashing were originally in use. One of these, mentioned in a chant for the making of a boy's first adz, was called the *humua tane oa*, and was probably derived from a string figure of the same name. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412 284

Adz blades were rarely if ever set at right angles to the handle, the included angle in modern specimens being 70 degrees or less. The handles of ordinary adzes were short, those used at the present time are commonly less than a foot long, but blades used for heavy work, such as roughing out canoes were formerly provided with long hafts. In Nuku Hiva an adz with a four foot handle is said to have been used for this purpose. (Handy, personal correspondence.) 412

The adjustable socket, common in Micronesia and in some parts of Melanesia, seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas, although it was known and used to a limited extent in Hawaii. It is lacking in other parts of Polynesia, and the Hawaiian examples are probably referable to a Micronesian influence.

Chisel Hafting

No specimen of the ancient Marquesan chisel hafts was found, and the following description is based on information obtained in the group and upon two reproductions made by Hapuani, of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. In both these reproductions the handle consists of a straight rectangular stick of wood between 10 inches and 11 inches long, 1 inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The wood in one is fau, in the other temanu. A socket for the blade is cut on one side of the lower end of the shaft. When in position the blades project beyond the handle for about two-thirds of their length. The lashings are of sennit, arranged as in the more elaborate form of adz lashing, except that the cord is passed around the handle several times above the socket. (See Pl. XLVIII, *B*.) [284]

USE OF ADZES AND CHISELS

No stone adzes have been used in the Marquesas for many years, but as the form of the modern iron-bladed tools is almost identical with that of the ancient ones it seems probable that the method of use was the same. At the present time every skilled workman owns two or more adzes, at least one of which has a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 curved edge. Each of these adzes has its special use and in doing any piece of work, as the shaping of a bowl, great care seems to be taken to use the proper 412 tool for each stage of manufacture. In working any surface a series of light 322 glancing blows are struck instead of two or three heavy ones. Informants agree that this was also the ancient system. The blade of a stone adz could easily be shattered by a heavy direct blow, and it is related that when a *tuhuna* who had been employed to make some object became dissatisfied with his pay or working conditions he would strike a heavy blow, breaking his adz, and with this as an excuse, refuse to finish.

The small straight bladed adzes are also used as planes. The handle is grasped at the curve, with the blade below the hand, edge forward, and the tool is pushed along the surface of the wood, removing a thin shaving. Stone adzes are said to have been used in the same manner.

Very little data could be obtained on the method of using the hafted chisels other than that they were used to hollow drums and cut the lashing holes [824] in canoe parts. They were struck upon the upper end of the shaft with a *too* wood mallet like that used in caulking canoes. (See Pl. LVI, *B*.)

GOUGES

412 The Marquesan collection in the Bishop Museum includes four implements uncommon to the group, and it has been thought best to describe them separately under the head of gouges although it can not be said with certainty that they were not hafted and used as adzes. The implement shown in Plate XLVII, *B*, 2 is 6¾ inches long, 1¾ inches wide at the bit and 1¼ inches wide at the upper end. It is almost semicircular in cross section. The cutting edge is curved, but the lower side of the bit, which is ground with a well marked bevel, is flat. The implement fits the hand well and does not appear to have been hafted.

Only slightly smaller than No. 2 and with a similar bit, gouge No. 3 shown on the same plate is distinguished from it by having parallel sides.

No. 4 on the same plate shows a small specimen whose shaft has been broken. The bit has a width of 11/16 inches and its lower surface is slightly concave. The body of this gouge is almost circular in cross section and well polished throughout, although the marks of the chipping have not been completely obliterated. The bit shows use and sharpening, and the implement was probably a carving tool.

No. 1 on this plate is completely ground and has a narrow upper and broad lower surface, both of which are flat, while the sides are somewhat rounded. The upper surface narrows toward the rear so that the blade is almost triangular at the butt (the point of greatest thickness) and the whole shape is reminiscent of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lower part of a narrow *toki kouma* whose tang has been broken off. The implement appears to be complete however, and shows no signs of hafting. It is possible that this implement marks a transition from *toki kouma* to gouges and that the two classes of implements are related. 412

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

Marquesan knives were usually made from bamboo or shell, and shells were used as scrapers, but stone knives and scrapers also existed. In the absence of iron tools, stone knives have been used as a makeshift until comparatively recent times. Pere Simeon Delmar, head of the Catholic Mission in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, has witnessed the manufacture of stone knives. He says that the knives, often six to eight inches in length, were made from flakes of a special variety of phonolite, which were detached from a core by a single sharp blow with a rounded stone held in the hand. The natural fracture gave a fairly sharp edge to the flake and it was used without retouching or hafting. When the edge became dull from use, the implement was thrown away. In M. Delmar's experience these stone knives were used only to open and scale fish. Many phonolite flakes were found in old village sites, but their certain identification as knives is impossible. (See Pl. XLVIII, *G*.) [824] [321]

Two stone artifacts were collected which appear to have been scrapers. One of these, found in an old village site, is a large semicircular spall of some basaltic rock which has evidently been retouched along its lower edge. Its form is not unlike that of some of the shell scrapers used for tapa making. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 1.)

The second specimen was collected on the island of Ei Ao. It is a thin spall of phonolite which has been worked into rectangular form and dressed along the outer end and one side with an abrupt retouch. This implement appears to be complete, and is much too thin and carefully worked to be a reject from the adz workshops. It was identified by natives as a scraper. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 2.)

RUBBING STONES

The Marquesans used rubbing stones in the manufacture of various wooden objects and in dressing the large stone slabs which are a common feature of their masonry. The large rocks upon which adzes were ground and polished have already been described (p. 321) and mention has been made of the probable use of whetstones, but it is uncertain whether rubbing stones were used in the manufacture of other stone artifacts. The modern makers of *popoi* pounders deny their use, and none of the ancient artifacts show a finish which could not have been produced by careful pecking and a final polishing with sand. The large flat 412 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 surfaces and true angles of the stone slabs, on the other hand, could hardly have
324 been produced with any other implement. No information as to the form or material of these stone dressing tools was obtained, but it seems probable that they were fragments of cellular lava having a more or less flat, natural surface.

412 The rubbing stones used in wood working were of two types, abrasive stones, which were used to obliterate the marks of coarser tools and to some ex-
322 tent to shape the object, and burnishing stones, which were used to give a final high polish. All the abrasive stones seen were made from more or less water-worn lumps of coral or coraline limestone, but it appears probable that pebbles of the finer grained cellular lavas were also employed. The texture varied considerably and at least one specimen was so hard and smooth that it could have had little abrasive effect. Several rubbing stones of increasingly fine grain were used in finishing a given object, the last grinding stone being followed by the burnisher. (See Pl. XLVIII, *C*.)

Burnishing stones were small pebbles of even-textured, rather soft rock which were used only in the final stage of manufacture and had no abrasive effect. They were rubbed rapidly back and forth upon the surface to be polished, the workmen exerting a fairly heavy, even pressure. In time they acquired a peculiar glassy polish resembling that of a gastrolith. The smoother the implement the better the finish which it could impart to a bowl, so old specimens were highly prized. (See Pl. XLVIII, *D*.)

PERFORATED STONE DISKS

324 Two perforated stone disks were collected by the expedition, one, of unknown history, being obtained in the valley of Hane, Ua Huka, while the second was found lying among some skulls in a *me'ae* in the valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. Both specimens are made of rather porous lava. (See Pl. L, *A*, 1-2.) The dimensions are as follows: No. 1, length 3⅜ inches, width 2⅞ inches, thickness 1 inch, width of perforation at surface 1 inch, width of perforation at center 3-16 of an inch. No. 2, length 4 inches, width 3½ inches, maximum thickness 1¾ inches, minimum thickness 1½ inches, width of perforation at surface 1⅜ inches, width of perforation at center ⅝ of an inch. The perforation in No. 1 is almost perfectly centered, that in No. 2 noticeably nearer one end than the other. In both, the perforation appears to have been pecked rather than drilled, and is formed by two conical pits which meet in the middle of the objects in a rough edged orifice. The surfaces of both specimens are rather carefully smoothed.

Both objects were identified by an Atu Ona informant as weights for pump drills, but this explanation does not appear entirely satisfactory. The pump drill was a common Marquesan tool, and if such weights were used one would

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

bowl was made of some rather hard close grained stone and was finely finished inside and out. Still another specimen (B3699C) appears to be a fragmnet of a rather shallow bowl 8 to 10 inches in diameter. It is made of a soft grey stone, possibly an indurated ash. At the lower end of the curve it bears a chevron carved in high relief along whose center there is a single incised line. It seems probable that this formed part of a zigzag band running around the bowl, but the fragment is too narrow to tell certainly. No. B3699D is a fragment from the side of a rather large and heavy bowl or tray having a bottom thickness of about one inch. The outer surface was smoothly finished and decorated with closely spaced incised lines forming simple curvilinear designs. (See Pl. XLIX, *E*.) 415

POUNDERS

INTRODUCTION

Pounders were, with the possible exception of adzes, the commonest of Marquesan stone artifacts, and they still form a regular part of the domestic equipment of all native households. In ancient times they appear to have been manufactured to some extent in all the valleys but even in prehistoric days the superiority of the stone found in Ua Pou and Ua Huka had led to a localization of the industry. The finished implements were traded from these islands to the rest of the group. The manufacture of *popoi* pounders has continued in Ua Huka down to the present time, and shortly before the war large numbers are said to have been made for a German trading company which sold them in their stores throughout the group and even in Tahiti. 412

At the present time the making of *popoi* pounders appears to be essentially a spare time industry, the natives working upon them when they have nothing more pressing to do. 412 32+

For the pounders three varieties of stone were formerly used, all of which appear to have been rather soft, even grained magmatic rocks. The best grade was called *otuo*, a grey rock, fine grained, strong and light. The second best was called *puhite'a*, and the third best *potaho*. All these varieties are said to have been obtained from the high part of the island lying to the east of the valley of Hokatu, but as bowlders in two other valleys were pointed out as good pounder stone, it is probable that the deposits were rather wide spread. The stone does not appear to have been regularly quarried, but was obtained from rock slides and stream beds.

The only tool used in making modern *popoi* pounders is an ordinary steel axe, and even the finishing touches are given with this unwieldy instrument. The process of manufacture is as follows:

An irregular piece of stone about three times the size of the finished implement is roughed out with heavy blows of the axe until it becomes a cone. (See Pl. LI, *A*, 1.) This cone is then worked down by light blows on all sides until the general form of the finished implement is produced. This is then smoothed by light, even blows with the corner of the axe until all the contours are perfect. The neck and body of the implement are then shaved with the edge of the axe until the scratches left by the last process are obliterated. The head

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 and base are left rough. The smooth surface of some new and unused specimens would seem to indicate the use of some sort of abrasive for the final finishing, but informants who were themselves makers insisted that this was not the case. The body of the implement is sometimes rubbed with a mixture of coconut charcoal and oil which gives it a shiny black finish contrasting pleasantly with the grey of the head.
324

Informants of Ua Huka insist that the ancient process of manufacture was essentially the same except that stone adzes were employed instead of the modern steel axe. The stone used on Ua Huka could probably have been worked in this way and the information may be correct for this locality, but in other islands a variety of rock was employed, some of which could hardly have been worked with stone adzes. The heads of many of the old pounders show marks which make it seem certain that they were finished by pecking.

MODERN POUNDERS

The modern commercial pounders all conform to a single well-marked type
412 (Pl. LI, *A*, 2).

The pounders are characterized by a neck of oval cross section which expands to form the head and the body of the implement. There is no clear line of demarkation between these parts and it is impossible to say where one ends and another begins. From the neck the body flares outward toward the base, which is circular, so that when seen in profile the sides of the pounder appear concave. The bottom is convex, with a rather low curve, and is always left rough. The head is oval in horizontal cross section, the lower part contracting gradually toward the neck. The upper part has the form of a high rounded dome and is divided into two equal lobes by a transverse groove which extends down either side almost to the point of maximum width of the head. The surface of these lobes is left rough, apparently with ornamental intent, and the whole form is clearly phallic.

ANCIENT POUNDERS

The natives themselves classify pounders according to use, recognizing four distinct classes as follows: (1) *popoi* pounders, (2) pounders for infant food, (3) salt pounders, (4) children's pounders. They also recognize certain of these implements as forming a fifth distinct class whose use has been forgotten. As these native classifications according to use are correlated with differences in the size and form of the implements, they will serve as the basis for the present descriptions.

POPOI POUNDERS

Popoi pounders are numerically much more important than those of any other class, practically all large pounders belonging under this head. They are divided by the natives on the basis of size and weight into men's and women's pounders, the larger implements being used by the men. All *popoi* pounders are known by the generic term *kea tuki popoi* (stone to beat *popoi*) but those having flat heads are also known as *opu* (stomach). The phallic forms do not appear to have had special names. The term applied to the tiki-headed pounders was descriptive, meaning carved pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

All *popoi* pounders agree with the commercial pounders in the form of the body and base. The necks range in cross section from oval to round, but the differences appear to be more or less accidental and are not correlated with other features. The range in size does not appear to have been very great, the ancient specimens seen varying in height from 7 to 8½ inches and in base diameter from 4½ to 5¾ inches. The variation is about the same in all subtypes. The subtypes are therefore based entirely upon differences in the form and decoration of the head. 412

The simplest form of *popoi* pounder appears to be the flat topped type called *opu*. In the plainest specimen collected (Pl. LI, *B*, 2) the neck is circular in cross section and expands only slightly at the top, the upper end being slightly convex. The curve of the bottom is unusually high. More commonly in this type the neck is more or less oval in cross section and the upper end shows a more marked expansion, its surface being flat or slightly concave. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 1.) In one specimen, which could not be obtained, the ends of the oval head projected beyond the neck in finely made flat flanges not more than one-fourth inch thick. A further modification of the *opu* type consisted in encircling the neck some distance below its upper end with a raised ring. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 3.) In view of the shape of one of the specimens of phallic form it seems probable that the idea here is phallic also. *Popoi* pounders of the *opu* type were seen only in the island of Hiva Oa, and as all the specimens were of local rock it seems possible that this was peculiar to Hiva Oa. [83]

The phallic type of pounder is much more common than the *opu* type and appears to have been the dominant form throughout the Marquesas. It may be subdivided into simple phallic representations, and the tiki headed pounders, which are clearly derived from the simple phallic form.

A single specimen (Pl. LII, *C*) may link the phallic pounders with the ringed specimens of the *opu* type. The neck of this implement is encircled a short distance below its upper end by a raised, smoothly rounded ring. The space above this ring is dome shaped and ungrooved. The whole appears to be a phallic representation.

The normal form of phallic pounder is well illustrated by the specimen shown on Plate LII, *A*. In this the neck expands smoothly to form a head of almost rectangular cross section, there being no line of demarkation between the two parts. The transverse groove is deep and the sides slope inward steeply. The ends are almost vertical and the top on either side of the groove is flat. The whole surface is treated as a series of slightly convex planes which meet in well marked angles. This angularity is most pronounced in No. 1. Most of the phallic pounders seen had this form and it is probably the prototype from which both the modern commercial and tiki headed pounders have been developed.

Two phallic pounders, shown on Plate LII, *B*, differ slightly from this normal type. The head of No. 1 is oval in cross section, the sides slope inward

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 rather abruptly, and the ends are almost vertical. The top bears a longitudinal groove instead of the usual transverse one. In No. 2 the head is smoothly rounded, with a short transverse groove.

Tiki Headed Pounders

412 531 Tiki headed *popoi* pounders represent the highest development of Marquesan stone working, the only objects which approach them in excellence being certain of the small stone figures. The expedition was fortunate enough to obtain five perfect specimens and the carved head of a sixth, while ten others were studied in private collections or from photographs. In all of these pounders the carving followed one or the other of two well-marked conventions and the series appears large enough to make possible a fairly accurate study of the type. In spite of their fine workmanship and present rarity tiki headed pounders were, and in some cases still are, used as ordinary household utensils. All informants agree that the carvings are purely decorative and have no religious significance.

In general form the tiki headed pounders agree perfectly with the angular headed type of phallic pounder already described, and it seems certain that they have been developed from these implements. According to informants the carving was done with sharks' teeth or rats' teeth, but the form of the carving tools and the method of employment have been forgotten. In the actual specimens the grooves of the carving are semicircular in cross section and exhibit a high polish. [324]

The decoration consists of two heads, formed by carving a face upon each of the lobes of a phallic pounder of normal angular type. In carving these faces two distinct conventions were employed, one of which appears to have been rare, being shown by only three of the sixteen specimens. In the normal convention the features are carved in low relief and the decorated top is set off from the neck of the pounder by a well marked groove. Each of the faces covers the entire surface of a lobe, its center line being in the middle of the outer end. The mouths are broad, in the form of long narrow ovals with rounded ends. The tongue is shown as a narrow longitudinal ridge, and the lips are broad, with a flat or slightly concave surface. In one specimen there is a narrow band between the lips and the tongue which may represent the teeth. Immediately behind each corner of the mouth a small decoration in the form of a "V" is sometimes carved. The nose is broad and flat, with almost semicircular nostrils. The eyes are carved on the upper corners of the lobe and are directed toward the side rather than forward, and the space between them is disproportionately wide. The eyes are of the usual spectacle form—a raised ring encircling a convex center—and are connected to the base of the nose at the inner end and to the ear at the outer end by narrow raised bands. As a rule the eyes are horizontal, but some specimens show a slight upward or downward inclination. The ears are represented as double scrolls, and are so placed that their outer edges fall along the line of the inner edge of each lobe. There is a well marked groove above either eye. The top of the head may be either rounded or pointed, while in one specimen broad flat grooves have been carved along either side above the eye groove, giving the head a sharp central keel. The space on the side of the pounder below the ears and between the corners of the mouths of the two faces is filled with either one or two small block figures bearing incised designs. In one specimen (not shown) a small block figure of this sort is placed in the middle of the forehead of either face.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¾ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large; with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to those on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

considerable age. Of the carved specimens, one large and one small specimen are from Nuku Hiva and the other two from Hiva Oa.

412 531

In all five pounders the material appears to be local, and as the use of carved decoration on pounders is limited to the Marquesas, the theory of importation may be discarded. The heads carved on the small examples show a slight resemblance to those carved on the rarer type of tiki headed pounders, but the angularity of the features on the larger specimens finds no parallel in other Marquesan work. A similar angularity was noted, however, in some of the wood carvings in the Society Islands. The form of these specimens also finds a fairly close parallel in certain small specimens from Tahiti and in certain pounders of coral rock from the Austral Islands. The similarity of the decoration on all Marquesan conical pounders seems good evidence that it represents a distinct convention which was in some way linked with the conical form. The best explanation of these facts seems to be that the conical pounders are hybrids which owe their shape, and to a lesser degree the convention employed in their decoration, to a Southeastern Polynesian influence. An alternative explanation is that the conical pounders are archaic and that their carving shows a technique which is more primitive than the historic Marquesan convention.

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN POUNDERS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

412 171

Stone pounders appear to be entirely lacking in Melanesia unless we include under this head certain heavy, bottle-shaped implements used for cracking nuts in the Solomon Islands and some archaeological finds in New Guinea. In Micronesia, stone pounders were used in the Marshall and Caroline Islands but seem to be lacking in the Gilbert Islands. In the Marshall Islands at least, they were used side by side with wooden pounders of identical shape. All the Micronesian pounders appear to be of one type, with some minor variations in the treatment of the upper surface of the head. They have been frequently described and figured.

The pounders of Polynesia must not be confused with the pestles which were found in many parts of Polynesia, but seem to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

Stone pounders do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga but are found everywhere in marginal Polynesia with the possible exception of Easter and Chatham Islands. The New Zealand pounders appear to be pestles rather than true pounders and bear little resemblance to the other Polynesian forms. The absence of broad based pounders in New Zealand is of little significance in a comparative study, for these were specialized implements used principally for crushing breadfruit or taro and would have been of little use there,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 171 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to indicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kauai in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 778 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fishermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/2 [924] and the method of hafting is problematical. The objects carved with rats' teeth indicate that the work was done by continued rubbing rather than by strokes of the chisel, as the bottoms of the carved lines show a high polish.

The most important wooden tool appears to have been the mallet. This was employed with the chisel in shaping and carving wooden objects, and was also used with caulking tools. Mallets were made of *toa* wood, and were short [824] and heavy. The specimen shown (Pl. LVI, *B*) is 11 inches long, with a maximum width at the head of 4 inches, and a maximum thickness of 1¾ inches. The handle of the mallet was round or rectangular and was frequently pierced near the outer end for the attachment of a wrist loop. The head was pear shaped in outline, expanding and thickening gradually toward the outer end. The sides and end of the head were flat, with a surface at right angles to that of the broad surfaces. In use the blow was struck with the broad face, not with the edge.

No specimens of the ancient caulking tools were seen, but those used on the bow and stern seams of canoes are said to have been wedge shaped. Those used for the lashing holes along the sides were simply pointed sticks with a flat upper end. The favorite material for these implements was *toa* wood.

A long needle of hard wood (Pl. LVI, *C*) was used to sew on house thatch and to pass the cord used in canoe lashings through the lashing holes. The specimen collected is slightly over a foot in length. On one side of the point there is a short barb. The butt has a small knob, to which the cord was attached.

The pump drill was the most elaborate of the Marquesan tools. Apparently no examples have been preserved, but their form and method of use are still remembered by the older natives. The Marquesan drills appear to have been identical with those used elsewhere in Polynesia, although there are indications that some of them were equipped with stone whorls, a rare feature. According to informants, drill points were made in ancient times from a sliver of stone, a shark's tooth, or a rat's tooth. All these materials were replaced at a very early date by iron nails obtained from Europeans.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or UMU. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 The *popoi* trough is usually made from breadfruit wood. An average specimen is 5 feet long and 16 inches wide, with square ends, straight sides, and a rounded lower and slightly ex-
252 cavated upper surface. In new specimens the depth of the hollow rarely exceeds 1½ inches but in old specimens it may be as much as 3 inches deep in the center, due to wear. In one very old *popoi* trough, evidently made with stone tools, the interior had been hollowed with fire. The dimensions of individual *popoi* troughs vary considerably, but those used in Nuku Hiva are on the whole shorter and broader than those used in the southern islands.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING COCONUTS

412 Coconuts rank next to breadfruit in the Marquesan dietary, but they
252 seem to have been somewhat less important in pre-European times. They are gathered by hand, without special appliances. The first step in their preparation is to remove the thick husk. This is done by means of a pointed stake, about two inches in diameter, which is fixed rigidly in the ground, point up. To husk the nut it is grasped in both hands, struck sharply upon the point of the stake, and twisted away from it, removing a sliver of the husk, the process being repeated until only the inner shell remains. The process appears easy, but it calls for a considerable skill in manipulation. Nuts are usually husked where gathered, to avoid carrying unnecessary weight.

Nuts other than the thinnest shelled drinking nuts are opened by a few sharp blows of a stone given along the line of greatest diameter, an expert being able to break a nut into two almost equal halves in this way. The water in the cavity of old nuts is thrown away, and the flesh itself, rarely eaten, is grated to extract the milk. Coconut graters vary considerably in the details of form, but are all made upon a single principle.

The graters consist of a stool, or seat of some sort, from one end of which an arm projects more or less horizontally. At the end of the arm the actual scraper is fastened. In ancient times this consisted of a piece of rough coral, or of a strip of shell with the upper edge cut into teeth. Much care is expended upon the seat portion of some of these scrapers, which appears the more remarkable as the furniture of a Marquesan home rarely includes stools or other raised seats. To use the scraper the workman places himself astride the seat, and rubs the nut rapidly over the end of the arm, with a downward and outward motion. A bowl placed below catches the fragments of meat as they fall. When a sufficient quantity of the grated meat has collected, water is added and the whole mixed to a paste.

A strainer is then brought into play to separate the milk from the meat.

This strainer is nothing more than a thick bundle of fiber, about one foot in length and two to three inches in diameter, which is spread out and drawn across the bowl toward the workman, gathering up part of the paste. The ends of the strainer are then twisted in opposite directions, enclosing the paste, and the whole lifted from the bowl and wrung out, the liquid expressed falling back in the bowl. The dry meat remaining in the strainer is thrown away and the process repeated until only a thick creamy white fluid remains in the bowl. Two species of fiber are used for strainers, the commoner is that from the husk of the coconut. The finer strain-
[824] ers are made from the fibers of the stem of a long-leaves plant, which in leaf form and habit of growth resembles large garlic, and from a reference in Jardin (33) is probably *Cyperus macrolema*. No attempt is made to separate the fiber from the substance, the stems are simply split into long strips. (This fiber is also commonly employed for kava strainers, but there is a con-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ⅝ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa, kookuu,* and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of [824] bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dis- [782] patch human victims for sacrifice.

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use [824] candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear [171] never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

TANGED ADZES: *A*, FRONT VIEW; *B*, REAR VIEW; *C*, SIDE VIEW OF ADZES WITH TRIANGULAR CROSS SECTION; *D*, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF ADZES WITH QUADRANGULAR CROSS SECTION; *E*, *F*, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF ADZES OF TOKI AA TYPE; *G* AND *H*, ADZES OF TOKI KOI'MA TYPE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS.

[end plate 6]

TANGLESS AND UNCLASSIFIED ADZES: *A*, TANGLESS ADZES, FRONT, SIDE, AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, UNCLASSIFIED ADZES, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS—1, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. 6138; 2, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3075; 3, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3076; 4, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. 6147; 5, BISHOP MUSEUM NO. B3083.

[end plate 7]

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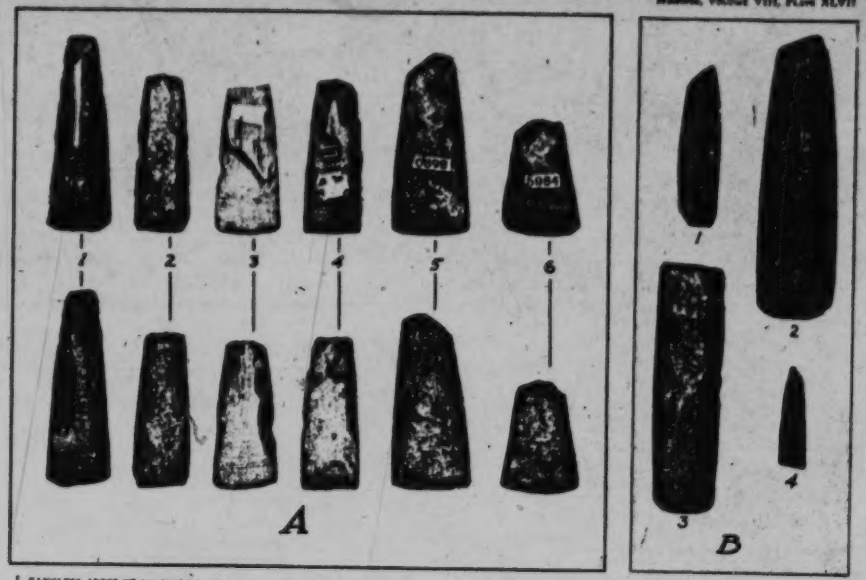
7: Lamont E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas



I, TANGLESS ADZES OF POLYNESIA, FRONT AND REAR VIEWS: 1, MARQUESAS; 2, TONGA; 3, SAMOA; 4, EASTER ISLAND; 5, CHATHAM ISLANDS; 6, SOCIETY ISLANDS; B, MARQUESAN GOUGES.

P. Lawrence E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[end plate 8]

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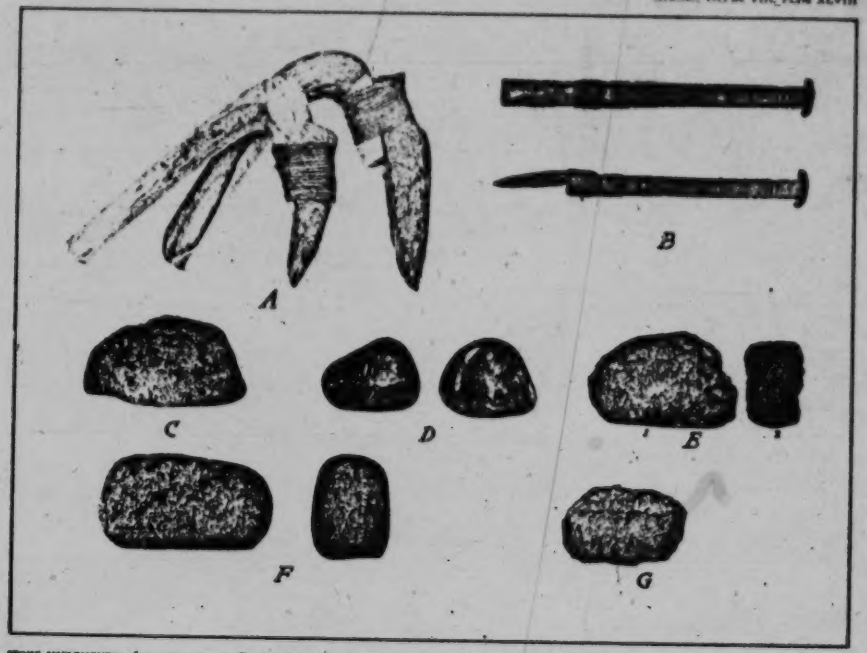

STONE IMPLEMENTS: *A*, HAFTED ADZE; *B*, HAFTED CHISEL, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SHARPENING STONE OF CORAL; *D*, SHARPENERS USED TO POLISH WOOD; *E*, SCRAPERS; *F*, HAMMER STONES; *G*, KNIFE.

[end plate 9]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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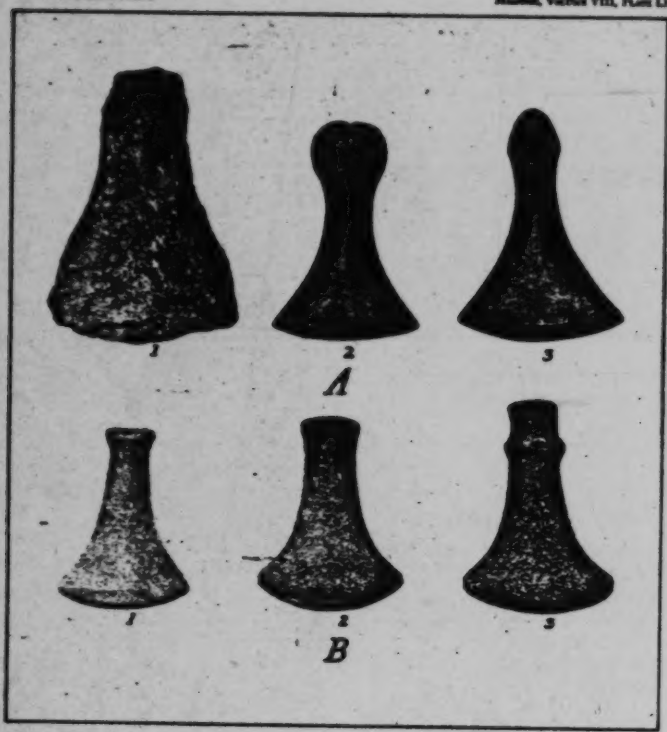
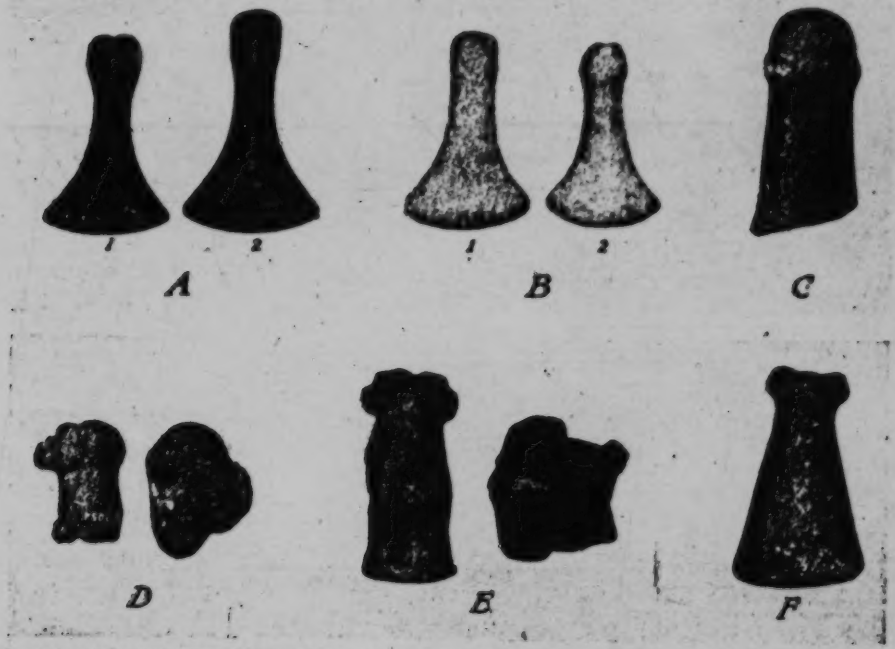


TIKI PUTUHEI: *A*, MODERN COMMERCIAL PUTUHEI FROM UA HUKA. FIGURE AT THE LEFT SHOWS FIRST STAGE OF MANUFACTURE; *B*, ANCIENT PUTUHEI, OPU TYPE.

[end plate 12]



STONE POUNDERS: *A*, PHALLIC POUNDERS OF NORMAL FORM, SIDE AND END VIEWS; *B*, PHALLIC POUNDERS OF UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, HEAD AND NECK OF PHALLIC POUNDER OF UNUSUAL FORM; *D*, HEAD AND NECK OF CONICAL POUNDER, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *E*, DOUBLE HEADED CONICAL POUNDER, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *F*, UNCARVED CONICAL POUNDER.

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[eni plate 13]

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Mission, Vicinity VIII, Plate LIII

Survey P. Bonne Mission

YALE UNIV ARCHIVES, YALE TEACHING OF ORGANIC FOOD CENTER, INC.

[end plate 14]

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532

POUNDERS: *A*, HEAD OF POUNDER OF UNUSUAL TYPE, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, CHILD'S POUNDER; *C*, POUNDER FOR INFANTS' FOOD; *D*, SALT POUNDER.

[end plate 15]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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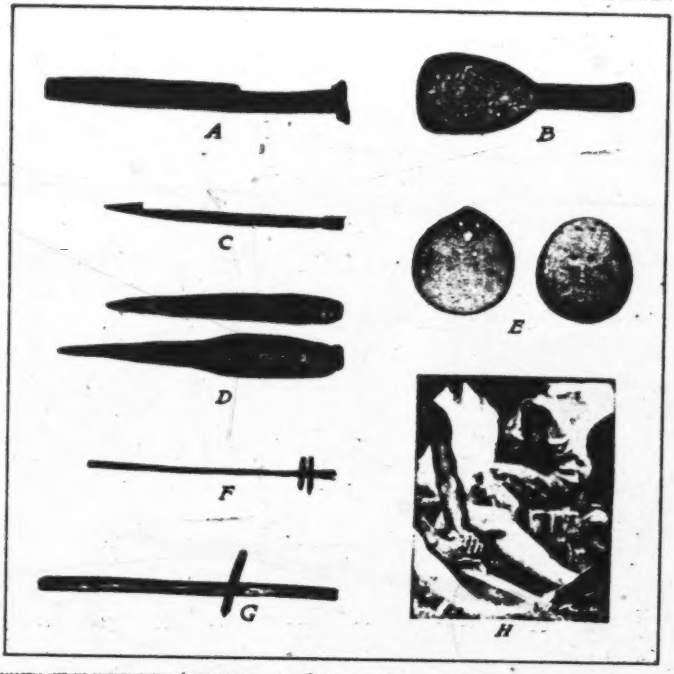

[372]

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS: *A*, SHARK SKIN RASP; *B*, MALLET; *C*, THATCHING NEEDLE; *D*, TOOLS FOR MAKING COPRA; *E*, BOWLS OF LARGE SPOONS OR LADLES; *F*, COTTON SEED EXTRACTOR; *G*, FIRE STICKS; *H*, METHOD OF USING FIRE STICKS.

[end plate 17]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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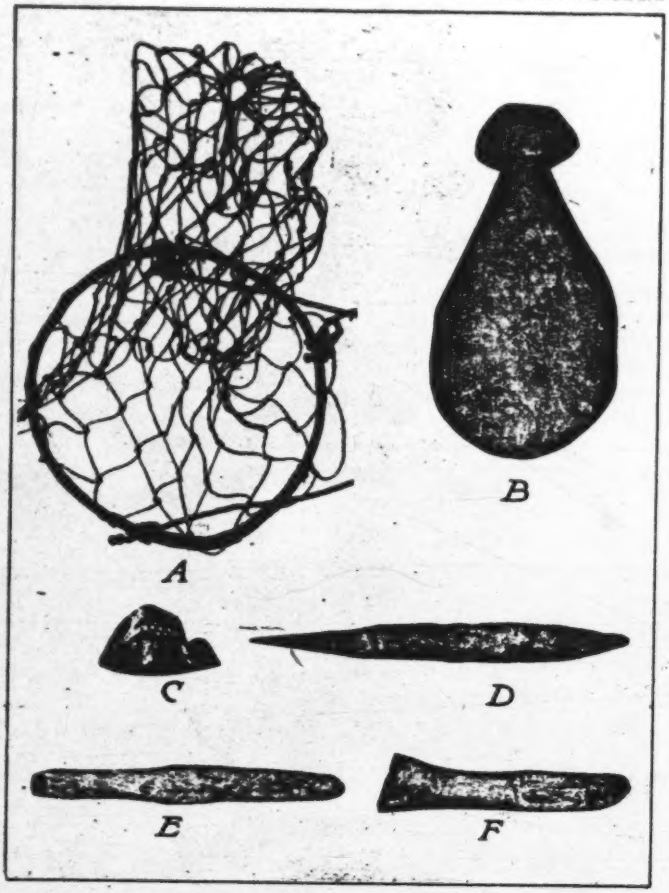

ARTICLES USED IN PREPARING BREADFRUIT: *A*,-NET FOR CARRYING FRUIT; *B*, SPLITTER; *C*, PEELER; *D*, STICK FOR PIERCING FRUIT; *E*, WOODEN KNIFE; *F*, BONE KNIFE FOR PEELING COOKED FRUIT.

[end plate 19]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

absent (Pl. XVII, *a-b*). One figure (Pl. XVII, *c*) has a triangular body 531x and thin, spindly legs.

One motif which recurs a number of times seems to be a conventionalized representation of a human being. It depicts only the head and shoulders, the head being a triangle with apex pointing downward and joined to an inverted U. In some figures there is a longitudinal line drawn through the center of the U, making that portion of the figure look like a small letter m. This third or central vertical line represents the trunk of the body, while the outer lines represent the shoulders and the arms of the person (Pl. V, *b*).

USE OF DECORATIVE DESIGNS

Except for objects carved in recent years there is little indication that the carver had a preconceived notion of the completed decoration. The Marquesan did not make a pattern and then arrange his designs to achieve a symmetrical effect. He used whatever designs occured to him at the time so that no two objects are decorated exactly alike and seldom is an object found which has what is known as balance. Certain carvers did, however, develop an individual style and their work may be quite easily recognized even in a large collection by the choice of designs, the general arrangement of the designs, or the technique in the carving.

DESIGNS ON HOUSE POSTS

In addition to house posts carved in the round according to the tiki 531x convention (p. 5) there are a great many posts with angular geometric 412● and curvilinear designs. In former times the designs were cut on the posts 353 by stone adzes but metal tools have been used for many years. This change has had very little influence upon the selection of designs.

It will be noted that the designs are never applied in a continuous 531x band running the full length of the post but are carved in sections of vari- 353 ous widths. Each section is separated from the next either by a single line or by a group of parallel lines at right angles to the long axis of the post. A few posts show an irregular longtitudinal division somewhere near their center. This consists of an area of uncarved wood separating the carvings of different designs.

Angular geometric motifs are predominant in the designs on house posts but compared with recent work the older carvings show a more liberal use of curvilinear patterns. With the assistance of Ralph Linton (22) the following summary of the design elements and motifs used in the house post decorations has been prepared:

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling.
No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately
and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection
with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with [352]
her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412] ●
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and PL. II, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[624] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or *umu*. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

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CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

SCRAPERS

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 413 ous, for fragments of scrapers may be found in the earth of any village site. A few stone scrapers designed for other purposes may also have been used in tapa making.

BEATERS

The tapa beaters in common use were of two distinct types, the round and the square. There was a third rare type which was intermediate between the two main forms.

The round beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 3) are simple billets of fau wood, 18 to 20 inches long, cut from saplings 1½ to 2¼ inches in diameter. These billets were stripped of bark, and while still green and soft, were incised from end to end with a number of closely spaced grooves made, it is said, with the corner of a stone adz. They were then allowed to dry, and were ready for use. Beaters of this type have no distinct handles and both ends and all sides may be used. The round beaters were commonly used only for the initial beating of the bark, but could be employed for the entire process of manufacture. A very fine piece of *ute* tapa was seen that had been beaten throughout with an implement of this sort.

The square tapa beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 1) were made of toa wood (Casuirina) and their manufacture must have required considerable skill and patience. Their handles are said to have been shaped with shells and the grooves cut with sharpened pearl shells or rats' teeth. Beaters of this type were common to the whole of Polynesia, but those from the Marquesas are easily distinguishable by their shorter and heavier grips. The body of the beater is rectangular; the grip is round and nearly as thick as the body. There is a slight flare at the butt of some beaters. Each of the faces is incised with a number of closely spaced longitudinal grooves. The number of grooves on the different faces of a beater varies slightly, but there seems to be no distinction of coarse and fine faces such as is found in the Tahitian and some other beaters. The ornamental designs on beaters which gave the tapa a sort of "water mark," common in Hawaii, seem to have been entirely absent in the Marquesas. A beater with a long slender grip, reminiscent of the Hawaiian and Tahitian forms, was seen in Hiva Oa, and another obtained from an old *me'ae* on the same island, has the grip set at a slight but distinct angle to the body of the beater, a very unusual feature.

Beaters of the third type constitute an ancient form. (See Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 2.) Only two were seen, both of them crudely made. They are made of *toa* wood, are rectangular in cross section, but somewhat more slender than the ordinary square beaters and have no distinct handles. All four faces are grooved for their entire length, but the grooves appear to have been drawn alternately from

7. Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

opposite ends, as some of them overlap slightly in the center of the implement. It 287 seems probable that this form is a hybrid, combining the continuous grooves of 413 the round beaters with the flat surfaces of the square type.

Tapa Anvils

The Marquesans employed anvils of both stone and wood. Stone anvils are now little used, but in former times they appear to have been part of the equipment of every household. In early times they were used for only the preliminary beating, but later were occasionally employed for the entire manufacture.

In its simplest form the stone anvil is nothing more than a large flat water-worn bowlder, but most anvils seen have been carefully worked from large blocks of stone. They are [324] rectangular, with a length of from 18 inches to 2 feet, 6 inches; a width of from 8 inches to one foot, and a thickness from 4 to 7 inches. The tops have been carefully flattened and smoothed, the sides made vertical or nearly so. The bottom is usually left rough. Some anvils are widest in the middle, tapering evenly toward either end. An especially fine specimen from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa (Pl. LXXIV, *B*) has a longitudinal groove along either side for a short distance below the top and is remarkable in having the bottom more or less hollowed—a feature which may have resulted from its use as a whetstone for stone adzes. These carefully made stone anvils are of considerable interest, as they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Wooden anvils are still used in the manufacture of tapa. The only one seen was made of breadfruit wood, rectangular in cross section, and was approximately two feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches thick. This anvil differs in form from those described by aged informants, and possibly is of a modern and degenerate type. In former times two types of wooden anvils appear to have been employed. The simpler of these was a long straight log, preferably of breadfruit wood, smoothed but not otherwise prepared. The more elaborate type was made from a light colored wood, possibly a species of sandal wood, obtained on the plateau. It was U-shaped in cross section, with straight ends. Its hollowed interior made it more easily portable and increased its resonance so that the sound of cloth beating could be heard for a long distance.

Tapa Making

The paper mulberry, from whose bark the best grade of tapa was made, 287 was raised in regular plantations. Handy was informed that dead trees 18 to 20 feet high were cut down and stripped of their bark, that the bark was then soaked, and finally beaten to remove the inner skin. A local informant said that live shoots 10 to 12 feet high were cut and barked while still green, and described the process of tapa making as follows:

The fresh bark was taken to a stream, where the coarse outer bark was removed with a shell scraper. The bark was not soaked before the initial beating, a point which was stressed by the informant who was familiar with both the Hawaiian and Marquesan processes of tapa making. The bark was beaten on a stone anvil with a round beater until it was similar to

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas. 291

TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women. 304

The tattooing was done with bone combs. 304

The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *heana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.) 413

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink. 304 386

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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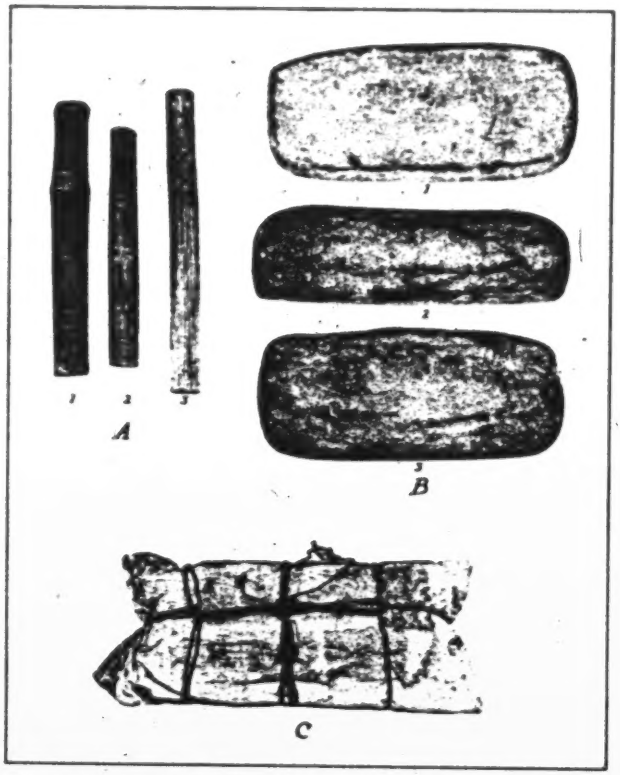
413



TOOLS FOR TAPA MAKING: *A*, TAPA BEATERS—(1) SQUARE WITH HANDLE, (2) SQUARE WITHOUT HANDLE, (3) ROUND; *B*, STONE TAPA ANVIL—(1) TOP VIEW, (2) SIDE VIEW, (3) BOTTOM VIEW; *C*, BUNDLE OF FINISHED TAPA.

[end plate 35]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

×304 38v [834] Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had prepared the pigment *(hinu)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu* operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaahi*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

×304 413 When the *tuhuna* arrived, bringing his instruments in a bamboo case seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(ivi heana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow. 304^x 413

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou*: 304^x [776] [533 534]

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[8] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[8] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415
531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

There was always a large, thick, and slightly hollowed, board *(hoana)* on which the breadfruit was pounded. The pounding was done with stone pounders *(ke'a tuki popoi)* of the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 9, *a*). Mr. Linton distinguishes four types of pounders: salt pounders, children's pounders, those used for the breadfruit paste, and 415

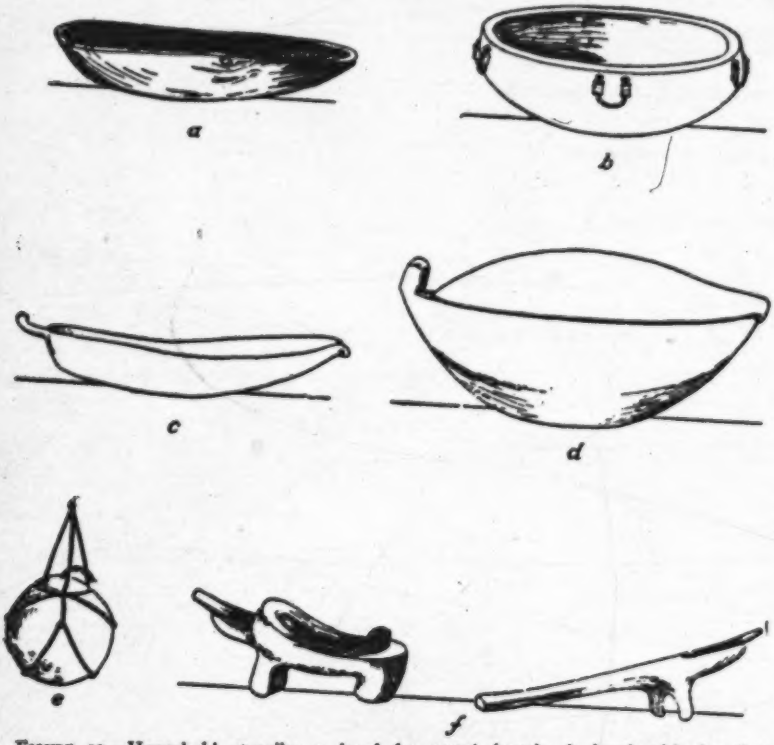


FIGURE 10.—Household utensils: *a*, bowl for *popoi* (*toto*); *b*, bowl with *handles*; *c*, kava bowl (elongated scoop form); *d*, kava bowl (bird form); *e*, gourd container (*hue*) in a net; *f*, types of coconut graters (*feka*).

those for infants' food. A full account of these and of the different types of bowls and containers used by the natives will be found in Mr. Linton's study of the material culture. The smaller vessels were made of coconut shell; the larger ones, of wood, fau, breadfruit, casuarina, *temanu*, and *mi'o*, the last named being the best and most commonly used. A large stone bowl *(ipu ke'a)* was seen at Pua Ma'u, but stone was not commonly

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

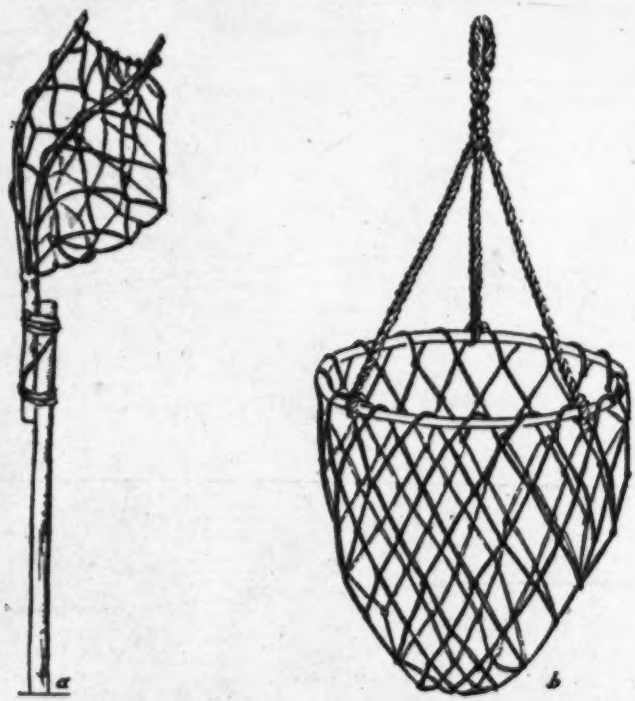

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

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252 dishes here. The *ma*, almost like clay, is dug out of its hole, carried to the house in a bowl, and placed on the *hoaka* or long, wooden trough to be kneaded. If it is very old and hard, it must be softened with water. Indeed throughout the preparation of *popoi*, water as a lubricant is used so freely as to become an important ingredient. When it is kneaded into a soft dough, it is wrapped in small packages, enveloped in fau
354 leaves and tied with the bark. Today these packages are boiled in water
252 in kerosene cans or large iron pots, but it is the earth oven in which they
[415] were originally baked, that we should include in this description.

The average oven is a hole dug in the ground, about two feet deep, three feet wide, and four feet long. In the bottom of it is placed the firewood (*vehie*), and on top of this, stones deeply pitted, which do not burst with heat. Fire was made originally by rubbing a small stick along a groove in a larger stick. (See description under The Dwelling, The Cook House.) In this oven (*umu*) the stones are heated thoroughly, part of them then removed with a *kipo* (which is a kind of long-handled dipper made with a stick passed through a coconut shell), or with the *koke mei* (tongs of two sticks bound together with fau bark which, as its name indicates, is primarily designed to lift roasted *mei* from the fire.) A thin layer of earth is spread over the remaining stones, their heat tested by the bare foot of the cook; the packages of *ma* are put in on a criss-cross of green guava sticks or petioles of fau leaves, to keep them from burning; the remaining stones are heaped about the packages, and the whole is covered with fresh *mi'o* leaves and then overlaid with earth.

252 *Ma* is tested like cake, by thrusting a small stick into a package to see if the dough still adheres to the stick. When it does not, the *ma* is cooked. The packages (*koumu*, Hiva Oa, *vahima*, Nuku Hiva—8) are taken out of the oven and unwrapped; the *mà* is placed on the kneading trough and pounded into a smooth paste with the stone *popoi* pounder (*kea tuki popoi*). It is pounded when hot preferably, since fermentation follows quickly when it is pounded cold and the *ma* does not keep so well. After pounding, it is again wrapped in leaf packages and kept until needed. In time it collects maggots and must be washed in salt water before being eaten, but it keep this way for some time.

It is this *popoi ma* which is mixed with the fresh breadfruit to make *popoi mei*. The fresh breadfruit has been ripened with a green guava stick and is now roasted on a wood fire. The blackened and charred skin is peeled off, the core removed, and the flesh mixed with water and pounded on the board until quite soft. Then a hole is scooped in the middle of the white *mei*, the brown *ma* is taken from its package and put into it, the two are kneaded together, with the constant addition of water to make

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 age of *ma; tipo,* to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma,* to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *toueva,* small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoa,* to put coconut milk on *popoi.*

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava,* being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk [266] as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou,* post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

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A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

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PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

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PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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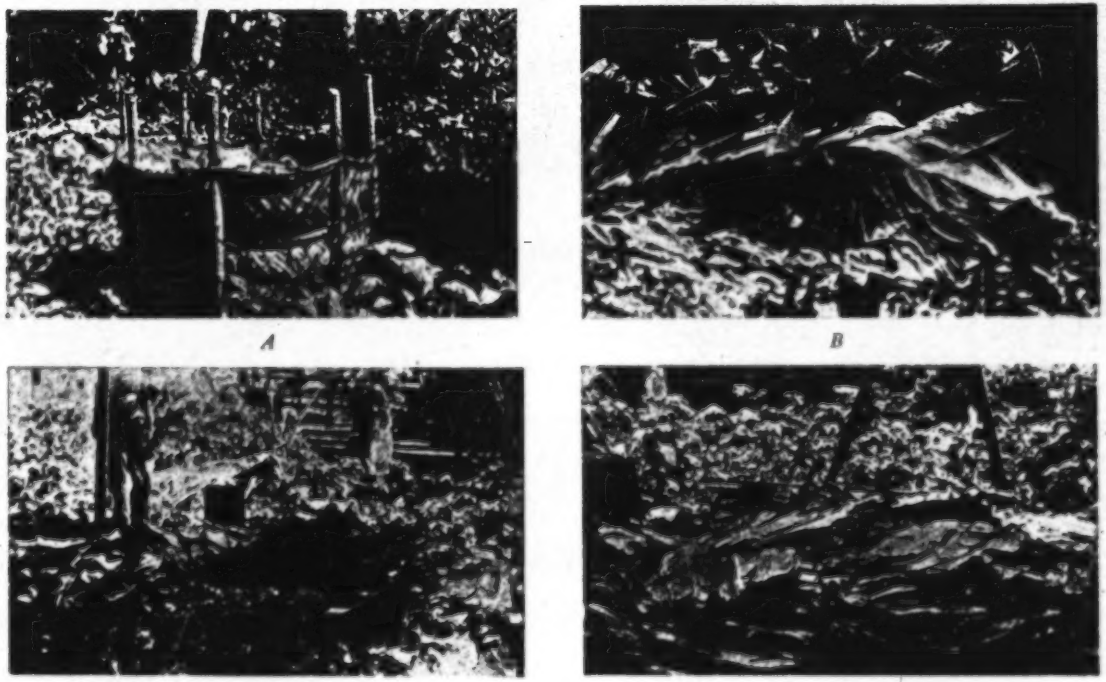

A B C D

THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 5]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his 142
countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing 648
their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived [262] [415]
they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head [142]
and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

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[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.
[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

By far the most elaborate pipe seen was in the possession of Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. It is shaped like the bowl and fore-stem of an ordinary straight brier pipe, but has a tiki figure carved against the curve of the bowl in three-quarter round. (See Pl. XLIX, *D.*) The convention of this little figure is curious; the eyes are indicated by raised circles on either side of the head, and there is no distinct mouth or nose. A small beak-like projection at the bottom of the head, between the eyes, suggests that it may represent a bird. A hole has been drilled between the figure and the pipe bowl at about the level of the waist. This pipe is known to be very old and has been in the possession of a single family in Atu Ona for at least three generations. 276 532

BOWLS AND TRAYS

Stone bowls and trays are rare in the Marquesas, and the few specimens extant vary greatly in form and finish. The larger objects of this sort are usually quite crude. Some of the smaller bowls, on the other hand, show great skill in manufacture and are well finished and even decorated. 415 [324]

The largest object of this sort seen was a so-called tray which was built into the upper edge of a small platform in the *tohua* of Hutuhu'u, valley of Taipi-Vai, Nuku Hiva. It appeared to be a large fragment of a lava bubble which had been smoothed and slightly excavated on the inner surface, the outside being left rough. It was 3 feet, 6 inches long, with an average width of 2 feet, and an external depth of from 6 to 9 inches. Its form was likened by the natives to that of a canoe, a small natural projection at one end being pointed out as the prow, but the depression was really roughly rectangular. It is said that the bodies of victims who were to be eaten were laid upon this tray, but no other data could be obtained.

Another large bowl or tray of an altogether different form and use, was seen in the island of Tahu Ata. It apparently had been made from an oval water-worn bowlder, the outer surface left unworked. It was seen in the course of a visit so brief that exact measurements were impossible but the dimensions were approximately as follows: length 2 feet, 6 inches, width 20 inches, external depth 18 inches. The depression was circular, narrowing toward the bottom, and was about 14 inches in diameter and one foot deep. The rim was flat and rather carefully smoothed. Upon one end of the rim there was a cylindrical projection about 3 inches in diameter, and of the same height, which was said to be the base of a small tiki figure about one foot in height which was carved in one piece with the bowl. This little figure had been broken off and carried away many years ago. The bowl was built into the pavement of a large dwelling *paepae*, but informants were not certain that this was its original position. It

415 was so heavy, however, that several men would have been required to move it and it must have been fixed in some special place. It was said to have been used [386] to dye tapa with saffron.

A third stone bowl was seen in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, and is known to have been the property of the last queen of that valley. It was made of red tuffa of the sort ordinarily employed for large stone slabs, and was very roughly finished. The dimensions were as follows: diameter, 18 inches; external depth, 14 inches; thickness of rim, 3 inches. It was said by the owner to have been used to keep fire in, in the house at night, but this seems to have been an unusual practise and no other bowls of the sort were known to the natives.

A peculiar stone tray was collected in the valley of Taipi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This specimen is made of rather coarse lava, worked all over but poorly finished. The outside is decidedly asymmetrical—somewhat oblong in shape with rounded ends. One end of the tray has a curious flat projection running from a short distance below the rim down the outside of the bowl to the bottom. This projection is 5½ inches long, 3⅛ inches wide at the upper end and 2 inches wide at the lower end, at the top it is 1 inch thick, at the bottom ½ an inch. The upper end and sides of the projection are somewhat undercut, and a shallow transverse groove runs across the lower end ¾ of an inch above its tip. The internal depression of the tray is nearly rectangular, 11 inches long, 7¼ inches wide and ¾ of an inch deep. The bottom is flat, the sides curving upward abruptly. The outer surfaces of the tray recurve slightly at the rim. The dimensions of the tray are: length, 14⅝ inches; width, 9¼ inches; maximum thickness, 4½ inches. This tray was used by its owner to grate saffron root and was described by him as an heirloom. There is good evidence, however, that he found it while clearing land only a short time before its purchase and its ancient use remains uncertain. (See Pl. 1, *B-C*.)

The specimens described have all been of large size and rather crude workmanship. Certain fragments in the collection of the Bishop Museum, however, prove that there were in the group small and finely made stone bowls. No. B3699A is a fragment of a bowl or tray, its size being too small to make exact determination possible. The material is some soft, rather close-grained, grey stone, and the whole surface, including the fracture, is heavily patinated. The walls are about ⅜ of an inch thick; and the internal depression ⅜ of an inch deep at the rim. The rim is flat, and the object appears to have been finely finished on all surfaces. Another fragment (No. B3699B) is of a small circular bowl about 6¾ inches in diameter and 2¾ inches deep. The walls are ⅜ of an inch thick at the rim and about 1¼ inches thick at the bottom. The outer sides recurve slightly at the rim, which is flat with rounded edges. This

bowl was made of some rather hard close grained stone and was finely finished inside and out. Still another specimen (B3699C) appears to be a fragmnet of a rather shallow bowl 8 to 10 inches in diameter. It is made of a soft grey stone, possibly an indurated ash. At the lower end of the curve it bears a chevron carved in high relief along whose center there is a single incised line. It seems probable that this formed part of a zigzag band running around the bowl, but the fragment is too narrow to tell certainly. No. B3699D is a fragment from the side of a rather large and heavy bowl or tray having a bottom thickness of about one inch. The outer surface was smoothly finished and decorated with closely spaced incised lines forming simple curvilinear designs. (See Pl. XLIX, *E*.)

POUNDERS

INTRODUCTION

Pounders were, with the possible exception of adzes, the commonest of Marquesan stone artifacts, and they still form a regular part of the domestic equipment of all native households. In ancient times they appear to have been manufactured to some extent in all the valleys but even in prehistoric days the superiority of the stone found in Ua Pou and Ua Huka had led to a localization of the industry. The finished implements were traded from these islands to the rest of the group. The manufacture of *popoi* pounders has continued in Ua Huka down to the present time, and shortly before the war large numbers are said to have been made for a German trading company which sold them in their stores throughout the group and even in Tahiti.

At the present time the making of *popoi* pounders appears to be essentially a spare time industry, the natives working upon them when they have nothing more pressing to do.

For the pounders three varieties of stone were formerly used, all of which appear to have been rather soft, even grained magmatic rocks. The best grade was called *ovao*, a grey rock, fine grained, strong and light. The second best was called *puhite'a*, and the third best *potuko*. All these varieties are said to have been obtained from the high part of the island lying to the east of the valley of Hokatu, but as bowlders in two other valleys were pointed out as good pounder stone, it is probable that the deposits were rather wide spread. The stone does not appear to have been regularly quarried, but was obtained from rock slides and stream beds.

The only tool used in making modern *popoi* pounders is an ordinary steel axe, and even the finishing touches are given with this unwieldy instrument. The process of manufacture is as follows:

An irregular piece of stone about three times the size of the finished implement is roughed out with heavy blows of the axe until it becomes a cone. (See Pl. LI, *A*, 1.) This cone is then worked down by light blows on all sides until the general form of the finished implement is produced. This is then smoothed by light, even blows with the corner of the axe until all the contours are perfect. The neck and body of the implement are then shaved with the edge of the axe until the scratches left by the last process are obliterated. The head

415 The *popoi* trough is usually made from breadfruit wood. An average specimen is 5 feet long and 16 inches wide, with square ends, straight sides, and a rounded lower and slightly ex-
252 cavated upper surface. In new specimens the depth of the hollow rarely exceeds 1½ inches but in old specimens it may be as much as 3 inches deep in the center, due to wear. In one very old *popoi* trough, evidently made with stone tools, the interior had been hollowed with fire. The dimensions of individual *popoi* troughs vary considerably, but those used in Nuku Hiva are on the whole shorter and broader than those used in the southern islands.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING COCONUTS

412 Coconuts rank next to breadfruit in the Marquesan dietary, but they seem to have been somewhat less important in pre-European times. They are
252 gathered by hand, without special appliances. The first step in their preparation is to remove the thick husk. This is done by means of a pointed stake, about two inches in diameter, which is fixed rigidly in the ground, point up. To husk the nut it is grasped in both hands, struck sharply upon the point of the stake, and twisted away from it, removing a sliver of the husk, the process being repeated until only the inner shell remains. The process appears easy, but it calls for a considerable skill in manipulation. Nuts are usually husked where gathered, to avoid carrying unnecessary weight.

Nuts other than the thinnest shelled drinking nuts are opened by a few sharp blows of a stone given along the line of greatest diameter, an expert being able to break a nut into two almost equal halves in this way. The water in the cavity of old nuts is thrown away, and the flesh itself, rarely eaten, is grated to extract the milk. Coconut graters vary considerably in the details of form, but are all made upon a single principle.

The graters consist of a stool, or seat of some sort, from one end of which an arm projects more or less horizontally. At the end of the arm the actual scraper is fastened. In ancient times this consisted of a piece of rough coral, or of a strip of shell with the upper edge cut into teeth. Much care is expended upon the seat portion of some of these scrapers, which appears the more remarkable as the furniture of a Marquesan home rarely includes stools or other raised seats. To use the scraper the workman places himself astride the seat, and rubs the nut rapidly over the end of the arm, with a downward and outward motion. A bowl placed below catches the fragments of meat as they fall. When a sufficient quantity of the grated meat has collected, water is added and the whole mixed to a paste.

A strainer is then brought into play to separate the milk from the meat.

This strainer is nothing more than a thick bundle of fiber, about one foot in length and two to three inches in diameter, which is spread out and drawn across the bowl toward the workman, gathering up part of the paste. The ends of the strainer are then twisted in opposite directions, enclosing the paste, and the whole lifted from the bowl and wrung out, the liquid expressed falling back in the bowl. The dry meat remaining in the strainer is thrown away and the process repeated until only a thick creamy white fluid remains in the bowl. Two species of fiber are used for strainers, the commoner is that from the husk of the coconut. The finer strain-
[824] ers are made from the fibers of the stem of a long-leaves plant, which in leaf form and habit of growth resembles large garlic, and from a reference in Jardin (33) is probably *Cyperus mocrelema*. No attempt is made to separate the fiber from the substance, the stems are simply split into long strips. (This fiber is also commonly employed for kava strainers, but there is a con-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections. 415 [314]

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated. [322] [531]

COCONUT SHELLS

The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut 415 322 415

●415 cups were rather dull, but with handling they acquired a beautiful glossy polish. Many cups were provided with a cord handle by which they were hung up when not in use. This handle consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole a short distance below the rim, the inner end being kept from slipping back either by a knot or by a small disk of pearl shell, like a button. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 1.) The finer grade of cups were used principally in kava drinking, which gave the inner surface of the cup a coating of glossy yellow enamel, like lacquer.

It is difficult to draw any line between cups proper and bowls, as the two classes grade imperceptibly into each other. As a rule the bowls are larger and thicker walled, and most specimens have recurved rims, that is, they are made from more than half a nut. Most of these bowls are provided with handles by which they can be suspended horizontally. One specimen in the Bishop Museum has the handle cut in one piece with the body of the bowl (Pl. LVIII, *A*, 2), but as the bowl is evidently unused it seems doubtful whether this is an ancient form. The handles of old specimens are of cord and appear to conform to a single type. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 3.) They were made as follows:

A pair of holes were pierced through either side of the shell a short distance below the rim. A loop of sennit cord was passed through each pair of holes, the ends protruding on the outside. A large black seed was then threaded upon each end of the loop and pushed down against the outer surface of the utensil. A cylinder of human bone, carved with horizontal grooves, was next threaded on, followed by another seed. The two strands of cord were then brought together and passed through a short thick ornament cut from the shaft of a human humerous, carved into a tiki figure. Above this ornament both strands were threaded through a single black seed and closely wrapped with a strand of fine sennit, giving them the appearance of a single cord. The ends of the loops were either tied together above the center of the bowl or interwoven and enclosed in a continuous wrapping which concealed the point of juncture. Bowls arranged for suspension in this way were frequently provided with carved wooden covers like those used for gourds. Bowls were usually rougher in finish than cups and were rarely carved.

Coconut bottles were made from the whole nut, the kernel was removed by a simple but ingenious method. (See Pl. LVIII, *C*.)

[425] A large ripe nut was husked and the shell around the largest eye ground away to form an aperture about one inch in diameter. The nut was then placed in some stream where fresh water shrimps were plentiful and was left for a few days. The shrimps, entering through the aperture, picked the interior of the shell clean and left it ready for use. One of the smaller eyes was then pierced with a pointed stick and a loop of heavy cord passed through and secured on the inside, the outer end of the loop serving as a handle for the bottle. A wooden stopper for the large aperture completed the utensil, which appears never to have been decorated.

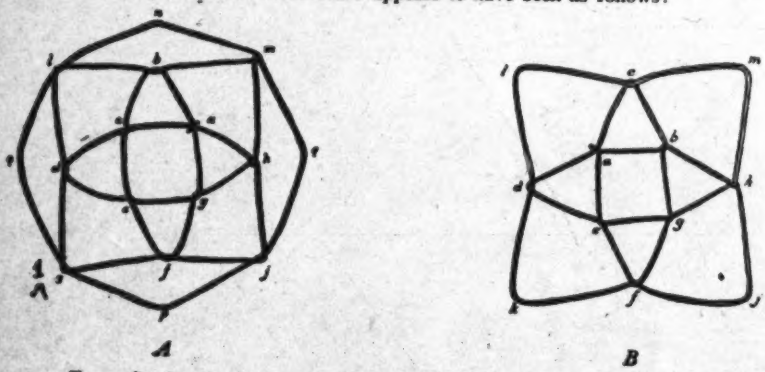
A slightly different type of bottle was used for the storage of scented oil for the hair (Pl. LVIII, *B*).

These utensils were made from small, thick shelled nuts having a more or less pointed stem end, which was ground off to below the eyes. The kernel was removed by the method just described. Most bottles of this sort were elaborately carved, some of the specimens ranking among the finest products of the native art.

GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*). 415 [824] [531]

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows: 415 286



A *B*

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

[97]

1 [this should be k, in light of description on page 358—Analyst]

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghjf*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *kp*[illegible], and *jgm*[1] made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¼ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

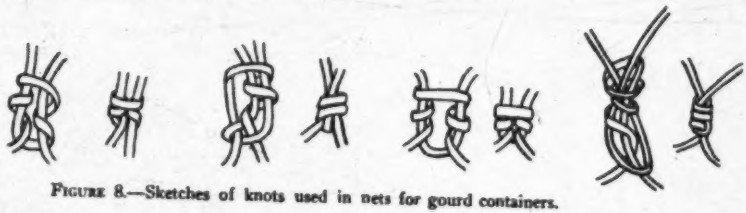


FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

415 Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [531] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[98]

1 [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. —Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

WOODEN CONTAINERS

The Marquesans made a great variety of wooden containers all of which may be placed in one or the other of two main groups: boxes, and bowls or dishes. The objects of each of these classes show considerable individual variation, and in the case of covered containers it is often difficult to say whether a given specimen is a bowl or a box. 415

BOXES

Wooden boxes, used for the storage of valuables, formed part of the equipment of every well-to-do Marquesan family. Such boxes were hewn from large pieces of wood by the processes described under bowl manufacture. (See p. 360.) The favorite materials were breadfruit, temanu and *mio*. The boxes varied greatly in size and in minor details of form and decoration, but all the specimens seen were clearly of a single type. They were made in two parts, a body and a lid. (See Pl. LIX, *A*.) [824]

The body was oval in outline, with a more or less rounded bottom and considerably recurved sides; the upper edge was finished in a narrow flat rim which was broadened at either end. At one end of the body a large knob projected above the rim, while at the opposite end the body was either flattened or bore a short flat-ended horizontal projection. The lid was rounded on the outside, excavated inside, and bore along the inner edge of its rim a thin downward projecting flange which accurately fitted the orifice of the body. The end which rested against the knob of the body when the lid was in position was either flat or notched. The opposite end was elongated and provided on the under side with a short downward projection like a thick blunt hook, which rested against the outside of the body.

In one specimen, which differs in other details from the normal type, the rear end of the lid bears an upward projection corresponding to the knob of the body. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) In well made boxes the lid fits the body so closely that it is frequently difficult to remove it. The whole utensil appears to be a more or less modified bird form, the body knob representing the head; the horizontal projection of the lid, the tail. (See Pl. LIX, *C*.) Boxes were frequently carved and the designs were usually the same as those used upon bowls. The first step apparently was to carve the body knob into a tiki face, and specimens in which this constitutes the sole decoration are not uncommon, although the more ornate examples are carved all over. In one crudely carved specimen in the Bishop Museum the designs show a preponderance of angular-geometric figures coupled with small line representations of human beings which are not of tiki type. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) 415 531

BOWLS AND DISHES

Wooden bowls and dishes are probably more numerous in ethnological collections than any other objects of Marquesan manufacture, as the elaborate carvings with which many of them are decorated make them eagerly sought after by collectors. They still form part of the equipment of every native household 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 and are manufactured in considerable numbers. No lathes have ever been introduced into the Marquesas, and all wooden utensils are still made by aboriginal
[322] processes modified only by the introduction of metal tools. The modern makers have ceased to reproduce the more elaborate ancient forms and ordinary utensils are rarely carved at the present time; but skillful carvers are still found in Nuka Hiva and Hiva Oa, and especially in Fatu Hiva, which was formerly the artistic center of the group.

415 The Marquesans employed a great variety of woods for their utensils, the favorite being *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*). This tree has a dark brown heart
824 wood and white sap wood, while its softness and even texture make it especially easy to carve. Next in importance came the temanu. This wood is light red to yellow in color and somewhat harder and less even grained than the *mio*, but still well adapted to the purpose. The trees attain a very large size, and on this account temanu appears always to have been used in ancient times for feast bowls and other large vessels. Most modern utensils are made of this wood, as the supply of large *mio* is practically exhausted. *Mei* (breadfruit) was used to a limited extent, but was considered an inferior material. Fau wood, when taken from old trees, was occasionally used, and small more or less ornamental vessels were made from sandal wood or *toa*. *Toa* was especially difficult to work on account of its hardness and its tendency to split, and objects made from it seem to have been primarily intended to show the skill of the workman. A number of other woods were sometimes used for special purposes or in the absence of better material, but according to informants, *vai*, a close grained red wood which appears well adapted to bowl making, was never used because it would split when exposed to the sun.

415 Modern bowl makers shape their utensils with adzes and knives, but knives are little used. The adzes are provided with iron blades made either from
322 plane irons or from sections of iron pipe, which has replaced the stone blades of the *toki kouma* type. (See p. 323.)

A well equipped workman employs a whole series of adzes of diminishing size, the last used being miniatures only a few inches in length. Green wood is used when possible, as it is softer and easier to work, but seasoned wood can also be used for bowls after it has been soaked in the river for several weeks. A block considerably larger than the intended object is first roughed out from the log, and is then worked down with the adz until the desired outline has been obtained. In all the examples seen approximately the final form was given to the exterior before the excavation of the interior was begun. In making round bowls a pair of European compasses are now used to outline the rim, but the shaping of the body is done entirely by eye. In shaping the exterior a light glancing blow is used, the chips detached being of such uniform size that a well made bowl just prior to polishing is covered with a multitude of small regular facets like those on a bowl of beaten brass. In excavating the interior the workman begins at the center, and gradually works back to the edges, hollowing the whole interior to the depth of about an inch. He then begins at the center once more and excavates another level, continuing until the desired depth is reached. The inside of an unfinished bowl

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years. 415 322

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary: 415 531

Ketipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities). 415
Ketihu. Dish. 192
Kopuha. Kind of native dish.
Kokoma. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kokipo. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiepe. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipe. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kepo. Vase for kava.
Kaipu. All vases.
Ipu. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hue. All vases with large openings.
Hue maoi. Calabash.
Tipoui. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahara. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Taeoa. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaka. Small dish.
Tahae. Oblong dish.
Tahaha. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hua. Small dish.
Pihara, Piarehara. Native dish.
Papa katua. Covered dish for popoi.
Haoo tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Akuipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants. 415

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a [824] large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *nio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

415 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *hue po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

[266] This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *tipoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them. 415 [531]

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round. [177]

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3⅛ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact. [177]

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

415 all four sides. Square utensils appear to have been unknown, those which were not round being oval or oblong. In most of the oblong specimens the sides are more or less convex, the difference between them and the oval forms lying in the degree of flattening at the ends.

Two specimens of a very curious oblong type not observed elsewhere were seen in the Valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. These utensils were flat bottomed, with shallowly convex sides and ends which met in well marked angles. The [171] whole form bore a remarkable resemblance to the type of food dish commonest among the Haida of the Northwest Coast of North America. The utensils were evidently of recent manufacture and the natives could give no name for the type and were uncertain whether it was ancient.

Oblong trays and dishes appear to have been in rather common use in ancient times, although few specimens have survived. Those seen were provided with low vertical sides and almost flat interior bottoms. The exterior was smoothly rounded. The troughs for beating *popoi* are really very large oblong trays (p. 352).

Several well marked types of oval dishes may be distinguished, of which the long narrow flat ended containers, called *toto*, are the most important. Except for the proportions of the different parts and the inward curve of the sides toward the rim, the form of these utensils is almost identical with that of the underbodies of the large built up canoes. The ends of the vessel are straight, the sides convex, so that the greatest width is in the center. The sides also show a vertical convexity, and the maximum width of the utensil both internally and externally is about midway between the bottom and rim. (See Pl. LX, *B*.)

Most of the *toto* are large. Bowls long enough for a man to lie in are remembered by the older natives. The smallest example seen was 18 inches long, with a maximum central width of 8⅝ inches. Usually no handles were used with this type, but this small specimen was provided with a handle consisting of two loops of sennit passed through holes bored vertically in the corners and tied together above the center.

[482] *Toto* are said to have been used principally for the transportation of prepared food at the time of feasts, and according to natives their shape was designed to make them easier to carry upon the shoulders. They were carried transversely, resting upon both shoulders and the nape of the neck, the bearer's head being bowed upon his chest.

Small oval *kava* bowls, with nearly parallel sides and rounded or pointed ends appear to have been fairly common and probably constitute a distinct type. Some of these bowls were provided with a suspension loop or handle attached to the center of one side. (See Pl. LX, *A*, 2-3.)

Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.) 415

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived. [531]

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong. 415 531

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old 415 177

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 177 European residents of the group and many natives believe that they were copied from them. Other natives declare that the form is ancient. In view of the containers mentioned in the preceding paragraph it seems most probable that this type has been developed from an aboriginal one by the addition of a base and that the obvious resemblance of the resulting utensil to a soup tureen has given rise to the belief that the European utensil was copied entire. The question of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base in primitive Marquesan utensils is of considerable ethnological interest, but the native evidence is conflicting and very few really old utensils have been preserved. In view of the practical absence of this feature elsewhere in Polynesia it seems safest to ascribe it to European influence.

415 Legged containers appear to be entirely absent in the Marquesas, the nearest approach being a low transverse flange carved near either end of the bottom. This feature was observed in only one specimen, and there is good reason to believe that it was not aboriginal. In view of the importance of utensils with legs in the Society Islands and their occasional occurrence in Hawaii, their absence in the Marquesas is rather curious.

Two bowls of unusual form are shown on Plate LXI, *C*. No. 1 seems to be an imitation of a long cupped leaf, the short upturned handle representing the stem. In both specimens there is a deep channel at the smaller end evidently intended to direct the flow of the fluid in pouring. In No. 1 this channel ends in a well marked lip. The interior of No. 2 is coated with *kava* enamel and it is probable that both were used as *kava* bowls.

An end channel similar to that in No. 2 is a common feature of the large four-legged Tahitian bowls, while bowls with lips were occasionally made by the Maori. Elsewhere in Polynesia these features appear to be rare or lacking.

COMPARISON OF CONTAINERS

415 171 A comparison of Polynesian containers could not fail to throw a great deal of light on the relations of the different groups, but anything like a satisfactory study is impossible at present. Regions in which the containers are poorly made or undecorated are often entirely unrepresented in Museums, while many others are represented by two or three specimens at most. Under the circumstances it is only possible to point out a few obvious similarities and differences. Long oval boxes with covers were numerous in the Marquesas and New Zealand, but appear to have been unknown in Hawaii and Western Polynesia. Round boxes with tight fitting covers are found throughout Western Polynesia and in Hawaii, but are lacking in the Marquesas and New Zealand. They appear to have been rare in Hawaii, and it seems safe to assign the long

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

box to the marginal, and the round box to the western culture. Vessels with legs are common in Western Polynesia and in the Society Islands, but are rare in Hawaii. They are absent in the Marquesas, and the only utensils which approach this form in New Zealand are certain large gourds used for potting birds which, according to Tregear (82, p. 98), were fitted with three or four legs to make them stand upright. It is probable, therefore, that the use of legs cut in one piece with the utensil was a feature of the western culture, their absence a feature of the eastern. 415 171

A comparison of Marquesan and Micronesian containers yields some interesting results. The Micronesian containers are uniformly flat bottomed and many are provided with bases. The Marquesan containers are round bottomed and the aboriginal use of a base is questionable. The bases of modern utensils appear identical with those used in the Pelew group. (Kubary, 76, Plates 23-7.) Bird shaped containers similar to those of the Marquesas were used in Pelew and the Caroline Islands. (See Finsch, 73, p 321, and Wilson, 83, p. 102.) These bird forms are not found in any other part of Polynesia or Micronesia.

Melanesian containers have never been studied or described as a whole, but it seems certain that the long oval box, which is a feature of eastern Polynesian culture, does not occur in this region. Legged utensils on the other hand are rather common, being most numerous in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji. Bases similar to those of the Pelew and Marquesas Islands seem to have been rather common in the Solomon Islands.

DECORATION OF CONTAINERS

Marquesan containers were decorated by several methods of which carving was the most important. The handles were decorated with seeds and bone tubes, and feathers or locks of hair seem to have been attached to the bodies of some of the containers. The lids of some bowls were covered with an incrustation of red or black seeds imbedded in breadfruit gum. Single red seeds, applied here and there, were used to heighten the effect of the carving, especially when the container was made of the dark colored *mio* wood. These seeds were either wedged in deep grooves of the carving or partly imbedded in the wood. This imbedding of seeds is an approach to inlaying, but it is significant that in spite of the strong aesthetic sense of the Marquesans and their extensive use of bone and mother of pearl in personal ornaments, they appear never to have inlaid wood with these materials. 415 531

The elaborate carved decoration of many Marquesan containers made them much sought after by collectors, and the demand for objects of this sort has led to a persistence of the art, although in a rather decadent form. In pre-

7; Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In pre-

415 European times the carving was done with sharks' teeth, rats' teeth, or shells, but
531 for nearly a century these implements have been replaced by implements of iron.
322 Practically all the tools now used by carvers are home-made and are crude, but effective. They consist of small chisels, made from large nails ground to a straight edge; curved chisels, also made from nails, and small gouges, which are usually made from umbrella ribs. Knives are apparently never used for carving.

Containers are always completely shaped and polished as if for use before carving, a practise which increases the difficulties of the artist as it makes it impossible to conceal any slips of the chisel. The bowl to be carved is soaked in a stream for some time to soften the wood, and when not being worked on is usually kept in water. Only beginners draw the designs upon the utensil before carving; the skilled workman carves entirely free hand and arranges the spacing of even the most intricate designs entirely by eye. The chisel, usually fixed in a rough wooden handle, is held with the bit below the hand, and the carver appears to work with equal facility either toward or away from the body. The incision is first marked out by pressing the chisel into the wood vertically, and is then made by pushing the tool along horizontally, with one corner of the bit at the bottom of the original vertical cut and the edge, sloping upward to the surface of the bowl at a variable angle. A long triangular sliver is thus removed; any irregularities in the cutting are dressed down with small chisels. In a very large proportion of the carved specimens all the incisions have this triangular form, but when wide spaces are to be cut away they are outlined by two cuts of the sort just described, the wood between is removed, and the bottom of the space dressed flat or left with a low central ridge. Curved chisels are used to dress the vertical sides of incisions in curved designs, while the gouges are used principally for small details or shallow designs which are incised rather than carved.

Modern carvers have a strong tendency to enlarge and simplify the details of the designs and broaden the incisions in order to increase the speed of production.

415 Carved decoration appears to have been most commonly used upon round
531 bowls, next in frequency being the boxes and the tureen-like covered dishes. At least some of the other forms were probably carved in pre-European times but no carved *toto* or oval bowls, with the exception of the bird effigies, are known. Bird effigies and some boxes were carved only upon the projecting knob, and a few bowls and dishes were decorated with a carved band below the rim, but as a rule the carving covered the entire outside of the utensil. In applying the designs the surface was rarely, if ever, treated as a whole, being broken up into a number of sections which were treated as separate units. In the actual process of carving the outlining of these sections upon the bowl was the first step, and the filling designs were applied afterward. A symmetrical arrangement of the sections appears to have always been intended, and there is usually more or less agreement between the filling designs of corresponding sections. In decorating a circular bowl the bottom was usually treated as a single unit, although it was sometimes divided into two or more parts. The sides were divided either into horizontal zones or vertical sections, and the boundaries marked either by plain

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

grooves or by narrow bands of design. On account of the shape of the vessel the vertical sections were wider at the top than at the bottom. Some specimens show both horizontal and vertical divisions. On boxes and other oval containers the arrangement of the sections appears to have been variable. 415 531

CLASSIFICATION OF DESIGNS

The material available for a study of container designs is limited. Only one of the carved containers studied appears to belong to other than the later period of European contact, and the bulk of the specimens in museums are unquestionably commercial products. Most of the modern work indicates a sacrifice of quality to quantity of production, which shows itself in slipshod work, simplification of the designs used, and an increasing tendency toward angularity. Each of the modern carvers has a tendency to ignore all but a few motifs, which he has learned to reproduce rapidly and accurately. As a result of this the work of a given carver, or that of his pupils, can at once be distinguished in a mixed collection. The style of many of the older specimens seems to indicate that a similar individual specialization in designs existed at least thirty or forty years ago, but it is impossible to say definitely that such was the case. It is probable that distinct local or individual schools of decoration existed in pre-European times; but if so, their content and differences can not now be established. The modern carvers appear to have borrowed few, if any, European motifs, and the present art is a simplified rather than a mixed one.

The simple division of designs into angular-geometric and curvilinear, used in the study of house post decorations, is unsatisfactory for containers. The best classification appears to be as follows: (1) band decorations, (2) angular-geometric designs used to fill sections, (3) design elements, (4) motifs, (5) representations of natural objects.

(1) BAND DECORATIONS

Band decorations consist of various arrangements of dots, straight lines and angles, with one arrangement of spirals, employed upon the spaces separating sections of design, and to some extent upon design elements. Bands appear rarely, if ever, to have been used to fill sections. Band designs are shown on Plate LXII as follows:

A. Straight parallel lines.
B. Straight rows of dots, used either singly or in parallel.
C. Parallel diagonal lines.
D. Herringbone patterns.
E. Cross-hatching.
F. Zigzag parallel lines, either longitudinal or transverse.
G and *H.* Alternate interlocking triangles, solid or filled with V's or with lines parallel to one side.

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J. Alternate interlocking triangles separated by parallel diagonal lines.
K. Two rows of opposed triangles, the spaces between being filled with concentric diamonds or broken scrolls.
L. Bands of oblongs placed transversely at intervals equal to their width.
M. A combination of *L* with a row of inverted triangles, the apex of each triangle resting against the end of an oblong.
N. A combination of *L* with a zigzag line, apparently a modification of *M*.
O. Rows of pointed half ovals, each oval containing a spiral.

(2) ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS

Angular-geometric designs were rarely used to fill sections. The collection included only two specimens decorated in this way. One of these is a large feast bowl from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, decorated entirely with simple angular-geometric designs, most of which are like those used upon house posts. The other is a crudely carved box, locality unknown, which bears very few designs of ordinary container type. The designs used are shown on Plate XLII, *P*.

1. Four triangles meeting at the apex, their interiors being filled with V's.
2. Groups of diamonds filled with concentric diamonds or angular scrolls.

(3) DESIGN ELEMENTS

The designs here described (Pl. LXIII, *A*), although sometimes enlarged to fill entire sections, were usually incorporated into complex motifs or used to fill in the parts of a section not covered by the main motif.

A. Spirals are the commonest element of Marquesan bowl design. Both single and double spirals are employed. A few examples are true spirals of nearly circular outline. Some are triangular but the greatest number are rectangular. The double spirals appear in several forms with the turns both in the same and opposite directions. (Drawings 1-5.)

B. Circles appear to have been normally used only to outline the section of decoration covering the bottom of round bowls. Only one example of a series of concentric circle used to fill a section was found. (Drawing 6.)

C. Ovals and rectangles grade imperceptibly into each other and it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other. Both were employed either as fill, or in enlarged form, to decorate entire sections. The interiors of these figures were usually filled with concentric ovals or rectangles. (Drawings 7 and 9.)

D. Pointed ovals were ordinarily used only as parts of more complex motifs and were less common than the ovals of class 7. They were filled either with concentric ovals or with herringbone patterns. (Drawing 8.)

E. Segments of ovals were extensively employed as fill and as portions of more elaborate motifs. They were usually filled with either concentric half or quarter ovals or with hooks. (Drawings 10-12.)

F. Combs, half ovals or half rectangles whose interiors were filled with short parallel lines perpendicular to the long axis of the figure, were employed principally as details of larger motifs. (Drawings 13 and 14.)

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G. Pokaa is the name given a small circle, oval or rectangle broken at some point in its circumference. In the container designs *pokaa* figures grade imperceptibly into small circles bisected by a groove or bar, and from these into various forms of double spiral and scroll. The term is used here to include all figures of this class not certainly spirals or scrolls although its native application is probably more limited. The extent of the variation can be seen from the accompanying plate taken from those used upon commercial clubs. The *pokaa* was used to a minor degree upon bowls, and is fairly common in modern carving, but appears to have been primarily a tattooing design. It was also used on ancient war clubs. Arrangements of two *pokaa* placed back to back and joined by a bar do not appear to have been used in tattooing, but are found in the carving. (See drawings 15 to 20.)

H. The natives designate a series of concentric circles, ovals or rectangles broken by a bar or groove extending from the center to beyond the rim as *eipuoto*. These figures grade into *pokaa* and the two motifs are closely related. They are of only minor importance upon bowls, but appear in tattooing, upon house posts, and as petroglyphs. From their use in rock carvings it seems probable that these designs have a special significance, being possibly a conventionalized representation of a vagina and phallus. (See drawings 21-27.)

I. The use of hooks of characteristic form does much to give Marquesan art its distinctive quality. These hooks are of two types: One hook has a short vertical and a long horizontal arm meeting at right angles. The sides of the vertical arm are parallel; the lower side of the horizontal arm is straight and the upper irregularly convex. The end of the horizontal end is pointed. (See drawing 28.) The second hook contains either two or three sections which meet approximately at right angles, the sides being parallel throughout and the ends straight or rounded. (See drawing 29.) The pointed hooks are rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing. The other type of hook is constantly used in container design, ranking even before the spiral in frequency. It is used principally to fill segments of ovals or rectangles, and the arrangement is more or less stereotyped. In filling a half oval a series of three section hooks are placed with their bases resting upon the straight edge of the figure and their points at alternate ends. The innermost hooks are usually of two sections only. (See drawing 30.) In filling a quarter oval two sections are employed, the bases of alternate hooks resting against first one and then the other of the straight sides of the segment. (See drawing 31.) The hooks are always incised and the raised surface left between the cuts forms a continuous scroll which will be referred to as a hook scroll.

J. Crosses. Both plain (drawing 32) and staggered (drawing 33) crosses were employed, but always in connection with other designs which filled the spaces between their arms and the edges of the section.

K. Triangles rarely appear outside of the band decorations. They are used principally upon the bottoms of bowls and are filled either with angular spirals or with concentric triangles (drawing 34).

(4) MOTIFS

Motifs include the various standardiation combinations of design elements other than those which appear to be representations of natural objects. These are illustrated in Plate LXIII, *B* as follows:

1. Crosses, either plain or staggered, with arms continued into hook scrolls which fill the four quarters of the section.

2. *Kaake*, broad, straight-ended elbow figures with ends and bodies decorated with designs. (The *kaake* motif is common in tattooing, but rare in container decoration.)

3. *Mata.* The simplest form of the *mata* consists of two half ovals (convex side downward) each of which is filled with hooks or concentric half ovals, below which centrally there is some variant of the *pokaa*. The space on either side of the *pokaa*, below the half ovals, is usually filled with small designs not connected with these main elements. The whole arrangement apparently represents a highly conventionalized face in which the half ovals serve as eyes and the *pokaa* as nose. Some forms of double spiral seem to be related to the *mata* motif. *Mata* are rather rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing.

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(5) REPRESENTATIONS OF NATURAL OBJECTS

415 The Marquesans appear rarely to have carved representations of natural objects other than human beings upon their containers, although a statement of 532 Langsdorff that they carved upon their bowls "little figures of human faces, of fish and of birds" (38, p. 172) may indicate that this was done in former times. The representations of natural objects upon the containers examined may all be assigned to some one of three classes: representations of human beings, representations of animals or insects, floral designs. With the exception of the human figures carved upon one box, all such representations are highly conventionalized and are linked by intermediate forms to various purely decorative designs.

(6) REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS

The decorations on Plate LXIV, *A* may be divided into three classes: more or less naturalistic figures, which occur only upon the specimen mentioned in the preceding paragraph; angular-geometric figures; and figures carved according to the tiki convention.

The naturalistic figures (drawings No. 1) are crudely executed, resembling the drawings made by a child. The persons are represented with the legs apart and the arms akimbo. The body and limbs are shown as simple lines or bands. In one example the toes are indicated. The heads are disproportionately large and the features, when shown, are grotesque. Curiously enough the faces have little or no resemblance to those of figures of the tiki type.

Angular-geometric representations of human beings appear to have been employed exclusively in the form of narrow bands (drawing No. 2) The representations consist of an inverted triangle, representing the head, below which there is a cross line for the shoulders, with three vertical lines, representing the body and arms. No other features are indicated. Representations of this sort sometimes occur in the same bands with decorations *L*, *M* and *N*, shown on Plate LXII, and it is possible that those band decorations originated from representations of human figures.

Human figures carved in the round or in relief appear to have been almost never used upon containers; but flat figures, which stand to the true tikis in the relation of a line drawing to a bas-relief or statue, were extensively employed. They evince a strong tendency to modify the body by substituting decorative elements for its various parts, or to eliminate the body altogether. The convention used for depicting the features was essentially the same as that of the true tikis, and a suggestion of the relief form is usually retained in the modeling of the eyes within and above the rings. (Drawings No. 3.)

The eyes are shown by two rings joined at the inner ends and continued at the outer ends into horizontal bars which terminate in double spirals or scrolls, representing the ear. The

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

bridge of the nose is usually indicated by a straight line, and the nostrils by semi-circles or semi-ovals. The mouth is shown as a simple oblong or narrow oval with a longitudinal central ridge, and in a few designs the teeth are indicated by short transverse grooves. There is usually a horizontal ridge across the eye ball, but in some figures the eye ball is smoothly rounded and in one specimen there is a distinct central disk, like a pupil. The most interesting feature in connection with the use of tiki figures is the gradual elimination of details. Not only is there a strong tendency to omit the body, but the features of the face are discarded one by one. The first to be lost is the mouth, followed, with equal frequency by the nose or ears. In a few carvings only the linked ovals of the eyes remain, and in some designs a single unmistakable tiki eye, with an attached ear, is used as a separate element. 415 532

(7) REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS OR INSECTS

Three motifs appear to be highly conventionalized representations of some animal or insect. (Pl. LXIV, *B*.) Two of these motifs each occur upon one specimen only, while the third, with many modifications and variations, plays an important part in bowl design.

The simpler of the rare motifs (drawing No. 1), found in only one specimen, consists of a broad straight groove ending in a circle or semi-circle and having along either edge a fringe of diagonal lines. The whole form suggests a centipede, but it can not even be said with certainty that a representation of a natural object is intended.

A second rare motif, also found upon one specimen only, has a long narrow body in the form of a pointed oval, at one extremity of which are placed forelegs and a head and at the other hind legs with a suggestion of a tail.

The body is decorated with a single longitudinal groove and has on either side a number of short transverse grooves, apparently representing a spine and ribs (drawing No. 2). Each pair of legs, with the head or tail, is treated practically as a separate unit, the form suggesting the crosses shown in Plate LXIII, *B*, 1. The space along either side of the body is filled in the original with unassociated designs carved at a lower level. The whole treatment is so conventional that identification is difficult, but it seems probable that a lizard is intended.

The third motif is comparatively common in the modern commercial work from Fatu Hiva and shows a more or less standard form, with many examples which have been modified in various ways. The standard figure and various modifications are shown on Plate LXIV, *B*, 3.

The standard figure consists of a long oval with which are connected three pairs of spirals, two being attached at either end and the third pair somewhere along the sides. There is usually a suggestion of a head at one or both ends.

A more or less standardized variation, which may have been originally a separate motif (Pl. LXIV, *B*, 4) has a shorter and broader oval body, with or without a head, from the upper end of which spring two broad curved bands, while to the lower end are connected two spirals or separate scrolls. This form grades imperceptibly into purely decorative designs with no suggestion of representation.

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FLORAL DESIGNS

415 532 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 531 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs played a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *koake* are rare, while *pokaa* and *cipuoto* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 531 171 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chatham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[9] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Ruth Gessner (71). Only the most important points will be enumerated here.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

development in the Marquesas. A superficial study of the designs employed in the regions of their occurrence shows the following: 415 531 171

In southeastern Polynesia, to judge from the few examples available for study, we have a division of the surface to be decorated into a number of small sections or bands which are filled with small angular geometric motifs. These motifs are usually applied in bands, and are not as a rule combined to form larger designs. The only curvilinear form is the concentric circle.

In the Marquesas we have a division of the surface to be decorated into sections of relatively large size which are often separated by bands of simple design. These sections are treated as units, being filled with large designs formed by the combination of several design elements. Both curvilinear and angular-geometric designs are employed, but curvilinear designs are clearly dominant in container decoration. There is a tendency to give angularity to basicly curvilinear forms, such as the spiral, but there is an equally strong tendency to round the angles of basicly angular forms, such as the oblong.

In northern New Zealand the surface to be decorated is either treated as a whole, or divided into a very few large sections by bands of narrow design. Only curvilinear designs are employed, the dominant motif being the spiral. An important feature of the technique is the use of a beaded interline.

If we compare the southeastern Polynesian carvings with those on western Polynesian weapons, the most elaborately carved objects from that region, we are at once struck by a basic similarity in design and execution. There is the same division of the surface into many bands or sections which are filled with small angular-geometric motifs. The southeastern Polynesian examples show an additional motif, the concentric circle, and show superior workmanship, but the carvings from both regions resemble each other much more closely than they do those of either the Marquesans or Maoris.

The Marquesan and Maori carvings have little superficial resemblance, but they possess two features in common which are foreign to the regions just compared; a predominance of curvilinear designs, and an extensive use of the spiral. The toothed line, important in New Zealand, occurs in the Marquesas but is rare there. The practise of dividing the surface to be decorated into sections, constant in the Marquesas, is rare among the northern Maori, but angular-geometric designs seem to have been used in carving in some parts of New Zealand.

It appears that there existed originally in marginal Polynesia, exclusive of Hawaii, a predominantly curvilinear art which treated surfaces as a whole or in large sections. The original western Polynesian art was angular-geometric, with a division of the surfaces treated into many small sections. In the Cook Islands, Austral Islands and Society Islands, the original marginal art was almost de-

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stroyed by an invasion of western culture. The strong evidences of such an invasion have already been pointed out in the case of other elements of material culture. On the side of pure decoration the original art modified that of the invaders to a very small degree. Northern New Zealand, because of its location, was practically unaffected by the western Polynesian art. The Marquesas, on the other hand, received a moderately strong influence resulting either in the introduction of sectional treatment of surfaces and angular-geometric designs on in the strengthening of these features if they were present in the original complex.

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285 Edge Partington (20, p. 46) figures a closely woven basket of coconut leaves of still a different type. It is oval in outline, with a flat bottom, vertical sides and a flat recurved top, making the opening considerably smaller in diameter than the body of the basket. No baskets of this sort are now in use and the form seems to have been forgotten.

[415] In the collection of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge there are two rather curious sacks from the Marquesas..

The material is split pandanus similar to that employed in mat weaving. The sacks are almost identical in size and construction and are rectangular, 14½ inches long and 11 inches deep. The form is that of an envelope with a triangular flap. The body of the sack is of double thickness, the outside layer being made of strips ⅛ inch wide except for the last 3 inches below the top. The sack above this point, the flap, and the inner layer, are woven from much finer strips produced by splitting each of the ¼ inch strips in three. The technique is a simple checkerwork. A loop of twisted coconut fiber is attached to the center of the lip of the sack and passes up through a hole in the flap, protruding for 2 to 3 inches when the sack is closed. There is no information as to the use of these objects.

Jardin (33, p. 36) says that the natives wove coarse baskets from the flexible shoots of the *tutu* (Ceanothus asiatious), but gives no data to their form or the technique employed.

FANS

293 Marquesan fans were of two sorts, ordinary fans, which are still manufactured and used, and chiefs' fans, which were carried by persons of importance and were intended for show rather than use. The chiefs' fans are now obsolete, and no examples have been preserved in the group. They are fairly numerous in collections, however, and the type may be accurately described.

The coconut fans have a broad straight outer end and sides which are nearly parallel at the tip and curve inward smoothly at the base. All the specimens seen were more or less asymmetrical (Pl. LXVI, *F*), but this did not appear to be intentional. They are made as follows:

Young coconut leaflets are folded so that the midrib lies along one edge of the woven strip. The weaving is begun at the outer end, a flat band, twilled over two and under two and as long as the width of the proposed fan, being woven first. The twill in this band is longitudinal, and the whole is rarely more than seven elements wide. The direction of the twill is then changed to vertical, and the fan woven down to the upper end of the handle. To form the handle the two leaflets which are central at that point are crossed and carried down vertically, each succeeding pair being similarly detached from the weaving, crossed and braided in with those already detached until all have been included. The ends of these leaflets, which extend some distance below the fan, are then packed closely together, wrapped with bark string, and cut off squarely at the tips, the whole forming the handle.

The following description of chiefs' fans (Pl. LXVII, *A*, *B*) is based upon an examination of specimens in the possession of M. George La Garde of Papeete, and in various American museums. The weaving appears to have been uniform; the technique being as follows:

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the intertribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group. 184

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

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DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

CONTAINERS

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAMOA	TONGA
Bowls	Oval, often bird form, tight cover	Oval, tight cover	Round, tight cover	Present, form unknown	Round, tight cover	No data
Bowls with legs	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Oval form common	Common	Common

WEAPONS

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAMOA	TONGA
Clubs	Paddle club and ax, no bludgeon or throwing club	Characteristic local forms	Short bludgeons, stone headed club (rare); throwing club	Bludgeon, modified paddle club, sickle club, no throwing club	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important	Many types, mostly of Fijian origin, throwing club important
Short tooth weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Knives, no true weapons	Many pronged weapon and sickle	Not used	Not used
Bow	Toy and for fishing	Used traditionally as weapon	Toy and for rat hunting	Used in chief's game	Toy and fishing	Important weapon
Sling	Important	Occasionally used as weapon, also toy	Important	Important	Common	Little used
Sling stone	Double conical	Not shaped	Double conical	Not shaped	No data	No data
Throwing cord	In games only	Stick with cord	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Spear with head cut to break off in wound	Present	Several types	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Chief's stave	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top decorated with hair	Important, blade flat, upper end enclosed in woven sleeve, top carved	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Armor	Not used	Several thicknesses of mats	Thick mats and wicker helmets	Breast plates of heavy fiber, helmets	One-piece suit like Gilbert Islands, very rare	Not used

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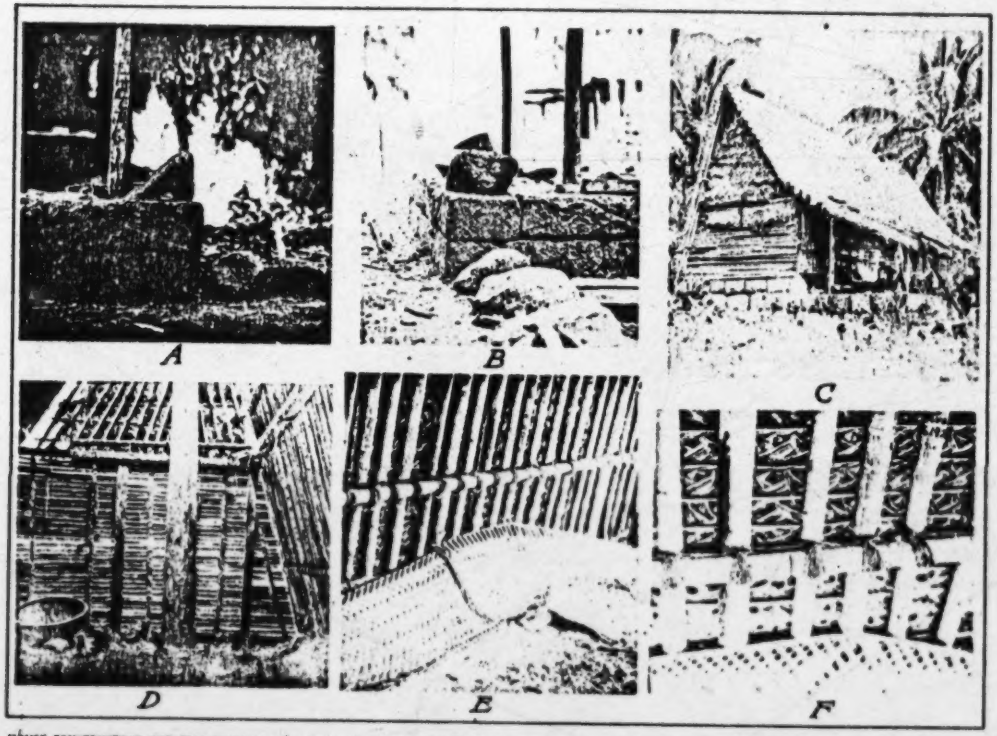

HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OLD HOUSE AT ATUONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR ROOF.

[end plate 1]

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7: Lanoo E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A B

C D E

STONE ARTIFACTS AND OTHERS: *A*, TOP VIEW; *B*, SIDE VIEW OF CARVED SET SINKER (UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA); *C*, PIPE; *D*, SPOON PIPE, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *E*, FRAGMENT OF DECORATED ADZE.

[End plate 10]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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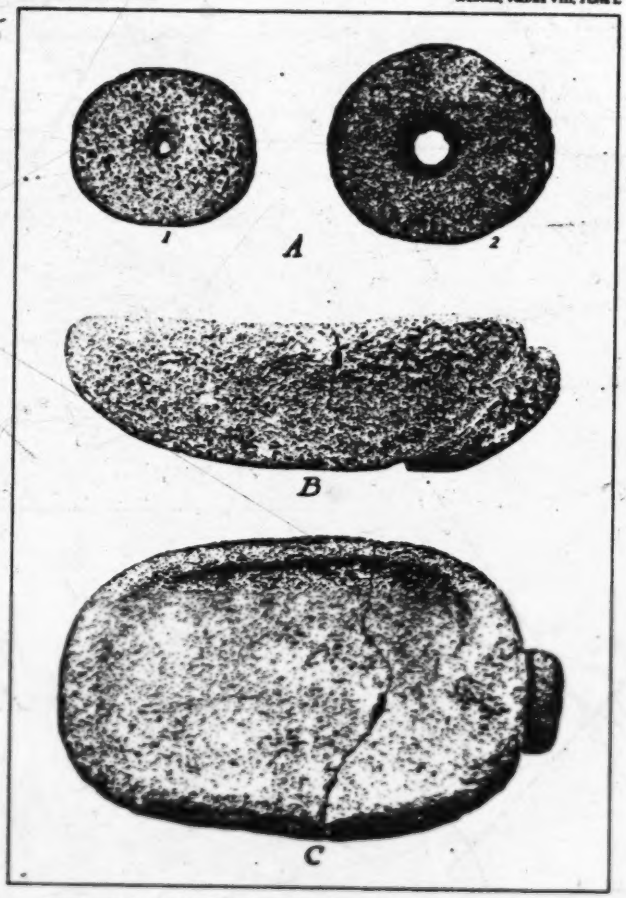

STONE ARTIFACTS AND UTENSILS: *A*, PERFORATED DISCS; *B* AND *C*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF TRAY.

[end plate 11]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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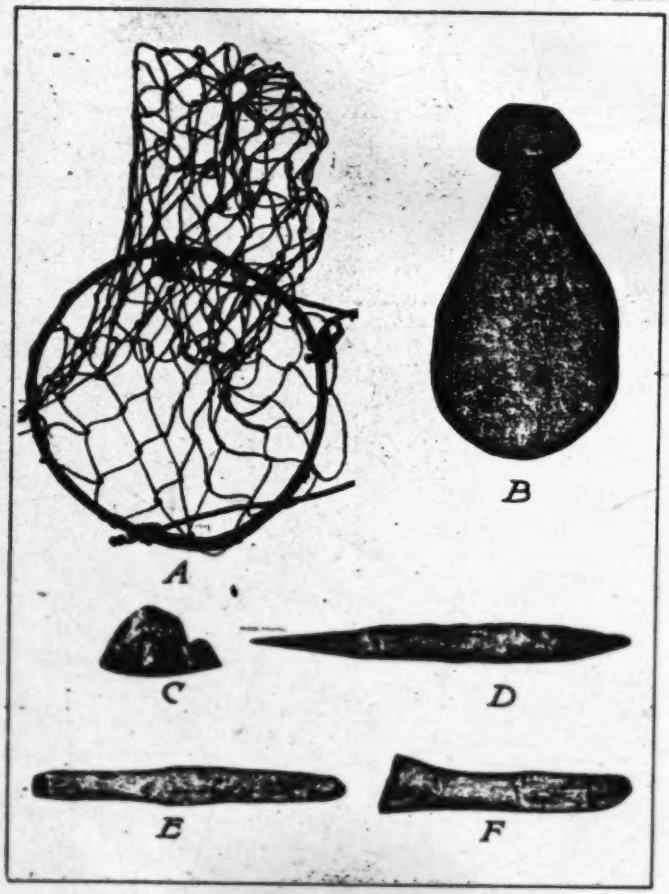

ARTICLES USED IN PREPARING BREADFRUIT: *A*, NET FOR CARRYING FRUIT; *B*, SPLITTER; *C*, PEELER; *D*, STICK FOR PIERCING FRUIT; *E*, WOODEN KNIFE; *F*, BONE KNIFE FOR PEELING COOKED FRUIT.

[end plate 15]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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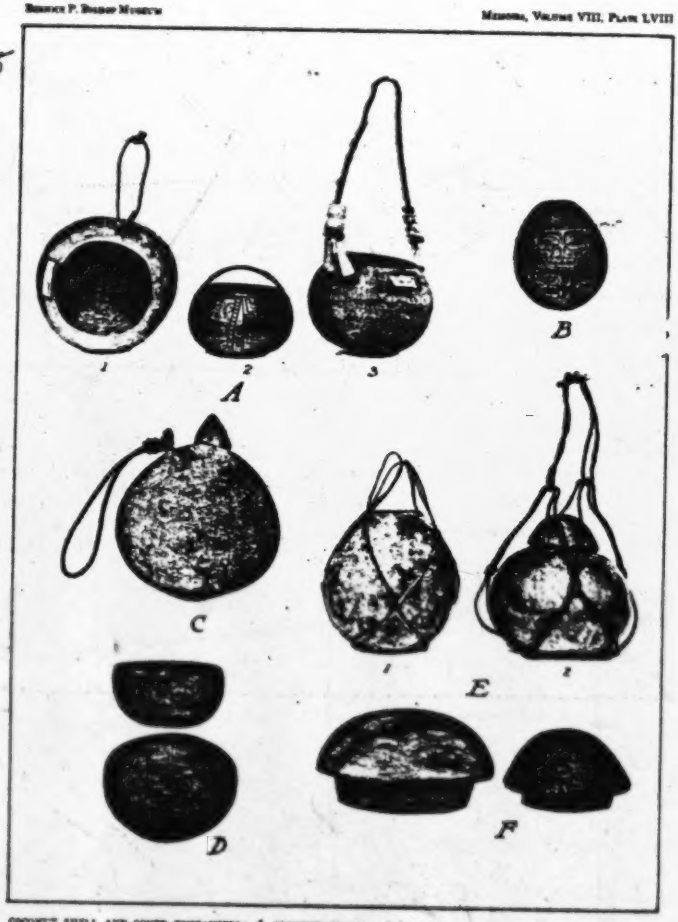

COCONUT SHELL AND GOURD CONTAINERS: *A*, COCONUT BOWLS — (1) WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, (2) WITH HANDLE MADE FROM SHELL, (3) WITH DECORATED CORD HANDLE; *B*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR OIL; *C*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR WATER; *D*, CARVED COCONUT CUPS; *E*, GOURD CONTAINERS (NUU); *F*, STOPPERS FOR GOURD CONTAINERS.

[end plate 19]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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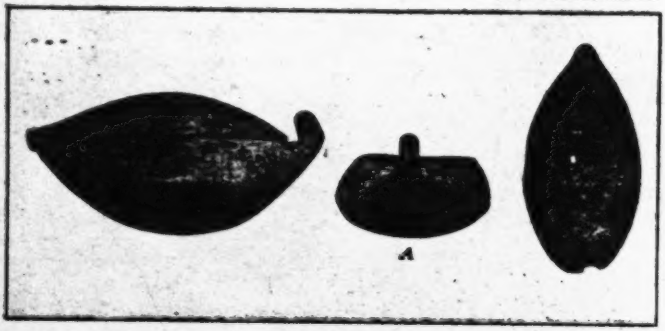

WOODEN CONTAINERS: *A*, LARGE BOX, VIEWS OF SIDE, END AND INSIDE OF LID; *B*, CARVED BOX, UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, SMALL BOX; *D*, BOWL WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *E*, BOWL WITH HANDLE, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *F*, CARVED BOWLS, BOTTOM VIEWS.

[end plate 20]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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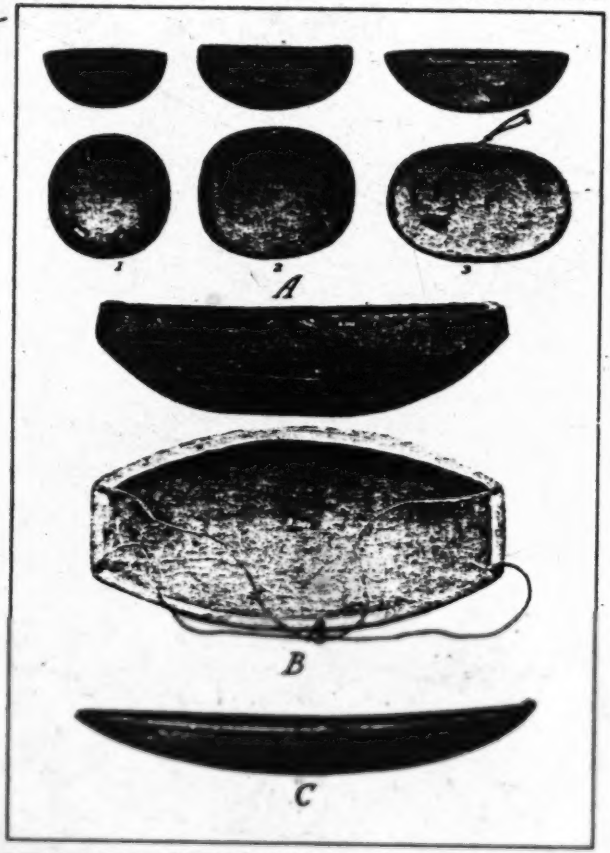

WOODEN BOWLS AND TRAYS: *A*, BOWLS—(1) AND (3) KAVA BOWLS, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, TOPS, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS; *C*, LARGE OVAL DISH OR TRAY.

[end plate 21]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1921 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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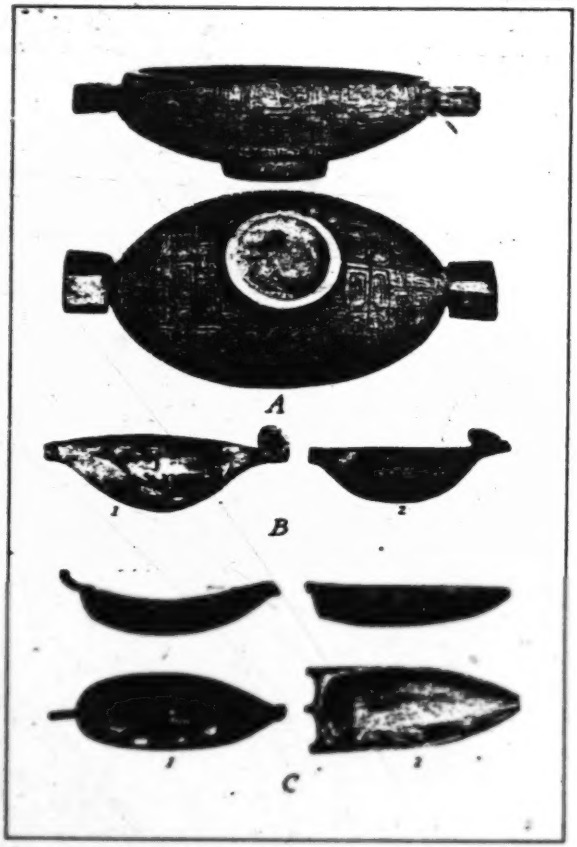

Wooden bowls and mortars: A, oval bowl with base, side and bottom views; B, small mortar; C, kava mortar of unusual form, side and top views.

[end plate 23]

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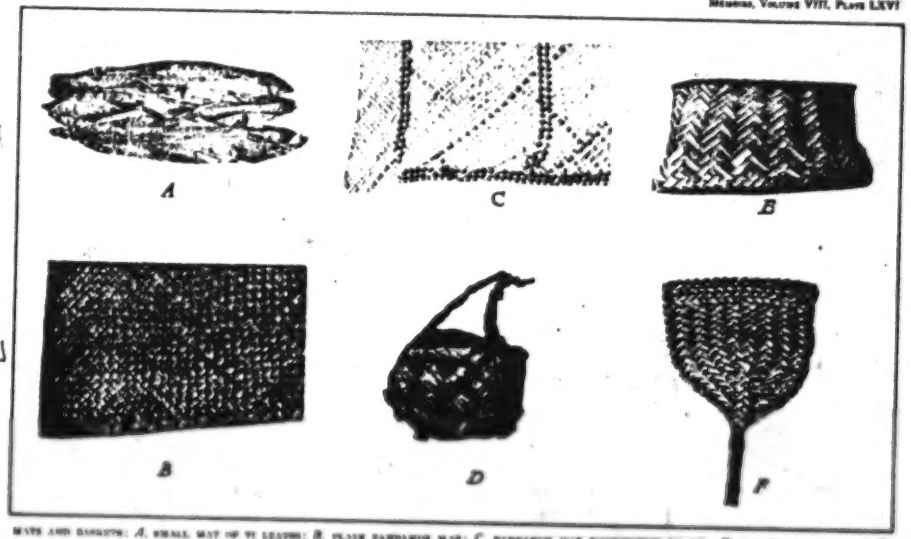

MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF PI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, ROADS TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKETE TYPE; *F*, PAIR OF BASKET WEAVES—TYPE IN USE TO 1920.

End plate 27

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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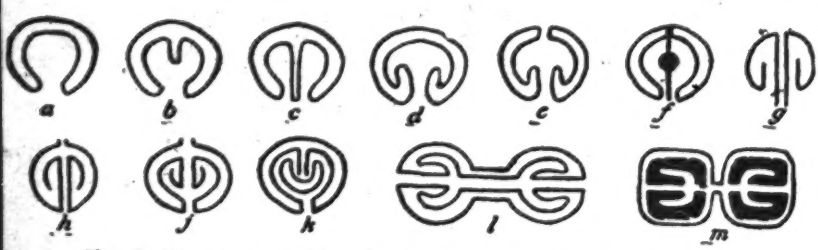

Fig. 1. Drawings showing the development of the *pokaa* design.

The *pokaa* (p. 8) is found in so many variant forms on war clubs as to merit special attention. Fig. 1 shows twelve *pokaa* arranged in order of simplicity to demonstrate a possible line of development; *a* shows the simplest and most typical form. In *b* the same form is shown but with a short tongue extending down from the center of the arch; in *c* the tongue is longer, and in *d* the ends of the *pokaa* are recurved inward and upward and a tongue is lacking; *e* shows the arch broken in the center; *f* has a vertical line and dot between the arms of the figure; *g*, *h* and *j* show steps in the development of a spiral; *k* is a combination of *a* and *b*; *l* represents in reality two figures like that shown in *k*, placed back to back and connected by a straight groove (a marked similarity to the under-arm tattoo motif); and *m* differs from *l* only in having a rectangular outer edge.

A number of angular geometric and curvilinear elements and motifs are used as border patterns and as fill on modern war clubs, but the outstanding designs employed are the tiki faces, the isolated eyes with one or two sets of ears attached, the naturalistic representations of insects, and the variant forms of the *pokaa*.

Designs on Bowls

The Marquesans have extended their highly developed wood-working technique to the decoration of bowls. One fine old specimen (Pl. XIV) shows a predominance of curvilinear designs while another, a large and much weathered feast bowl (Pl. XIII) shows an even stronger predominance of angular geometric housepost designs. The more recently made specimens show coarse, wide lines, giving a heavier effect, and in their carvings angular geometric designs are employed as much as the curvilinear patterns. The bowls carved for commercial purposes at the present time [H15 show very open but coarse angular geometric designs. Their decoration 439] appears to have occupied only the time necessary to produce a salable article.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nowi*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (hueta)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moa, mahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 784 [251] [417 284]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312

A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tohuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Hoomo of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fata Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Mauepahe of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-takao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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A

B

C

D

E

F

[End Plate 1]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [121] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of those rites.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho,* which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho.* This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 122

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 121

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went
to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the
787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of
the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was
784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no
778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under
[421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one
[822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and
had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have
834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with
184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

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423 primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself,
622 but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut
[422] and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 121 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 122

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)
531

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip [825] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touho*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atu-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

● 422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

> Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 237 324

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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They denied positively having refused him a passage, and648
strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al- 501
ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooa- 422
hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

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422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

501 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

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Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 [237] The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual [835]
hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load [422]
of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517] 513
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 352

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protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name. 627 784

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic. 622 423

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley. 223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [423 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

Plants Cultivated

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations 554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal [423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii. 551 [424]

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names. [597]

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond. [826]

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father. 597 551

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a [822]
result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
●[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [84] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no 848 such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 800 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaka*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or ●428 female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu.*

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u,* the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 597

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [551] [428]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565 184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 1804. May. [67] Nooahiva, like all the other islands of this group is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful [65] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making [128] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
● 428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
846 cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutoi putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
[602] to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahes* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tahuna e'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(aku)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(koa fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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Adoption Rites for Chiefs

The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which, to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles
349 forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puako"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity
476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

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certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout ("*Via*"). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunona*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

● [431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
● 431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors
554 assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends. 491 554 122

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them. 554 784

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics. 554 357

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected 000

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [421]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513
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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of coconuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packaa*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations 554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

● 438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal [423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
531 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped [824] like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe models. At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. [439] The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, [824] treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

represented by two sets of curved toothed grooves set end to end. The whole lower half of the figure is plain and was probably intended to represent the mouth. 531×

The noses on the tiki faces are of the conventional tiki type, but some of them are much longer than others. One war club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) shows the nostrils detached from the rest of the features although in proper position. This same club shows a nose on the second tiki face which consists of concentric semi-ovals closed at the bottom, a form more characteristic of a *mata*. The ears are present in some of the tikis and absent in others. When present they are invariably represented by double curvilinear spirals.

The lower of the three divisions, which united represent the mouth of the large tiki, is filled with a lot of small detail carving consisting of short vertical and longer horizontal parallel lines, simple angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*), zigzags, interlocking triangles with rounded apexes filled with curves roughly parallel to the sides of the triangles and having innumerable transverse lines, plam leaf motifs, concentric circles with and without a groove in the center, concentric ovals and half ovals pierced by a straight groove, quarter sections of concentric ovals, concentric squares pierced on one side, single and double broad hooks, and angular and curvilinear spirals. In several clubs a more or less symmetrical effect is achieved in this band by the presence of two long, narrow grooves in horizontal position and centrally located, each ending in a pierced oval at the outer edge of the club and frequently having a larger pierced oval directly above and below the long grooves, the remaining space being variously filled.

Designs on Modern War Clubs

The war clubs made in recent times for trade and for the tourists are inferior to the older specimens in quality of carving and in simplicity and effectiveness of decoration. Even the shape of the clubs has degenerated. Every square inch of available space on the sides of the heads of the modern war clubs is carved, and the tiki, which is the central concept in the decoration of the ancient clubs, is poorly delineated. A greatly elongated forehead has become the center of decoration and the eyes have been shoved down and brought closer together. In place of small tiki heads carved in the half round, the modern clubs show oblong-shaped projecting knobs with tiki faces carved in low relief on the front surface, or round, undecorated knobs. A similar knob represents the nose, and the ears—undecorated in the older specimens—are elaborately carved in angular geometric designs. As representation of a mouth, the wide carved [439 411]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

531X

Fig. 1. Drawings showing the development of the *pokaa* design.

The *pokaa* (p. 8) is found in so many variant forms on war clubs as to merit special attention. Fig. 1 shows twelve *pokaa* arranged in order of simplicity to demonstrate a possible line of development; *a* shows the simplest and most typical form. In *b* the same form is shown but with a short tongue extending down from the center of the arch; in *c* the tongue is longer, and in *d* the ends of the *pokaa* are recurved inward and upward and a tongue is lacking; *e* shows the arch broken in the center; *f* has a vertical line and dot between the arms of the figure; *g*, *h* and *j* show steps in the development of a spiral; *k* is a combination of *a* and *b*; *l* represents in reality two figures like that shown in *k*, placed back to back and connected by a straight groove (a marked similarity to the under-arm tattoo motif); and *m* differs from *l* only in having a rectangular outer edge.

A number of angular geometric and curvilinear elements and motifs are used as border patterns and as fill on modern war clubs, but the outstanding designs employed are the tiki faces, the isolated eyes with one or two sets of ears attached, the naturalistic representations of insects, and the variant forms of the *pokaa*.

Designs on Bowls

The Marquesans have extended their highly developed wood-working technique to the decoration of bowls. One fine old specimen (Pl. XIV) shows a predominance of curvilinear designs while another, a large and much weathered feast bowl (Pl. XIII) shows an even stronger predominance of angular geometric housepost designs. The more recently made specimens show coarse, wide lines, giving a heavier effect, and in their carvings angular geometric designs are employed as much as the curvilinear patterns. The bowls carved for commercial purposes at the present time [445 show very open but coarse angular geometric designs. Their decoration 439] appears to have occupied only the time necessary to produce a salable article.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these 133
places, and followed them down the coast.

At length, having come before the port they were in 648
search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore.

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again 648
in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them 439
bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot.

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipita- 648
tion. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more
439 distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731] very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726] Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439] for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164] diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923). 462

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [888] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women vis a vis men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu,* for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [187] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption. 461

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.) 284 322 386 [283]

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In 283 322 [801]

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324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of [161] the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

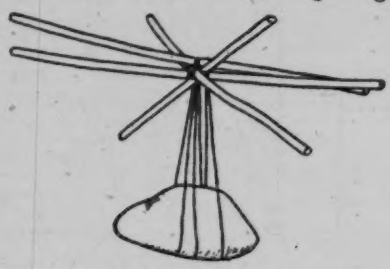

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during [787] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
643 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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 32

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [461] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata*, meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna*. The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui*, meaning great *tuhuna*, was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed 304x under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apart- 262 ments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki (patu*, to mark or strike; 304x *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of 463 them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. [462] There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *hou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

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/7 cont./

in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. 841 842 [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached. In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens. 843 [462]

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious. [492]

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions. [757] [776]

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly 847 [858]

/54 cont./

838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923). 462

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [888] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 knowledge, one who was learned in many ways. There was no organized associations of *tuhuna*, such as that of the priestly orders in Hawaii.

Following is a list, not to be regarded as complete, however, of the different kinds of *tuhuna*:

TUHUNA HAKATU FA'E or TUHUKA ATU HA'E. Master housebuilder; the same as TUHUNA HAKATU PAEPAE, or TUHUKA UPEUPE PAEPAE, master platform builder.
" TEKAI KE'A. Stone cutter, one skilled in cutting stones for platforms, houses, sacred places, and feast places.
" UA MA. Digger of *ma* pits.
" PEHE. Professional skilled in making string figures and applying them in decoration such as ornamental sennit designs.
" HA'A TIKI TIKI. Skilled wood carver.
" KEANA MOENA. Skilled mat maker.
" TEKAI KE'A TUKI POPOI. Maker of *popoi* pounders.
" KO'OKA. Maker of *popoi* dishes.
" A'AKA PAHU. Drum maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI VAKA. Master canoe builder.
" TA'AI TIKI. Image maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI PAPA, or TUHUKA TAO Coffin maker.
" TITI OUOHO. Maker of hair ornaments.
" TA'AI TOKOTOKO PIO'O. Staff maker.
" TUTU TAPA, or TUTU KAHU. Skilled cloth maker.
" A'AKA TAHI'I. Fan maker.
" HANA PA'A KEA. Maker of tortoise-shell crowns.
" PU TAIANA. Maker of *pu taiana* ear ornaments.
" TEHE. He who cut the foreskin.
" FAINU, TUHUNA APAU or TUHUKA HAIKA. Doctor.
" NATI KAHA. One skilled in witchcraft.
" PATU TIKI. Master tattooer.
" AVA-IKA. Master fisher.
" UPENA. Master netmaker, the same as the TUHUNA AVA-IKA.
" HA'AKEKAI. One learned in legends.
" MATA TETAU. One learned in genealogies.
" PU'E. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *pu'e*.
VAVANA. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *vavana*.
" O'ONO. Ceremonial priest skilled in the last four named branches of learning.
" NATO. He who composed *nato* chants. (Similarly with other kinds of chants: TUHUNA POPE, TUHUNA RARI, etc. See Chants.)

WAYS OF BECOMING A *TUHUNA*

There were two ways by which a man or a woman could become a *tuhuna*: first, by having the knowledge requisite passed on by a father or mother, uncle or aunt or other relative—what may be termed by inheritance or the normal and simplest form of apprenticeship; secondly, by employing a recognized professional as teacher or by being employed by such as an assistant. If an individual possessed the capacity for learning and could acquire the skill requisite for the work of a *tuhuna*, he gradually worked through a sort of informal apprenticeship. In the art of tat-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability 463
and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai,* acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna.* That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as pay- 463
ment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth [465]
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skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono,* master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

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CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu,* for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [187] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[552]

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of
pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or 556
six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the
occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to
make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer
like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of
age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children
before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an
advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right
of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not
subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly
domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care
of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch
fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are
all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in
the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in,
such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the
ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole
attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed
barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men.
Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with
great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid
piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated
to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get
on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would
otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from
the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom
of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes
for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone
and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of
mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden
harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki (patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo 881 circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns [183] carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. [797] One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused 304 to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately 626 yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose 304 approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised [463] at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. [602] No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or [412] knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as [177] it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the [824] aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is 304 applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. 752 This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue [278] (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

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TUHUNA AS A CLASS

463
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thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono*, master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

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Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121
natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas
Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178]
and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens
of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to
demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice
of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly
accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history
of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176]
from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from
literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the
practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know
nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of ap-
preciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the
evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other
possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 354x
certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556
a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465
work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand
the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the
large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A
father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-
born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyri-
fera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*.
Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently,
guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to
the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures re-
quired; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over
again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely
covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration
necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

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x304 556 465 naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

x304 556 561 While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

x304 714 622 Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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 32

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [46] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

/62 cont./

The 586 197 997

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

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467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was
467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of
788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the priviiege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations
554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal
[423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles
349 forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity
476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

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place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore. 527 476

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small. 527

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 527 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.

Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.

Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.

Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.

Hei titii. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).

Hutahe. Licentious fete.

Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.

Kavepua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.

Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.

Mau. A great feast.

Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and 245
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [781]
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the 776 *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par- [481 ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each 526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic- 266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [567]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

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BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport. 526

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170): 526 481

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*koha*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muschectie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

[481]

648 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by 831 a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

[231]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives
526 in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space
481 between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its
526 buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step. 481 526

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. [171]

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen. 526

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wrapped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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592

STILTS: *A*, MODERN STILTS; *B*, DECORATED STILT STEPS, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 29]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Designs on Chisel Handles

The collection of Marquesan objects in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum includes two chisels with carved handles. The four design elements or motifs employed in their decoration are: single triangles filled with V's, interlocking triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, concentric diamonds, and a single crude tiki face. Both carved handles are models and may not be true representatives. 531 X

Designs on Stilts

The shafts of the stilts used in Marquesan games are undecorated, but the steps of the stilts are commonly carved (22, Pl. LXVIII, *B*). The principal decoration on the three specimens in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are tiki figures carved in the round. In addition to these figures there are straight horizontal interlocking grooves of diagonal lines, such as are used on the house posts, herring-bone, zigzags, scolloped lines, interlocking triangles filled with V's, single triangles filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, staggared crosses, broad hooks, *kaake*, curved spirals, segments of concentric ovals and combs. Of these the staggared cross is the most common. [481] ●

Designs on Pakea

The Marquesan *pakea* is a crown made up of curved plaques of tortoise shell carved on the concave surface and separated by strips of a white shell, all attached to a headband of sennit. There are also carved celluloid plaques made of materials brought by white traders. [293]

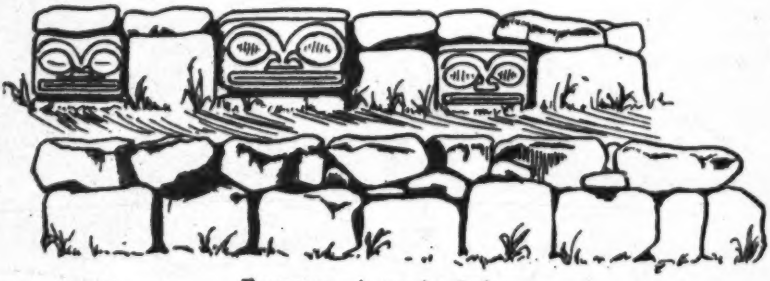
Each plaque has at least one tiki face displayed as the central design. On some plaques complete tiki figures are used as a border design; on others half of a face forms the unit of design. There seems to be no uniformity in arrangement or choice of border design. The predominant angular geometric patterns include: straight horizontal lines, straight longitudinal lines, herring-bone, zigzags, interlocking triangles in which one row of triangles is plain and the opposite row is filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, segments of concentric rectangles, diamonds filled with angular spirals, rectangular spirals, hook scrolls, and staggared crosses. The single example of a checkerwork unit consists of a central square and four other squares placed at the four corners (Pl. IV, *b*), all included in a space one-fourth inch wide and five-sixteenths inch long.

The few curvilinear patterns noted include segments of concentric circles and ovals, broad hooks, *kaake*, combs, and the palm leaf.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532



[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred
[164] yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

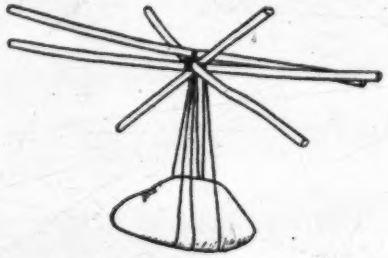


FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
[787] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pañko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). [482] It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[12]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley 312 bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

[12] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1862 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

796 266 415 [482]

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

304 574

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou,* post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka.* Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

●482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 all four sides. Square utensils appear to have been unknown, those which were not round being oval or oblong. In most of the oblong specimens the sides are more or less convex, the difference between them and the oval forms lying in the degree of flattening at the ends.

Two specimens of a very curious oblong type not observed elsewhere were seen in the Valley of Hanapaoa, Hiva Oa. These utensils were flat bottomed, with shallowly convex sides and ends which met in well marked angles. The [171] whole form bore a remarkable resemblance to the type of food dish commonest among the Haida of the Northwest Coast of North America. The utensils were evidently of recent manufacture and the natives could give no name for the type and were uncertain whether it was ancient.

Oblong trays and dishes appear to have been in rather common use in ancient times, although few specimens have survived. Those seen were provided with low vertical sides and almost flat interior bottoms. The exterior was smoothly rounded. The troughs for beating *popoi* are really very large oblong trays (p. 352).

Several well marked types of oval dishes may be distinguished, of which the long narrow flat ended containers, called *toto*, are the most important. Except for the proportions of the different parts and the inward curve of the sides toward the rim, the form of these utensils is almost identical with that of the underbodies of the large built up canoes. The ends of the vessel are straight, the sides convex, so that the greatest width is in the center. The sides also show a vertical convexity, and the maximum width of the utensil both internally and externally is about midway between the bottom and rim. (See Pl. LX, *B*.)

Most of the *toto* are large. Bowls long enough for a man to lie in are remembered by the older natives. The smallest example seen was 18 inches long, with a maximum central width of 8⅝ inches. Usually no handles were used with this type, but this small specimen was provided with a handle consisting of two loops of sennit passed through holes bored vertically in the corners and tied together above the center.

[482] *Toto* are said to have been used principally for the transportation of prepared food at the time of feasts, and according to natives their shape was designed to make them easier to carry upon the shoulders. They were carried transversely, resting upon both shoulders and the nape of the neck, the bearer's head being bowed upon his chest.

Small oval *kava* bowls, with nearly parallel sides and rounded or pointed ends appear to have been fairly common and probably constitute a distinct type. Some of these bowls were provided with a suspension loop or handle attached to the center of one side. (See Pl. LX, *A*, 2-3.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of
[164] the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

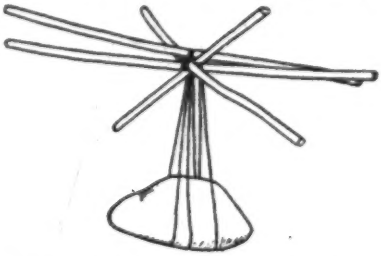


FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
[787] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Households were graded in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households. 592 554

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed. [565]

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. 342 592 554 [483]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
643 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
●484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-Europeān times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484] ●
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times [486] these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing.

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa, papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

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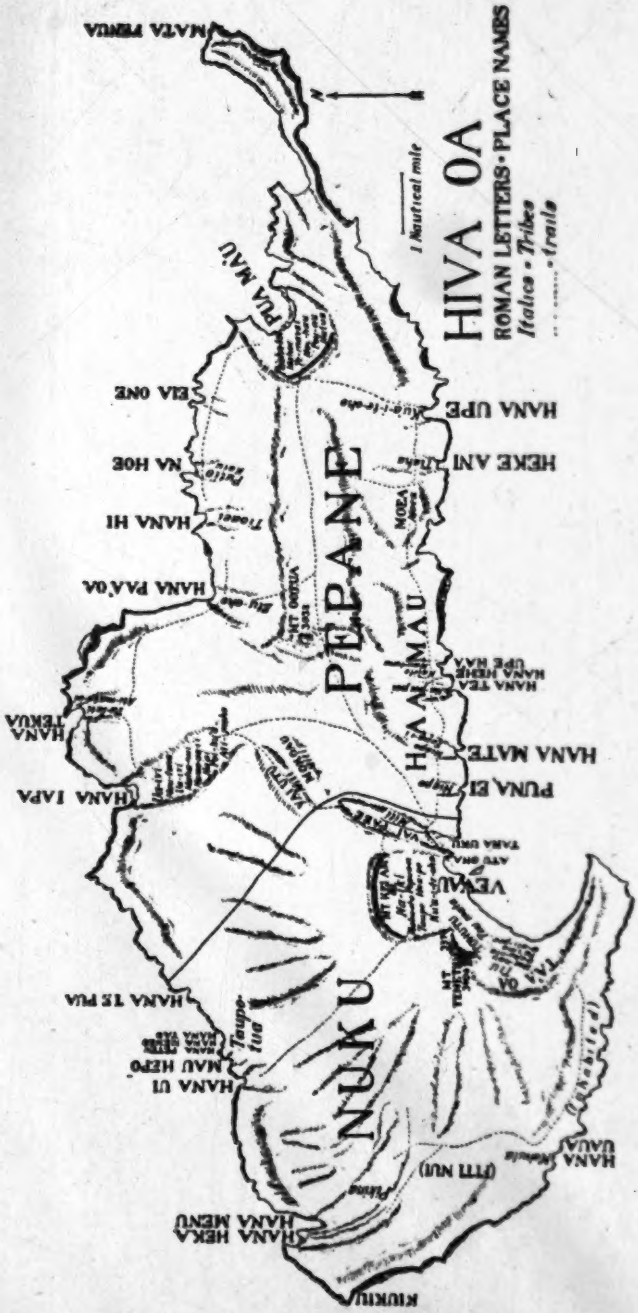

FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 578 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

619 487 133

FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXb

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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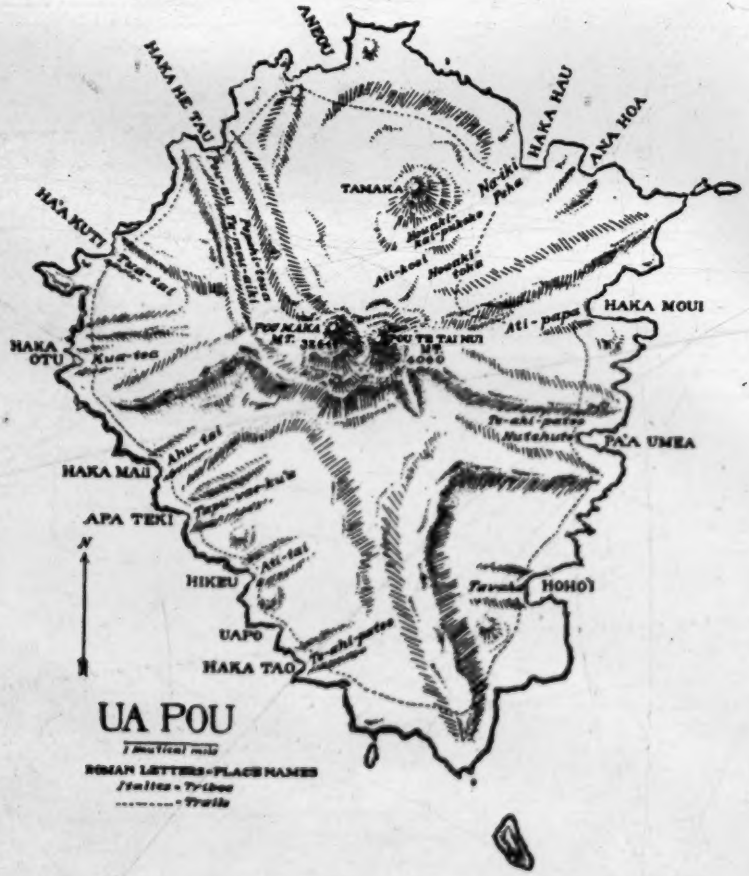

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

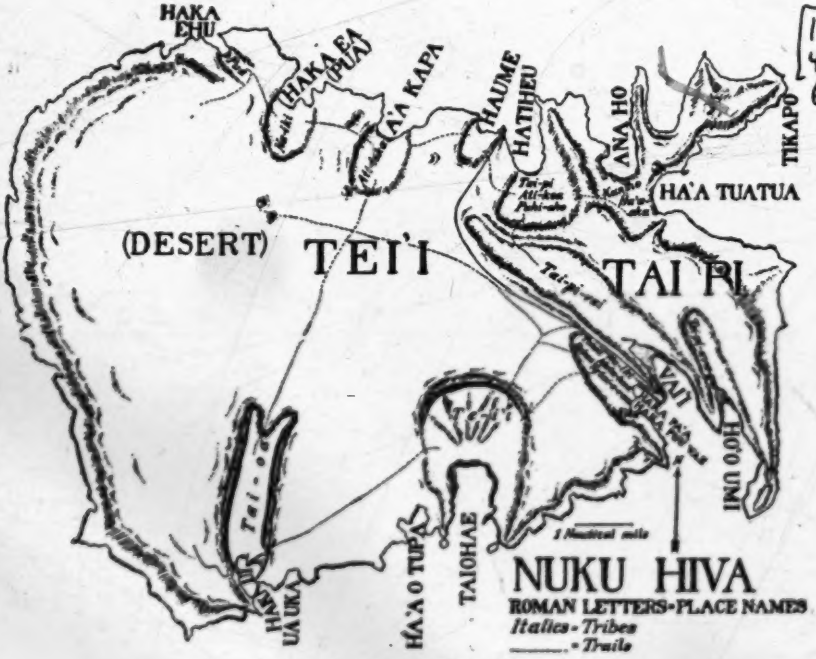

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[8] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

[8] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

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396 The recitation of the *pu'e*, creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo*, the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

396 789 Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana*, power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

396 All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

Types of Canoes

● 501 As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having

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a rail around it. The supplies for a voyage were kept here and in the body of the canoe, and the people on board lived on the platform and below decks. According to a trustworthy Fatu Hiva informant, such a canoe would have two sails, the masts being stepped in the usual place in the forward end of each hull. War canoes and canoes for exploration—according to modern natives—were as much as sixty feet long. So far as I know, however, there is no record of a canoe of this size, although no limitation in the materials at the disposal of the native nor in his ability to utilize them would have prevented him from making canoes of this size or even larger. 501

Porter (24, p. 102) describes small temporary craft as follows:

> "They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

Materials for Canoes

Materials used most for canoe-making were *temanu*, *hutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and *mi'o*. The size of the canoe desired frequently determined the choice of a tree. The *temanu* was the largest of the available trees, and furnished the most durable wood. According to Linton breadfruit trees were used for smaller canoes. 324 396

Parts of a Canoe[6a]

The main parts of a canoe consisted of the hull, adzed out of a tree trunk; detachable bow and stern piece; sideboards lashed on the edges of the gunwale; and an outrigger. 501

The main body or hull (*vaka*, *tua*, *tekee*) of the canoe was made of a hollowed single tree trunk. The bow (*piho*, *au'au*, *kanihi*, *hopeta*), a separate piece, was usually upturned, but both Cook (6, p. 711) and Stewart (26, p. 219) describe horizontal bows. Linton aptly describes the stern (*mu'i*, *hope au'au*) as narrowing "rapidly to form the tail, which was a long projection like a thick plank with the edge up, rising from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees." (20.) The sideboards (*hue tana*) consisted of single hewn boards (*papa*) lashed (*humu*) to the gunwale of the canoe, but it is probable that the sideboards of some canoes were built up with several boards, for Porter (24, p. 79) described the sides as made of many pieces of the breadfruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibers of the outside shell of coconut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of

6a The terminology is from Dordillon's ms. and from Linton's and my own notes.

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501 bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the coconut shell also.

Over the seams between the sideboards and the hull, both inside and outside, were strips made of wood or bamboo (*teka, vaho, teka oto, ta'i, patua*). Caulking of the seams at this place and at the point of attachment of bow and stern-piece was done usually with coconut cord fiber (*kaha*), or with feathers (*hu'u manu*). Langsdorff (18, p. 173) describes caulking with moss over which was rubbed resin from the breadfruit tree. Bulk-

[412]
[284]

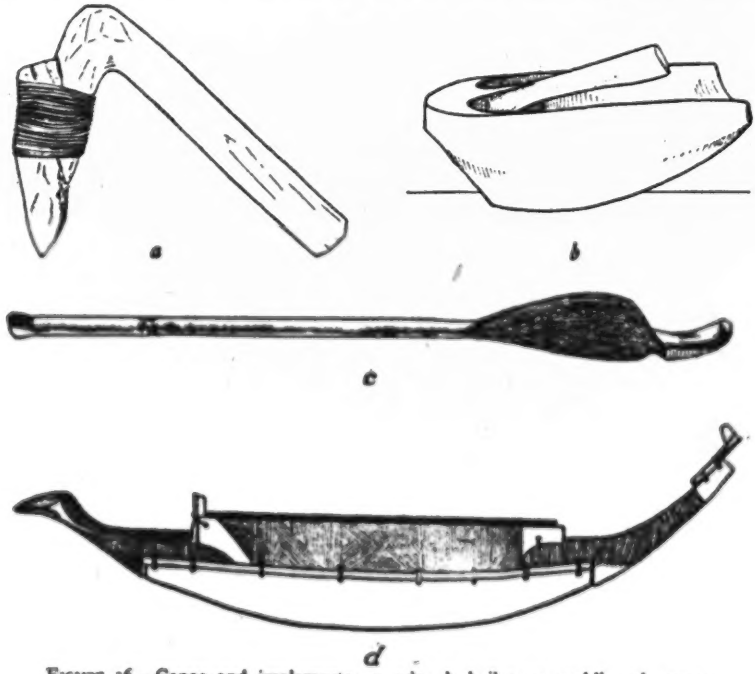

FIGURE 16.—Canoe and implements: *a*, adz; *b*, bailer; *c*, paddle; *d*, canoe.

heads in the body of the canoe are described by Porter. Seats (*papa tau*) for paddlers rested on an inner strip (*teka oto*) which covered the inboard seam between the sideboard and the hull. These strips were bound and held in place by sennit. The two rods (*kiato, hoa*) supporting the outrigger were usually fau poles; Marchand (22, p. 131) describes rods of bamboo. The supporting rods passed across the top of the canoe, being lashed to the top of each gunwale, or sideboard, by means of sennit that passed around the rod and through holes in the board. These lashings were ornamental

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and were called *teka*. The float (*ama*) of the outrigger (*ama*) was made of fau and was attached to the supporting rods by four or six small sticks (*ti'a ti'a*) which were inserted into holes on the outrigger float and bound on the supporting rods. The platform (*papua, hou'ua*) resting on the poles that held together a double canoe has been described. On all large single canoes used for fishing or for war there was at the stern an elevated platform (*papa'u*) on which the steersman stood. Stewart (26, pp. 211-20) describes "a high platform deeply fringed with the pendant leaves of a palm," on which the steersman stood on the stern of a canoe. Stewart states that in the bow of this canoe there was another platform made of small sticks covered with a mat on which was seated a man who was evidently a priest. 501

Sails (*ti'a, moena*) which were used on the smaller fishing craft and the large voyaging canoes were of the triangular, or lateen, type, and according to Linton were made of coconut leaf mats. It seems probable that pandanus mats were also used, particularly for voyages, on account of their greater durability. The mast was stepped in a hole (*puti'a*) in the bottom of the canoe and passed up through one of the forward seats (*pihao*).

The paddles (*hoe*) were made of rosewood. The handle ends were ornamented with a small *tiki* figure and the blades with designs similar to those used on bowls. The lower end of the paddle blade always terminated in a long rounded point. (See fig. 16, *c*.)

The bailers were made of *mi'o* or *temanu* wood and were "shaped like a sugar-scoop with the handle reversed—that is, projecting forward over the cavity" (20). (See fig. 16, *b*.)

Ornamentation of Canoes

The main decoration of canoes was by means of carving and ornamental lashing. Bow and stern pieces were carved with the ornamental adzed designs (*tiki*) used on house posts (See fig 16, *d*). Some modern informants say that tattooing designs were also applied on these parts. This is true at least of canoe models. I believe with Mr. Linton that this type of carving was not used on the large canoes of ancient times. Ornamental lashings (*pu'u kaha*) the designs of which were taken from string figures, bound the supporting rods of the outrigger to the balancer and to the sideboards, and the sideboards to the hull, these lashings being made of sennit dyed red, yellow, and black. There was a conventional figure head, which was apparently always used at the forward end of the bow piece, consisting of a flattened conventionalized face. "There was a tendency to decorate the neck of the bow piece with figures carved in high relief or by the 501 531

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but
531 not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip
[325] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touho*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atu-iha*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by four canoes for deep-sea fishing and various types and sizes for different kinds of fishing, grading down from these large nets to very small ones for hand fishing used with or without a handle. Lines for making nets and for fishing with a hook were made either of coconut fiber plaited, of fau bark, or of a combination of the two. Fine cord for fish lines was made of the fibers of the pineapple leaf. Hooks were made of pearl shell and of human bone. Simple hooks and also the complex type were used for bonito, bamboo being used for the rods. For spearing fish there was a lance with a single point (*mata ve'o ika*), and a lance with many barbed points (*mata va'u*) (8). Porter (24, p. 113) describes both bone and wood points on fishing harpoons. 227

One of my best informed native co-workers insisted that fishing with rods (*te ika hi*), hooks, and lines (*te ika hahe*), or with spears (*te ika ve'o*) and torches was never practiced in ancient times. I am convinced, however, from the other evidence that hooks and lines and spears were used anciently. Porter describing the implements in use at the time of his visit, says: "Those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl." As to torch-light fishing, it is probable that this was dependent on safety. It would always have been too dangerous in certain bays, where the fishers would have been to obvious bait for enemy canoes seeking victims for sacrifice.

Snares were used for catching eels and shrimps, and fish traps were made of fau bark, but of what form is unknown. Fish were poisoned in rock pools by the sea and in the region of the rock shelves within the bays. So far as I know, fish ponds were never constructed—there were few places in the Marquesas where it would have been possible. Torches for night fishing were made of bamboo, of sugar cane, and of a reedlike grass (*kakao*) (15, p. 54). Fish in pools by the sea were sometimes killed with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts, or with sling stones. An unusual method of fishing consisted in swimming, drawing a hook and line in tow. For the private fishing small individual canoes were used, but for the deep-sea fishing there were special craft, large and small. Porter (24), p. 102) describes fishing canoes as follows: 227 501

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

● 501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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They denied positively having refused him a passage, and648 strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al- 501 ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Oo- 422 hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

501 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed 501 in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys [526] and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the [857] harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh 648 complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

•501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

● 501 1804. May. to the sides, by inserting a piece of small twine through numerous holes. The head resembles that of a galley, and to the stern a crooked piece of wood is fixed, through which runs the sheet of a triangular sail, made of matting. These narrow boats are well balanced by three long poles laid across, to the ends of which, on one side, is fastened a piece of wood.

312 The island of Noocahiva produces all the necessaries of life. It has excellent fresh water, and in such abundance, that it flows down in cascades from different elevations, greatly tending to beautify in many places the views of the coast The climate
132 is so salubrious that, by Roberts's account, many live here to the age of a hundred years. I saw myself the king's mother, who was about eighty, and did not yet think herself very old.

137 Having had but little leisure for minute inquiries respecting the vegetable kingdom in this part of the globe, I shall content myself with describing the few articles only that came within my observation.

TREES.

Toomoomey, or Bread-fruit-tree. The branches of this tree spread out widely, and the leaves resemble those of the fig-tree, but are of a larger size, and of a deeper green. Its fruit is of an oblong figure, measuring lengthwise from five inches and a half to six inches and a half, and breadthwise from four to five inches; it is of a light green colour, but turns black after two or three days keeping. This useful tree, I was told, bears fruit here three times in the year. The first and the best crop, called by the natives mainooé, ripens about our January. The second, which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

MODERN CANOES

FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Tahuku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

indicates the speed with which new appliances of obvious value are accepted by the natives. 501
The new outrigger is indirect, and consists of three elements, the float, the uprights, and the 356
crosspieces. The float consists of a peeled log of fau wood four to five inches in diameter, [824]
slightly shorter than the canoe. This is usually sharpened at the forward end only, the cutting being done entirely from the lower side, but a few specimens were seen which had been sharpened at both ends, apparently with the idea of making the canoe completely reversible. The uprights, about two feet long, are usually made of small barrel staves. A triangular notch about two inches deep is cut in the upper end. Eight inches below this notch the uprights are pierced by a rectangular hole an inch and a half to two inches square. These uprights are permanently attached to the float. The unnotched ends of the staves are wedged into longitudinal slits near either end of the upper surface of the float. The crosspieces are peeled poles of fau or hard wood about eight feet long and three inches in diameter at the butt. Their outer ends are sharpened so that they will readily pass through the rectangular holes in the uprights.

The outrigger is assembled and attached as follows: The squared ends of the cross poles are fitted into the holes of the uprights, their points projecting about two inches on the outer side. The whole outrigger is then placed on the right side of the canoe, the crosspieces extending across it on the line of the hard wood plugs, with their butts projecting a few inches beyond the left gunwale. One end of a light rope is then fastened to the projecting end of the front crosspiece, outside the upright. The rope is then carried over the top of the upright, through the notch, and along the crosspiece to the inner side of the right gunwale. It is then passed back and forth diagonally over the crosspiece and around the inside and outside ends of the plug until the crosspiece is held rigidly. The rope then runs along the crosspiece to the left gunwale, where the same lashing is repeated. Some slack is then left in the canoe, and the left end of the rear crosspiece is lashed, the rope passing from there to the right gunwale lashing the crosspiece there, and out along the crosspiece and over the end of the upright to the outer end of the crosspiece, where it is tied. Any rope left over is carried back along the crosspiece and coiled in the canoe.

An outrigger of this sort can be attached or removed in a few moments, and the single rope used to lash it is available for other purposes when not in use on the canoe. When a canoe is beached the owner usually removes the outrigger at once and stores it in a safe place, thus making the canoe useless and safeguarding it from theft.

Small fishing canoes of the type described are rarely used for trips of any 502
length. They are not sailed but are commonly paddled by two men. One man sits on the stern crosspiece of the outrigger where it crosses the boat, while the other wedges himself between the thwarts amidships. Most of these canoes are completely reversible, and they are sometimes paddled with the outrigger on the left instead of the right. The narrowness of these craft, and their high center of gravity (for the paddlers sit practically on top of the canoe) make them very unstable, and in spite of the outrigger they frequently capsize. The natives right them by getting on the outrigger and forcing it down under the canoe and up the other side.

VAKA POTI

The *vaka poti*—a craft that appears to be a local development—is an inter- 501
esting example of the native adaptation of European ideas. It may be described as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 396 [824] As the name indicates, the *vaka poti* is a hybrid of canoe and boat, and is larger and more seaworthy than the fishing canoe, being twenty to twenty-five feet long with a maximum beam of two to two and a half feet. A long strip of breadfruit or temanu wood, eight inches to a foot in width, about four inches thick and tapering to a point at both ends, serves the double purpose of keel and bottom. It is smoothly rounded on the outside and slightly hollowed along the center of its upper surface. This is probably an extreme modification of the dugout underbody of the old built up canoes. Longitudinal slots are cut in either end of this keel and into these two flat, slightly curving pieces of temanu wood are bolted. These serve as the stem and sternposts of the boat, and are identical in form. Short light ribs are then bolted to the keel along both edges, their short lower arms resting upon its upper surface. The sides of the boat are built up with thin planks of commercial lumber which are laid on with an overlap from above downward—that is, the boat is clinker built. These planks are carefully dressed along the points of contact to insure a tight joint, and are fastened into grooves in the sides of the stem and sternpost. The gunwales are finished with a narrow flat strip of wood. At either end of the boat, immediately below this strip, a triangular piece of plank is put in, decking the last two or three feet of the bow and stern. The boat is braced by three broad flat thwarts which also serve as seats. One of these thwarts is placed in the middle and the other two at either end, two to three feet within the edges of the end deckings. The forward thwart is pierced with a hole three or four inches in diameter which, with a corresponding block on the keel, serves to step a mast. These crafts are always provided with an outrigger similar in shape and attachment to that of the fishing canoe, but of proportionately greater size.

Alexander, who visited Nuku Hiva in 1899, saw a slightly different form of outrigger in use with the *vaka poti*. He says (2, p. 746): "From the gunwale to the outrigger float of these canoes is an average of 7 feet. The outrigger frame consists of five pieces of wood, namely, two poles or crosspieces seized across the gunwales 4½ feet apart, one forward and the other aft of center; two stanchions connecting crosspieces of the outrigger float, and a brace which is seized to crosspieces just outside the gunwale. That part of the crosspieces between the gunwales answers the purpose of thwarts, the upper side being hewn to a flat surface. The outboard ends are sized to the perpendicular pieces, or stanchions, the length of which is, as a rule, the distance from the gunwale to the water line. These pieces are sized to the top side of the float, the sizings extending all the way around the float, but done so neatly as to offer little resistance to the water. The crosspieces, float, and stanchions are braced with withes to prevent them from being twisted and thrown out of position by coming in contact [924] with rocks. . . . The material used in sizing the outrigger frame together is coconut fiber twisted into a small line."

[502] A *vaka poti* is normally handled by four men, one of whom sits in the stern and steers with a paddle while the other three row with short oars of ordinary European form. The bow and stern oars are placed on the side opposite the outrigger, the middle oar on the outrigger side, working within it.

Every craft of this sort is provided with a leg of mutton sail of canvas like that commonly used on ships' boats. When not in use the sail is stored under the short deck at one end of the boat, while the poles which serve as mast and boom are lashed along the crosspieces of the outrigger. The heavier of these poles, which is about nine feet long, serves as the mast. When the sail is to be hoisted, the mast is passed through loops of string tied along one edge of the sail, the loop nearest the masthead being firmly tied to the pole. Two light ropes are then attached to the masthead opposite each other and the mast is stepped, the butt passing through the hole in the forward thwart and resting in the hollowed block in the keel. The two ropes from the masthead are then fastened to the forward outrigger crosspiece just outside the gunwales of the canoe. A third rope is sometimes run from the masthead to the prow, but this is not common. The lighter pole serves as the boom and passes through the loops along the lower edge of the sail. The outermost loop is firmly tied to the boom, and a rope is attached to its outer end. The boom is then gradually thrust outboard until the sail is fully spread and only the inner end of the boom rests against the mast. This end simply rests against the mast and is not attached to it.

Vaka poti are rarely if ever used for inter-island voyages as most of the villages possess whale boats, which are more suitable for such trips. The natives, however, make fairly long coasting voyages in the *vaka poti*. They keep as close in shore as possible, rowing along the edge of the breakers in the narrow belt of comparatively calm water caused by the backwash from the cliffs. Even when there are large bays along the route they prefer to skirt the shore rather than to cut straight across. This custom of lying close inshore no doubt accounts in part for the indifferent way in which the boats are sailed. When the wind is astern the sheet is paid out on the side away from the outrigger, and as there is no way of reefing in case of a strong wind it is necessary for the occupants of the canoe to lean far out on the outrigger side or even climb out on the outrigger frame to keep the boat from capsizing. When the wind is on the port quarter the sheet is paid out on the outrigger side, but it is dangerous to sail this way as a sudden puff may drive the outrigger under and capsize the boat. When the wind is abeam the natives lower sail and row out against it for some distance, then spread sail and come in at a long slant with the wind on the quarter, repeating the maneuver whenever they get too close to the coast. They do not seem to understand tacking, and never sail except with a following wind. 502

ANCIENT CANOES

THE DUGOUT

Two ancient types of canoe are remembered by the natives, a small fishing canoe, and a built up war canoe. The small canoe is said to have been a simple dugout, identical with the modern fishing canoes already described except that it lacked the plank gunwales and had an outrigger of the ancient form (p. 309). Porter (49), who mentions these canoes, says that they were "commonly nothing more than the hollowed keels of the large ones after the upper works have been taken off." They appear to have been used only around the harbors, all longer voyages being made in canoes of the built up type. 501

BUILT UP CANOES

Large built up canoes have been obsolete for many years, as the Marquesans were quick to see the superiority of the European small craft and soon learned to imitate them. Even in 1838 Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the ancient canoes had been largely replaced by whale boats which the natives obtained from passing ships. Small built up canoes have, however, continued in use until comparatively recent times and a seaworthy example is still to be seen on the island of Fatu Hiva. The form of these smaller craft is well remembered by many living persons and from their descriptions, the numerous early [177]

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

501 824 Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

396 313 322 Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

396 501 The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

396 501 552

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

which had been worn out or damaged. The names of the Pua Ma'u canoes were Vaimakamaka, the largest and most important, Vaioto, Taipehe and Meaupiau. 396 501 [552]

The canoe normally consisted of nine parts, the underbody, bow piece, stern piece, two side planks, and four strips used to cover the side seams. Certain other parts were occasionally added. Each of the large sections was usually hewn from a single piece of wood, while the strips were made of bamboo.

The underbody of one large canoe and part of a second underbody, which had been made in two pieces, were seen in the valley of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva. The history of these objects had apparently been forgotten by the Hakaui natives, but according to Atu Ona informants one of the underbodies belonged to a canoe called Mo'ote which was made in that valley by a *tuhuna* named Kaneautia. This canoe was sent to the chief of Hakaui by a chief of Atu Ona in exchange for *enamoa*, a yellow paint or dye used for anointing the body, prepared in Nuku Hiva by a secret process. The debris of a great temanu tree from which this canoe is said to have been made is still to be seen in Atu Ona.

Hakaui informants said that the two underbodies had belonged to separate craft, not to a single double canoe. On the other hand Christian (10, p. 180) mentions two old canoes in this valley which, from their location, seem to be the same as those here referred to and gives a photograph of a large double canoe, unquestionably Marquesan, which he implies belongs with the reference. In this photograph each of the canoes appears to be complete in itself while the attachment consists of three cross poles, easily removable. It seems probable, therefore, that these canoes were used both singly and together.

A study of the complete underbody—which had been exposed to the weather and was much rotted and warped—brought out the following particulars:

It was 40 feet, 6 inches in length, with a maximum central width of 4 feet, which tapered to 2 feet, 6 inches at the ends. The original depth could not be accurately determined. The two ends of this underbody were identical.

The section of an underbody was much better preserved, having been stored under an overhanging cliff which protected it from the weather. If the underbody of which this had formed a part was similar to the complete specimen it must have been over 60 feet in length. Some old canoe models, which appear to be very accurate, clearly show that the two ends of underbodies were not always the same, the forward end often being made much broader and deeper to facilitate the firm attachment of the bow piece. The extreme shallowness and narrowness of the outer end of the section proves that it was the stern, and if we assume that the whole underbody was of the broad bowed type it is possible that it was not more than 40 to 45 feet in length. The dimensions of the section were as follows: Length 34 feet, 11 inches; maximum width (at a point 4 feet from the inner end of the section) 3 feet, 4 inches; width at stern, 1 foot, 6 inches; maximum depth (outside) 1 foot, 9 inches; depth at tip of stern 4½ inches. The walls were 1½ inches thick at the upper edge, increasing gradually to 2¾ inches in the center of the bottom. The cavity of the underbody had, in cross section, the form of a rectangle with rounded corners. The middle of the canoe was flat bottomed, becoming gradually more rounded toward the stern.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 The rim of the underbody was flat and straight throughout its length, except for the last six feet of the stern where the walls of the underbody were thickened to form a longitudinal ●501 ridge about two inches below the upper edge. (See Pl. XLII, *A*.) The lower part of this ridge curved smoothly into the contour of the bottom, while the upper part ran back in a flat bevel at an angle of about 40 degrees to the line of the outer edge of the flat rim. The bow and stern of all underbodies appear to have been finished in this way. The tip of the underbody was cut squarely across, and the outside was flat and vertical. The rim was somewhat broader here than along the sides and had, in the center of its interior surface, a broad, rounded point, left at the time of its excavation. This feature is shown in small canoe models, and both the bows and stern of underbodies were probably finished in this way. The projection corresponded to a similar projection on the under surface of the stern and bow pieces, and no doubt helped to strengthen and make rigid their juncture with the underbody.

The inner end of the canoe section observed at Hakaui was especially interesting as it showed the method of finishing a joint. The bottom was cut squarely across, and had no holes for lashings. The sides were cut back for a distance of two feet, the lower edge of the cut sloping upward gradually until its perpendicular inner end was only eight inches high. The surfaces of the side cuts were beveled, running to a thin edge on the inside, and were pierced with triangular holes for lashings. (See Pl. XLII, *B*.)

A row of similar holes was pierced through either side of the underbody about an inch below the rim. There were no holes at the ends. The lashing holes were an inch and a half in width and approximately an inch in depth, the base of the triangle being upward, and were placed at intervals of five to six inches.

Along each side of the section there was a row of three small projections which had been left at the time the canoe was hollowed out. These projections were six inches wide and five and a half inches high, the upper edges were two inches below the rim of the underbody. They had been carved into the form of squat human figures with disproportionately large heads, but the details had been practically obliterated. The projections were arranged in pairs, facing each other; the interval between pairs was 9 feet. 11 inches. The natives could give no information as to their purpose, but it seems certain that they served as supports for thwarts or seats. The complete underbody had no projections of this sort and these projections do not appear in any of the models studied.

524 Both underbodies were made of temanu wood and had been carefully rubbed down inside and out, obliterating all tool marks and giving the surface a finish as smooth as that of an ordinary bowl.

The Bow Piece

So far as known no bow pieces of Marquesan built up canoes have survived but excellent descriptions which check up with the accounts of early voyagers and the old canoe models were obtained from informants.

In a canoe with a forty-foot underbody the bow piece would be about fourteen feet long. Its shape (difficult to describe) can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a section of an old and apparently very accurate canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*). For the sake of convenience in description the bow piece may be divided into three parts, the deck, the neck and the figure-head. The deck was the rearmost section, which was enclosed between the ends of the side planks and bounded in front by a transverse flange, the breakwater, which kept head seas from entering the canoe. The deck of the bow piece was of the same width as the underbody, with a flat upper surface and vertical sides. The under surface was deeply hollowed, the lower edges being of the same width as the sides of the underbody upon which they rested. Triangular lashing holes were pierced through the sides a short distance above the lower edge,

while two other holes, one on either side, were pierced through the angle formed by the top and sides about half-way between the breakwater and rear end of the deck. The upper lashing holes, which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks, did not pierce the cavity of the bow piece. 396 501

The neck, or portion lying between the breakwater and the figurehead, was two to three times the length of the deck. Its upper surface was flat, and was the same width as the deck immediately in front of the breakwater, tapering gradually toward the forward end. Its lower surface was hollowed for about one-half its length, the outer end of the excavation being cut to leave a semicircular projection like that already mentioned in the description of the ends of canoe underbodies. Beyond the end of the excavation a heavy flange projected downward, its lower edge being flush with the bottom of the end of the underbody when the bow piece was in position. On the outer side this flange curved up smoothly to the base of the figurehead. The lower edges of the sides of the excavated portion fitted accurately to those of the underbody, and were pierced with lashing poles. Above the edge, however, the sides sloped inward, the flat upper surface of the neck projecting beyond them on either side in a longitudinal flange.

The angle which the neck formed with the body of the canoe seems to have varied considerably. In the specimen photographed the neck is practically parallel to the upper edge of the underbody, and the early accounts and pictures would seem to indicate that this was usual. According to informants, however, it curved upward sharply beyond the end of the underbody, and all the recent canoe models show this feature in more or less exaggerated form. In the double canoe shown by Christian (10, p. 180), the neck of the bow piece of one canoe is of the form already described and curves upward at only a slight angle, while the neck of the other canoe curves up much more abruptly. In the second specimen the upper surface of the neck does not project over the sides, but curves down into them smoothly, as in the normal stern pieces.

The form of the figurehead and its relation to the neck can best be described by comparing it to a long handled shovel laid back up, the neck corresponding to the handle and the figurehead to the blade. The base of the figurehead projected out sharply from the neck on either side, while the forward end was semicircular or was bluntly pointed. The upper surface was convex, the point of greatest thickness being at the middle of the rear end. It was carved into a single, large, flat face, chin forward. The convention was the usual one except that the broad mouth was crescent shaped, and the ears were represented by thin semicircular flanges which projected from either side of the head just beyond its juncture with the neck. [532]

The Stern Piece

Two forms of stern piece were employed in the Marquesan built up canoe. The one shown in the accompanying picture (Pl. XLII, *E*) is apparently the commoner type. For the sake of convenience in description this form may be divided into three parts—the body, deck and tail.

The body of the stern piece was that part which rested upon the underbody of the canoe. It formed a third to a half of the total length of the stern piece, supporting the deck and tapering off into the tail at the rear. The lower surface of the body was deeply hollowed, while the outer sides curved inward gradually meeting in a distinct ridge along the median line of the upper surface. The lower edges were cut to conform accurately to the upper edges of the stern of the underbody, and were pierced with holes for lashings. The rear end of the body terminated in a heavy, downward projecting flange which rested against the stern of the underbody and was identical in form and arrangement with the corresponding flange on the bow piece.

The deck, although hewn in a single piece with the body, had the appearance of simply resting upon it, its sides and rear edge projecting beyond the sides of the body. Its upper

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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surface was flat and almost rectangular, curving up into a transverse flange at the rear. At the forward edge of the body there was a narrow vertical flange, extending from its lower edge to the deck, which served to make a close joint between the stern piece and the side planks. The edges of the deck were pierced with two vertical lashing holes which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks. The inner end of the stern piece was sometimes considerably thicker than that of the bow piece, raising the level of the stern deck. When such was the case the height of the transverse flange at the rear end of the deck, really a stern breakwater, was less than that of the bow breakwater. The upper edges of the two breakwaters were always at the same level.

In the two oldest canoe models studied, a long oval projection with an almost circular depression in its upper surface extended from the center of the stern breakwater over the body. The only genuine stern piece seen did not show this feature and it is not found in the more recent canoe models. The purpose of the projection was not learned.

The stern piece narrowed rapidly to form the tail, a long flat projection, like a thick plank with the edge up, which rose from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees. It might be either straight or slightly curved, and was pierced near the outer end and along its length with two or more holes, or slots, which served for the attachment of various ornaments.

The stern piece of one of the large canoes in Hakaui referred to (p. 303), is said to have been eighteen feet long and of the type just described.

In the second form of stern piece (Pl. XLII, *C*) the deck and body parts were of the same form, but the rear end fitted down closely upon the stern of the underbody, without overlapping or projecting beyond it. Informants insisted that all canoes had the high tail piece, but were uncertain how it was attached to this form of stern. Fleurieu (23, pp. 131 to 132) says: "The stern is made of two planks four inches high, placed on edge and rising in the form of an elongated and flattened S." Stewart, an unusually trustworthy observer says: "From the keel on each side a light round timber extended, curving gradually upward like the runners in the front of a sleigh, and terminating in a broad flattened blade, six to eight feet above the water." (59, p. 244.) It seems probable, therefore, that in stern pieces of the sort just described the tail was made in two pieces which were lashed one on either side of the canoe.

Side Planks

The side plank of a Marquesan built up canoe was a flat piece of wood of the same thickness as the rim of the underbody and a foot to a foot and a half in width (Pl. XLII, *G*).

The upper edge was hewn into a narrow gunwale, the inside of which was flush with the surface of the plank, while the outside projected as a narrow flange. The lower half to two-thirds of the plank was cut away at either end in a long curve, so that while the length of the upper edge was equal to the distance between the outer surfaces of the breakwaters when the bow and stern pieces were in position, the length of the lower edge was only slightly greater than the distance between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. At the points of contact of the side planks with the end pieces, the inner surface of the planks was cut away to insure a tight joint, the cutting being deepest at the lower edge and becoming gradually shallower toward the top. As a result of this, the upper part of the side plank was forced out somewhat when it was in position so that the whole plank formed a slight angle with the sides of the underbody.

A series of triangular lashing holes, corresponding to those of the underbody in size and position but with the base down, were pierced through the side planks a short distance above its lower edge. Additional holes for the outrigger lashings were made through the upper edge immediately below the gunwale. There were usually three of these, the two outer holes being placed a short distance within the points of contact of the side plank with the bow and

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

stern pieces, while the third was midway between them. Other lashing holes were pierced through the lower edges of the projecting ends of the side plank and served to attach it to the bow and stern pieces, while still others were made under the gunwale at either end to serve for the attachment of bow and stern platforms. Where a supplementary breakwater was used, holes for its attachment were pierced through the forward ends of the side planks near their outer edges. 396 501

The Strips

Four strips were used to cover the seams between the underbody and the side planks, bow and stern pieces.

The strips were of unequal length, the two outside strips extending the full length of the underbody while the inside strips only covered the space between the inner ends of the bow and stern pieces. The upper edges of the inside strips were cut away for a short distance at either end so as to form a close joint with the lower corners of the bow and stern pieces. The strips were made either of soft wood or bamboo and were an inch to an inch and a half in width. When bamboo was used a stalk was split lengthwise and the divisions at the joints cut out. The wooden strips were rounded on the outside and hollowed longitudinally on the inner surface. On long canoes the strips were made in several sections, but there seems to have been no definite order in the arrangement of these. Although the edges of the strips were cut to fit the sides of the canoe as accurately as possible, their purpose appears to have been to protect the pad used between the underbody and the upper sections rather than to make the seam watertight.

Other Canoe Parts

Other elements were sometimes incorporated into the built up canoes.

A supplementary breakwater was in common use (Pl. XLII, *F*), consisting of a thin plank, in the form of a broad flat crescent with stubby points, which was sometimes attached to the upper edge of the bow breakwater. The lower edge of this plank rested upon the top of the breakwater and was accurately fitted to it, while the sides projected beyond the sides of the bow piece. It was attached by lashings to the center of the breakwater and at the ends of the side planks.

A second feature, of greater ethnological interest, was the use of bulkheads. No information was obtained from the natives in regard to bulkheads, but they are shown in certain canoe models and are mentioned by Porter in his description of the Ua Huka canoes. He says: "Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing." (49, p. 79.) Judging from the models, these planks were cut to fit accurately the interior of the canoe, being notched on either side to accommodate the strip covering the side seam. The tops were flush with gunwales to which, in one model, they were fastened by single lashings near the top on either side.

It is probable that thwarts designed simply to strengthen the canoe were not used, but the war canoes had seats for paddlers. According to informants the seats were flat planks resting upon the top of the inside strips. Large canoes might have as many as ten seats.

ASSEMBLING THE CANOE

In some of the larger valleys the canoes were kept in special houses on the beach, and were probably left assembled at all times. According to informants in other places, canoes were usually taken to pieces as soon as they were beached and the parts carried up into the valley. A highly probable explanation of this

396 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (*49*), pp. 101-
● 501 102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (*15*, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501
396 The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of
314 coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See
[237] section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

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[314]

with feathers, beaten in. Langsdorff (38, p. 173) says that the seams were covered with the gum of the breadfruit tree, but this was not mentioned by informants or by any other early visitor. All accounts agree that the craft leaked so badly that one or two men were kept constantly employed bailing.

THE OUTRIGGER

All canoes, when not fastened together in pairs, were provided with outriggers. Quiros (50, p. 28) says that they had "outriggers of cane on either side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys." Porter (49, p. 102) also mentions the use of double outriggers in connection with large canoes differing somewhat from the type now under discussion. Canoes appear, however, to have been normally fitted with a single outrigger on the right side.

This outrigger was of indirect type, consisting of crosspieces, uprights and a float. In the smaller craft two crosspieces only were used, in the larger canoes there were three, the third being in the middle. These crosspieces passed over the canoe, their right ends projecting beyond it, and were lashed firmly to the side planks by cords passed through holes in the upper edges of the side planks.

Each of the uprights consisted of four or six small sticks or splints. When four sticks were used they were placed two on either side of the crosspiece, and the lower ends of each pair rested together, the upper ends being some inches apart so that they formed a V. Each of these V's in turn sloped outward from the crosspieces; their attachments to the float were a foot or more apart. Informants say that this form of upright, although much more difficult to make than the modern one, was superior to it. In landing through a heavy surf the forward end of the float often strikes bottom, and with the modern heavy upright the canoe is turned end over end. When the old upright was used the thin sticks of which it was composed broke easily, and the canoe would land without capsizing. The lower ends of the uprights were wedged into slots in the upper surface of the float, which consisted of a hibiscus log sharpened at the forward end.

CANOE PLATFORMS

According to old accounts the large war canoes were provided with platforms at bow and stern, while Porter (49, p. 101) mentions an additional central platform on which the chief sat. The use of such platforms is only vaguely remembered by the natives and these platforms are not shown in the newer models. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that the platform was made of small sticks and covered with a mat, and that the stern platform was considerably higher than the one in the bow. In two old models the stern platforms are made as follows:

Two rather large peeled sticks were laid across the canoe, the inner stick being close behind the forward end of the stern piece while the outer was just in front of the breakwater. Two other poles were then laid across the ends of these, lengthwise of the canoe, and the whole lashed to the side planks with bark rope passed through holes in the canoe. The rear ends of the second pair of poles projected slightly beyond the stern breakwater. Two more cross poles were laid on the ends of these, above which two very long poles were placed lengthwise, their tips projecting back almost to the tip of the upward curving tail. The four upper poles were then lashed to the frame formed by the four lower ones. The bow platform was built on the same principle except that the tops of the second set of poles were flush with

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396 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform
●501 were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations
incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental
591 lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual
501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with
592 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were 501
painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the 531
tevake bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were [237]
held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds 501
which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower 531
edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. 824
Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung [237]
on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip 501
of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-* 531
hina (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one [824]
of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any [127]
enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small 502
canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the informa- 501
tion obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

501 were temporarily fastened in pairs. They were fastened together by heavy poles, corresponding in position to the crosspieces of the outrigger. The space between the canoes was covered with a temporary platform. In some stories mention is made of a railing around this platform. (Handy, personal correspondence.) Double canoes of this sort were used for inter-island trips and for long fishing trips, when the crew expected to be away for several days. Double canoes, made from [724] fishing canoes, are said to have accompanied the war canoes on long raids to carry supplies.

Porter (49, pp. 102-103) mentions still another type of craft which is so remarkable that it seems best to give the quotation in full. He says:

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With these they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net and with the hook and line. . . . The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes and are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat. . . . These are also worked during a calm with paddles and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner.

No other author mentions craft of this large type but the quotation just given is preceded by a detailed and accurate account of the built up canoes and, except for a tendency to exaggerate dimensions, Porter's accounts of material culture seem to be thoroughly trustworthy. It seems certain that at the time of his visit the Marquesans had some vessel of much larger size than the built up canoe and differing from it in construction.

Informants made no mention of craft of this sort, and the type probably became extinct at an early time. Even at the time of Porter's visit the natives had had considerable contact with Europeans, and there were white sailors settled among them. They are, as a race, quick to see the advantages of mechanical improvements, and the rapid adoption of the present type of outrigger shows the speed with which a new idea may spread among them. They had undoubtedly seen many ships' boats, and it is quite possible that they had already developed a hybrid form intended to embody the advantages of both ships' boat and canoe. We have seen that in 1838, twenty-five years after Porter's visit, whale boats had supplanted most of the large canoes, so that the life of the new type would have been short.

On the other hand, Porter specifically says that the large double canoes were of this type, a strong evidence that it was pre-European. Moreover, his

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brief description of the manner of propulsion applies perfectly to the Tongan method of sculling large craft. It would be practically impossible to build a boat six feet wide and of the same depth on the lines of the built up canoes already described, and it seems certain that these boats were made either of planks or of many pieces. Plank canoes were used in the Society and Tuamoto groups and the Marquesans could hardly have been ignorant of this form of boat. 501

In a legend of the migration of one of the tribes of Hiva Oa, which was driven out by its neighbors and went to seek new land, it is stated that they departed on large bamboo rafts. The tribe in question lived on the plateau and were said to have used these craft because they had no wood suitable for canoes. No details as to the construction could be obtained. [824]

Porter (49, p. 103) says:

> "[The natives] use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board. . . . These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbor."

SAILS

The aboriginal type of sail became obsolete at an early date and it is doubtful whether any of the living natives have seen a genuine ancient sail. Informants insisted that they were like those in use at the present time except that the boom sloped upward instead of being horizontal and that the sail itself was made of coconut mats instead of canvas (pandanus mats were tapu for sails). This agrees perfectly with the brief mention of Porter and the picture given by Cook. Porter (49, pp. 102-103) says: 501 285 [824]

> Double canoes . . . are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat, similar to that called a shoulder-of-mutton sail but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom.

The drawing published by Cook (14, p. 307) shows a single canoe provided with a mast of rough timber and a triangular sail of matting along the lower edge of which there is a boom also of rough timber. The boom is set at an angle of about forty-five degrees, the apex of the triangular sail being at the juncture of the boom and mast. The upper edge of the sail is concave, and the tips of the mast and boom project for some distance beyond the fabric of the sail. The mast is stayed by a rope running from a little below the masthead to the center of the bow projection, and by three other ropes two of which run to the stern outrigger crosspiece a short distance outside the gunwales of the canoe, while the third is attached to the crosspiece near its outer tip. In the picture the sail is directly over the canoe, between the two inner stays, a system impossible in practice. It seems probable that the author placed it in this position in order to better show

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501 285 the arrangement of the stays. A slack line is shown running from the outer end of the boom to the stern seat to control the sheet. In the drawing the lower end of the boom is concealed, but it seems probable that, as in the modern sail, it was not attached to the mast. In the background of the picture there are two small distant canoes one of which is shown under way with the sheet paid out. The side stays are fastened to the bow instead of to the stern outrigger crosspiece, while the bow stay is replaced by a single stern stay. The second canoe is shown with the sail furled, apparently by bringing the boom up against the mast. The method of stepping the masts of the ancient canoes was not ascertained. According to information obtained by Handy, a square rail was used, with a spar at the top and bottom.

PADDLES

501 Porter's mention of "paddles more resembling an oar" (49, p. 152) would imply that more than one type of paddle was in use in the Marquesas, but all the specimens seen or described by informants belong to a single well defined type.

[824] The paddles were made of rose wood, and were often decorated with carving. The manufacture of small highly ornamented paddles of somewhat degenerate form intended for sale as curios has continued until the present time, but the natives have lost the skill necessary for the manufacture of the large genuine specimens; the only ones seen in actual use were old.

The peculiar shape of Marquesan paddles makes them easily recognizable in any collection. (See Pl. XLIII, *B*.) In length they range from 4 feet, 8 inches to 5 feet, 8 inches, although the steering paddles used on war canoes were probably still longer. The average length is slightly over 5 feet. For convenience in description they may be divided into three parts, the shaft, the blade, and the terminal knob, a projection below the blade.

The shaft is approximately circular in cross section and tapers very slightly toward the upper and lower ends. In some old specimens the central part is somewhat flattened laterally, but this may be due to long use. The upper end terminates in a cylindrical knob, slightly thicker than the shaft, or in a flat expanded transverse grip with a concave upper surface. Only one specimen of this sort was seen, the grip in this having been originally two inches in width. At the lower end the shaft passes imperceptibly into the blade.

The total length of the blade, exclusive of the terminal knob, is one foot to 15 inches, with a maximum width of 6 to 7 inches. The wings of the blade curve outward gradually from the shaft to the point of maximum width, which in a blade one foot long is slightly less than 11 inches from the upper end. From this point they curve inward sharply toward the base of the terminal knob. The thickness of the wings at the edges is about ¼ inch, this thickness remaining uniform for the entire length of the blade. The center of the blade has a thickness of ¼ to ½ inch, gradually increasing toward the ends. The outer surface of the blade is convex, either smoothly rounded or with a slight longitudinal ridge along the center. The inner surface is concave, the center, at the point of greatest depth, being sometimes as much as ½ inch below the level of the wing edges.

The form of the terminal knob may be seen from Plate XLIII, *B*. The knob is connected with the blade by a short neck which curves upward and backward. The inner side of this neck bears a rather sharp longitudinal ridge which continues for a short distance up the blade. The outer surface is flat or bears a much lower longitudinal ridge which continues for a short

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distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *mio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [532]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

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501 531 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. [824] These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe models. [439] At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. [824] Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

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on the other hand are decorated only on those parts which were decorated in the actual ancient canoe and show a close attention to all details, even those hidden when the canoe was assembled, which is good evidence that the maker attempted a replica of the actual craft. At the present time the natives make models of the European vessels which visit the group and these models are properly proportioned and surprisingly accurate as to detail, the original of any model being at once recognizable. It seems probable, therefore, that the old models reproduce the real canoes with similar exactness, and it seems justifiable to use them for illustration and for the settlement of doubtful points. 501

Probably the earliest model now preserved is that in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., which was made before 1820. (See Pl. XLIV, *A*.) As may be seen from the photograph it differs somewhat from the descriptions obtained. There are no separate bow and stern piece, the figurehead rests directly on the top of the cutwater, and the outrigger is unusual in form with a direct attachment. It is possible that it reproduces a special type, now forgotten, but it is equally possible that its extremely small size has led to the omission of certain features. Next in age to this model are two preserved in the Bishop Museum (Pl. XLIV, *C*) which agree in every way with the descriptions given, and appear to be accurate replicas of the ancient craft. The highly decorated example (Pl. XLIV, *B*) is comparatively new, and was probably made for sale to Europeans.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CANOES

The simple dugout is of such widespread use among primitive peoples that a consideration of its occurrance is of little or no comparative value. Quite the reverse is true, however, of the built up canoe, as such craft offer a wide field for possible variation. If we study the Polynesian canoes of this sort we find that in Tonga and Samoa, and from there eastward to the Society Islands, these craft were built up of many sections, each cut to fit its position in the whole. These sections were fastened together by cords passed not through the body of the plank, but through oblique holes cut in flanges or projections left on the inner side of each section at the time it was hewn. No lashings were visible on the outer surface, which, after the boat was assembled, was rubbed down to an even finish. The sections were so accurately fitted that it was often difficult to detect the joints. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand, the built up canoe consisted of five parts, an underbody—hewn when possible from a single log—bow and stern pieces, and side planks. These were attached by lashings passed through holes in the body of the plank so that they were exposed on the outside. The Samoan and Tongan craft had a sharp cutwater and were flat at bow and stern. Certain parts of the larger Samoan canoes were carved but the bow and stern decorations were limited to knobs carved on the flat upper surface or on the 501 171

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edges of the gunwales. Only one Samoan form, said to be a result of foreign influence, had an upward curved projection at bow and stern. In the Hawaiian canoes we find no distinct cutwater as the bottom curves upward and narrows to a point. The bow is unornamented but has a short projection. In the Marquesas and New Zealand the bow and stern of the underbody are of the form just described for Hawaii. The bow piece extends for some distance beyond the end of the underbody while the stern piece curves upward to form a high tail. In the Society Islands the canoes were built of many pieces. The entire hull curved upward at the stern rising almost vertically for some distance, and was crowned with carved figures. At the bow there was a second projection which on some was decorated.

The sails used in Hawaii, the Marquesas, and New Zealand were made in the form of a triangle, with the apex at the foot of the mast and the boom along the lower edge. In Tonga and Samoa, on the other hand, the sail was supported by a yard, or yards, hung from the masthead. The Society Islands sail was fundamentally of the first mentioned type, but differed in having the upper end of the boom recurved.

Bailers appear to have been much the same everywhere in Polynesia, but were decorated with carving only in New Zealand and the Marquesas. Marquesan paddles appear to have no exact oceanic parallels, but resemble somewhat those from Easter Island and Mangareva. It is interesting to note in this connection that many of the Hawaiian paddles have on either side, near the tip of the blade, a short rib which serves no practical purpose. It seems possible that this is a survival of an earlier knob or end projection.

It is apparent that in the canoes, as in the houses, there are clear indications of an eastern and a western type. The eastern type is characterized by the use of only five essential parts, bound together by lashings which are visible externally, and by the use of a triangular sail and boom. The western is characterized by the use of many parts bound together by lashings, invisible externally, and by the use of a sail with a movable yard hung from the masthead. The use of ornate bow and stern pieces is unknown in the western area, with a single possible exception, but is normal in the eastern area except Hawaii.

If we compare the Maori and Marquesan canoes we find a series of resemblances so striking that they argue a close cultural relationship. Both boats are basicly the same in the form and arrangement of the parts, and in both the bow piece terminates in a figurehead. In the smaller Maori canoes this figurehead is a simple face borne on the end of a constricted neck, as in the Marquesan form. In the more elaborate Maori forms the figurehead is carved into a full figure, but the high vertical ornament of the Maori bow pieces finds a parallel

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in the pierced planks placed along the center of the Marquesan bow piece. In both we have the high ornamental stern projection. In both, the upper edges of the side planks were expanded to form flat gunwales and the planks themselves were often decorated with carving. In both the Maori and Marquesan canoes, the strips covering the outside of the seams between underbody and side plank were blackened and were decorated with tufts of white feathers at the lashings. Among the Maori, the feathers for this seam decoration were obtained from the shearwater, and although the species of bird from which the Marquesans obtained their feathers for this purpose was not identified, the native descriptions of the habits of the birds makes it almost certain that these people also obtained their decorations from the shearwater.

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The resemblances just noted are too close and numerous to be the result of independent evolution, and although the canoes of the two groups differed in certain minor structural details, the conclusion is inevitable that they represent divergent developments of a single type. The existence of such closely related forms at almost opposite ends of the Polynesian crescent, when the space between is occupied by forms which differ from both more widely than the Maori and Marquesan canoes differ from each other, is best explained by the assumption that they represent marginal survivals of a form which had been diffused over the whole eastern area, but which has been destroyed or overlaid in the intervening regions. The Society Island canoes, with their combination of high stern and prow with many piece construction, are probably a hybrid type resulting from the superposition of the western style of construction upon the Maori-Marquesan form. The exact relation of the Hawaiian canoe to this Maori-Marquesan form is difficult to establish. Basicly they are the same, but the Hawiian canoe lacks all the ornamental features of the other type. It seems probable that both are descended from a common ancestor while the relatively greater simplicity of the Hawaiian canoe suggests that it stands nearer to this original form. The features which distinguish the Maori-Marquesan type—the high bow and stern and profuse decoration—are strongly suggestive of Melanesia, and it seems probable that they are a result of Melanesian influence.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

● 501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

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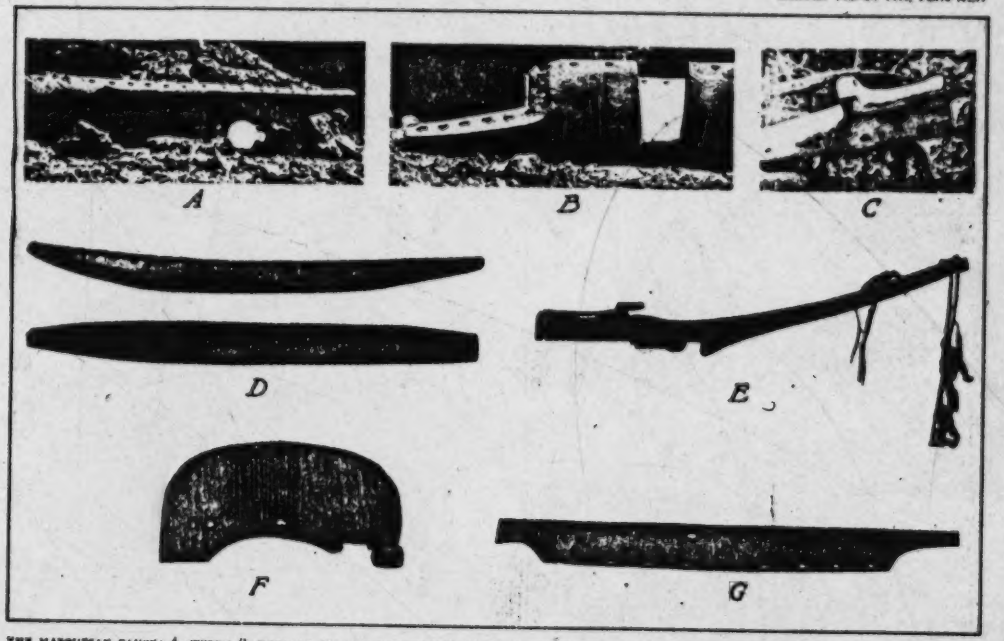
COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

CANOES

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Construction	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe also used as rare form	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; no plank canoes	Five pieces, dugout body, bow and stern pieces, two side planks; plank canoe known	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately	Made of several courses of planks cut to fit together accurately
Bow	Long projection, horizontal or slightly curved upward: head carved on outer end	Long horizontal projection; head or figure carved on outer end	No projection, small upturned knob	Long projection, horizontal or curved upward; small figure sometimes carved on outer end	No projection, upper surface decorated with shells and carved knobs; figureheads used in ancient times	No projection or decoration
Stern	High upward curving plank	High upward curving plank	Small upturned knob, no ornament	Whole body of canoe curved upward for some feet	No projection; decorated like bow	No projection or decoration
Seams	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Covered with strips inside and out; strips blackened and decorated with white feathers at the lashings	Not covered with strips	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams	Not covered, outside of canoe rubbed down to give a smooth close joint at seams
Lashings	Visible both inside and out	Visible both inside and out	Visible inside, almost concealed outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside	Invisible outside
Decoration	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks	Elaborate carving on bow, stern and side planks, also painting	No decoration	Small figures and other carving on bow and stern	Slight use of carved decoration	No decoration
Double canoe	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Rarely used; two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size	Two canoes of equal size temporarily connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected	Canoes of different size permanently connected
Sail	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	An inverted triangle with the apex at the foot of the mast	Modified form of the inverted triangle sail	Inverted triangle sail and lateen sail suspended from the mast head	Lateen sail suspended from the mast head



THE MARQUESAN CANOE: *A*, STERN; *B*, FORWARD END OF REAR SECTION OF UNDERBODY; *C*, STERN PIECE OF OLD CANOE; *D*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF UNDERBODY OF OLD CANOE MODEL; *E*, STERN PIECE OF OLD CANOE MODEL; *F*, SUPPLEMENTARY BREAK-WATER; *G*, SIDE PLANK OF OLD CANOE MODEL.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[End plate 3]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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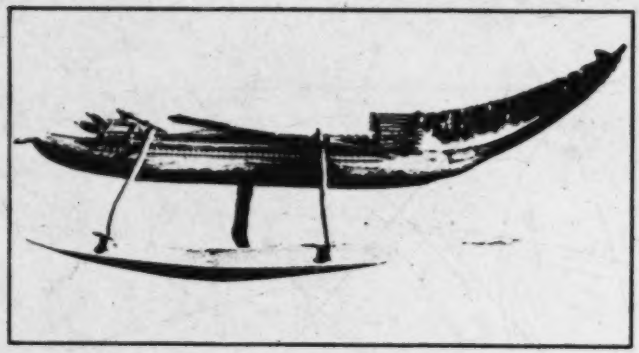

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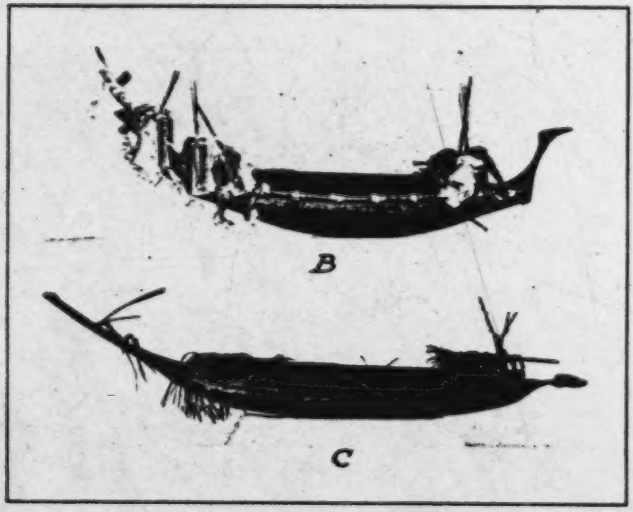


B

C

CANOE MODELS: *A*, VERY OLD MODEL (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, MODERN MODEL, MADE FOR SALE; *C*, OLD MODEL, REPLICA OF ACTUAL CRAFT.

[end plate 5]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

zones in which a semi-circle is substituted for a V in a series of V's, used 531x to fill a triangle. One post shows a series of concentric ovals superposed 353 upon a series of V's, and a group of six wide horizontal lines superposed upon the concentric ovals making a triple overlapping of design.

One design motif consists of two quarter sections of concentric ovals placed side by side so as to form a half oval with the sections separated by two, or by three, horizontal lines which project out beyond the outer oval. (Pl. III, *g*). This design is probably related to the concentric ovals pierced on one side by a horizontal line, used frequently in under-arm tattooing (18).

Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition photographed a house post which displays a zone filled with two segments of concentric ovals and a small pierced oval so arranged as to give the appearance of a *mata*. The representation may not have been intentional, for no other example of a *mata* carved on a house post is known.

Designs on Canoe Models

The study of designs used to decorate canoes has of necessity been lim- 531x ited to an examination of canoe models as no complete Marquesan canoes 501 have been preserved from ancient times and the fragments of old canoes photographed by members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition do not show any designs. The old canoe models in the collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are very exact in their construction so that it seems probable that the designs carved on those models are likewise good replicas of the ones formerly used. The newer models are carved on the bottom as well as on the bow, stern, and side planks. Canoes which actually saw service were not carved in this manner and it is therefore difficult to judge the value of the designs on the recent models.

Like the house posts, the designs on the canoe models are inscribed 531x between parallel lines which run transversely to the long axis of the canoe. These zones are of various widths and some of them are divided longitudinally. Both angular geometric and curvilinear patterns are used separately and in combination. On the bottom of one model are no angular geometric patterns and on the side planks only two angular figures consisting of concentric triangles at either end (Pl. VI, *d*). One motif on the top of the bow piece combines angular geometric with curvilinear figures.

The bow and stern pieces and side planks of most of the canoe models are carved with purely angular geometric designs. These are for the most part straight, horizontal, and diagonal grooves used in series to separate zones and also to fill zones, diagonal grooves so arranged as to give the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but
531 not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip
[825] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

●502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*ava-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. 142 [304]

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable. [291]

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. 501 [502]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

501 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

indicates the speed with which new appliances of obvious value are accepted by the natives. The new outrigger is indirect, and consists of three elements: the float, the uprights, and the crosspieces. The float consists of a peeled log of fau wood four to five inches in diameter, slightly shorter than the canoe. This is usually sharpened at the forward end only, the cutting being done entirely from the lower side, but a few specimens were seen which had been sharpened at both ends, apparently with the idea of making the canoe completely reversible. The uprights, about two feet long, are usually made of small barrel staves. A triangular notch about two inches deep is cut in the upper end. Eight inches below this notch the uprights are pierced by a rectangular hole an inch and a half to two inches square. These uprights are permanently attached to the float. The unnotched ends of the staves are wedged into longitudinal slits near either end of the upper surface of the float. The crosspieces are peeled poles of fau or hard wood about eight feet long and three inches in diameter at the butt. Their outer ends are sharpened so that they will readily pass through the rectangular holes in the uprights. 501 356 [824]

The outrigger is assembled and attached as follows: The squared ends of the cross poles are fitted into the holes of the uprights, their points projecting about two inches on the outer side. The whole outrigger is then placed on the right side of the canoe, the crosspieces extending across it on the line of the hard wood plugs, with their butts projecting a few inches beyond the left gunwale. One end of a light rope is then fastened to the projecting end of the front crosspiece, outside the upright. The rope is then carried over the top of the upright, through the notch, and along the crosspiece to the inner side of the right gunwale. It is then passed back and forth diagonally over the crosspiece and around the inside and outside ends of the plug until the crosspiece is held rigidly. The rope then runs along the crosspiece to the left gunwale, where the same lashing is repeated. Some slack is then left in the canoe, and the left end of the rear crosspiece is lashed, the rope passing from there to the right gunwale lashing the crosspiece there, and out along the crosspiece and over the end of the upright to the outer end of the crosspiece, where it is tied. Any rope left over is carried back along the crosspiece and coiled in the canoe.

An outrigger of this sort can be attached or removed in a few moments, and the single rope used to lash it is available for other purposes when not in use on the canoe. When a canoe is beached the owner usually removes the outrigger at once and stores it in a safe place, thus making the canoe useless and safeguarding it from theft.

Small fishing canoes of the type described are rarely used for trips of any length. They are not sailed but are commonly paddled by two men. One man sits on the stern crosspiece of the outrigger where it crosses the boat, while the other wedges himself between the thwarts amidships. Most of these canoes are completely reversible, and they are sometimes paddled with the outrigger on the left instead of the right. The narrowness of these craft, and their high center of gravity (for the paddlers sit practically on top of the canoe) make them very unstable, and in spite of the outrigger they frequently capsize. The natives right them by getting on the outrigger and forcing it down under the canoe and up the other side. 502

VAKA POTI

The *vaka poti*—a craft that appears to be a local development—is an interesting example of the native adaptation of European ideas. It may be described as follows: 501

501 396 [824] As the name indicates, the *vaka poti* is a hybrid of canoe and boat, and is larger and more seaworthy than the fishing canoe, being twenty to twenty-five feet long with a maximum beam of two to two and a half feet. A long strip of breadfruit or temanu wood, eight inches to a foot in width, about four inches thick and tapering to a point at both ends, serves the double purpose of keel and bottom. It is smoothly rounded on the outside and slightly hollowed along the center of its upper surface. This is probably an extreme modification of the dugout underbody of the old built up canoes. Longitudinal slots are cut in either end of this keel and into these two flat, slightly curving pieces of temanu wood are bolted. These serve as the stem and sternposts of the boat, and are identical in form. Short light ribs are then bolted to the keel along both edges, their short lower arms resting upon its upper surface. The sides of the boat are built up with thin planks of commercial lumber which are laid on with an overlap from above downward—that is, the boat is clinker built. These planks are carefully dressed along the points of contact to insure a tight joint, and are fastened into grooves in the sides of the stem and sternpost. The gunwales are finished with a narrow flat strip of wood. At either end of the boat, immediately below this strip, a triangular piece of plank is put in, decking the last two or three feet of the bow and stern. The boat is braced by three broad flat thwarts which also serve as seats. One of these thwarts is placed in the middle and the other two at either end, two to three feet within the edges of the end deckings. The forward thwart is pierced with a hole three or four inches in diameter which, with a corresponding block on the keel, serves to step a mast. These crafts are always provided with an outrigger similar in shape and attachment to that of the fishing canoe, but of proportionately greater size.

Alexander, who visited Nuku Hiva in 1899, saw a slightly different form of outrigger in use with the *vaka poti*. He says (2, p. 746): "From the gunwale to the outrigger float of these canoes is an average of 7 feet. The outrigger frame consists of five pieces of wood, namely, two poles or crosspieces seized across the gunwales 4½ feet apart, one forward and the other aft of center; two stanchions connecting crosspieces of the outrigger float, and a brace which is seized to crosspieces just outside the gunwale. That part of the crosspieces between the gunwales answers the purpose of thwarts, the upper side being hewn to a flat surface. The outboard ends are sized to the perpendicular pieces, or stanchions, the length of which is, as a rule, the distance from the gunwale to the water line. These pieces are sized to the top side of the float, the sizings extending all the way around the float, but done so neatly as to offer little resistance to the water. The crosspieces, float, and stanchions are braced with withes to prevent them from being twisted and thrown out of position by coming in contact with rocks. . . . The material used in sizing the outrigger frame together is coconut fiber twisted into a small line." 824

502 A *vaka poti* is normally handled by four men, one of whom sits in the stern and steers with a paddle while the other three row with short oars of ordinary European form. The bow and stern oars are placed on the side opposite the outrigger, the middle oar on the outrigger side, working within it.

Every craft of this sort is provided with a leg of mutton sail of canvas like that commonly used on ships' boats. When not in use the sail is stored under the short deck at one end of the boat, while the poles which serve as mast and boom are lashed along the crosspieces of the outrigger. The heavier of these poles, which is about nine feet long, serves as the mast. When the sail is to be hoisted, the mast is passed through loops of string tied along one edge of the sail, the loop nearest the masthead being firmly tied to the pole. Two light ropes are then attached to the masthead opposite each other and the mast is stepped, the butt passing through the hole in the forward thwart and resting in the hollowed block in the keel. The two ropes from the masthead are then fastened to the forward outrigger crosspiece just outside the gunwales of the canoe. A third rope is sometimes run from the masthead to the prow, but this is not common. The lighter pole serves as the boom and passes through the loops along the lower edge of the sail. The outermost loop is firmly tied to the boom, and a rope is attached to its outer end. The boom is then gradually thrust outboard until the sail is fully spread and only the inner end of the boom rests against the mast. This end simply rests against the mast and is not attached to it.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Vaka poti are rarely if ever used for inter-island voyages as most of the villages possess whale boats, which are more suitable for such trips. The natives, however, make fairly long coasting voyages in the *vaka poti*. They keep as close in shore as possible, rowing along the edge of the breakers in the narrow belt of comparatively calm water caused by the backwash from the cliffs. Even when there are large bays along the route they prefer to skirt the shore rather than to cut straight across. This custom of lying close inshore no doubt accounts in part for the indifferent way in which the boats are sailed. When the wind is astern the sheet is paid out on the side away from the outrigger, and as there is no way of reefing in case of a strong wind it is necessary for the occupants of the canoe to lean far out on the outrigger side or even climb out on the outrigger frame to keep the boat from capsizing. When the wind is on the port quarter the sheet is paid out on the outrigger side, but it is dangerous to sail this way as a sudden puff may drive the outrigger under and capsize the boat. When the wind is abeam the natives lower sail and row out against it for some distance, then spread sail and come in at a long slant with the wind on the quarter, repeating the maneuver whenever they get too close to the coast. They do not seem to understand tacking, and never sail except with a following wind. 502

ANCIENT CANOES

THE DUGOUT

Two ancient types of canoe are remembered by the natives, a small fishing canoe, and a built up war canoe. The small canoe is said to have been a simple dugout, identical with the modern fishing canoes already described except that it lacked the plank gunwales and had an outrigger of the ancient form (p. 309). Porter (49), who mentions these canoes, says that they were "commonly nothing more than the hollowed keels of the large ones after the upper works have been taken off." They appear to have been used only around the harbors, all longer voyages being made in canoes of the built up type. 501

BUILT UP CANOES

Large built up canoes have been obsolete for many years, as the Marquesans were quick to see the superiority of the European small craft and soon learned to imitate them. Even in 1838 Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the ancient canoes had been largely replaced by whale boats which the natives obtained from passing ships. Small built up canoes have, however, continued in use until comparatively recent times and a seaworthy example is still to be seen on the island of Fatu Hiva. The form of these smaller craft is well remembered by many living persons and from their descriptions, the numerous early [177]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were 501
painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the 531
tevake bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were [237]
held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds 501
which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower 531
edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed 824
along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung [237]
on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip 501
of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-* 531
hins (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one [824]
of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

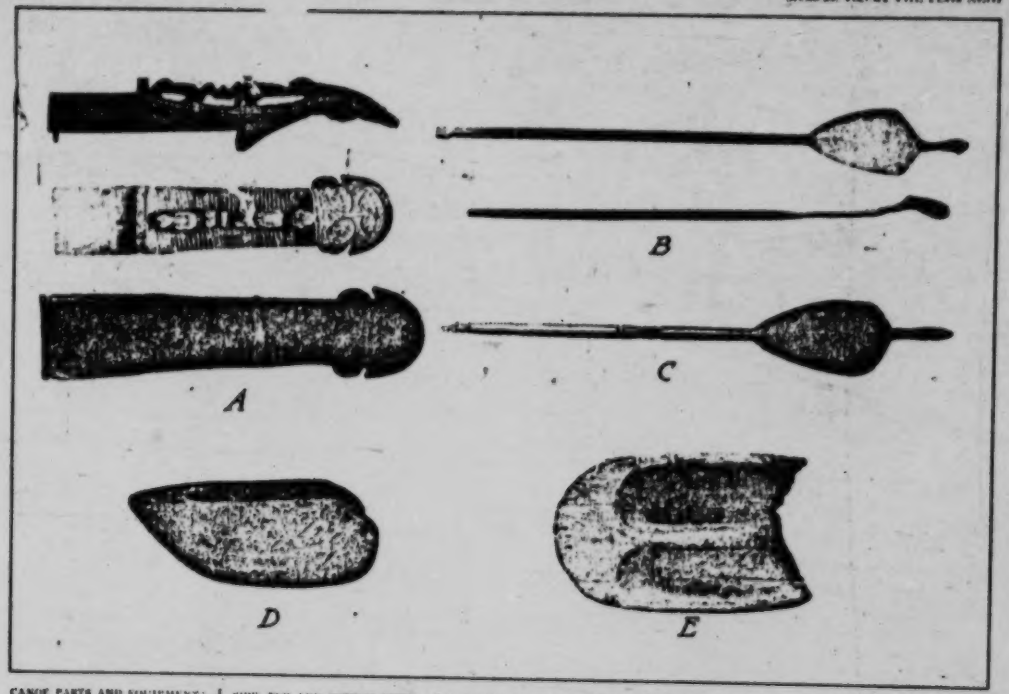
Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any [127]
enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small 502
canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the informa- 501
tion obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which



CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT: *A*, SIDE, TOP AND BOTTOM VIEWS OF BOW PIECE FROM OLD MODEL; *B*, REAR AND SIDE VIEWS OF ORDINARY PADDLE; *C*, MODERN CARVED PADDLE; *D* AND *E*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF CANOE BAILER.

7: Lemon E-5 (1928-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
502
532
End plate 4

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

> Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 287 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *ananu'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 [824]

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many ge- [773]
nerations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to [823]
mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they im- 167
pressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and [505]
water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Noosheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Noosheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

62 63 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

Vehine Hae

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke eu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of [513] *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae,* appearing only at night. *Vehine hae,* seen always with the head and eyes turned

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE HOUSE DOOR

342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and p'aced between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae*, and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the owner of the house. Two short additional pieces of palm log sometimes were laid transversely at either end of the bed space, just within the bottoms of the end posts of the house; rarely the log along the back of the bed space was omitted. The space enclosed by the logs was first filled with a thick layer of tips of palm fronds, or with ferns. Over these were laid several coconut mats, similar to those used for thatching. The mats at the rear were occasionally placed over the back log and tied to the rafters at a height of about eight inches (Pl. XL, *E*). Over the coconut mats in turn were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips, three-eighths of an inch or more in width. Mats of this sort were tapu to men, and the use of the word *moena* as a term of reproach is known to have led to at least one murder in recent times. The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahua'a*, which was not tapu to men. The *kahua'a* was long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was so placed that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed. The outer edge of the *kahua'a* was tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head alone, called *pa'i pa'i*, was sometimes placed over the *kahua'a* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair.

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Occupants of the bed lay with their heads toward the wall, the *kahua'a* supporting the head and shoulders and the *moena* the lower part of the body. With persons of ordinary height the feet projected over the inner log and rested upon the bare stone pavement.

The elaborate pillows found in some parts of Polynesia were not used in the Marquesas, but a pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahua'a*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, made from bundles of shredded *fei* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

According to informants a special form of bed was used at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa in the houses of a fishermen's sacred place, and by at least some of the priests. This bed consisted of two or more pairs of short posts, connected at the top by crosspieces, supporting a layer of small closely spaced poles. The whole formed a long rectangular bench, or shelf, raised eighteen inches to two feet above the ground. Four elaborately carved wooden legs in the Bishop Museum may belong to a bed of this type. (See Pl. XLI, *A*.) In the fishermen's sacred place each of the houses, which were very small, contained two of these beds, one along either side. Priests, after they had eaten of the sacrifice, continued to live with their families when not engaged in religious rites, but slept in a separate raised bed built for them in the common dwelling. Only coconut mats were used upon the beds of priests and fishermen, due to the ceremonial uncleanness of bed mats

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
519 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*, (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513 352

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/21 cont./

children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the association of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite frequently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the [513]
house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* [515]
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
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and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress 291
of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins
like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of
the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means 264
so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty 515
in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make 252
a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel 231
that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had
been but that moment eating, without giving it the least
washing, or even washing their hands which were equally
dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and 231
hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem
to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and
fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when
land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer
approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected
together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in
several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some
were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-
armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant
Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them.
They saw them land without the least opposition. Some
little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all
armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore,
in order to be ready to support their people in case of an
attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after
the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the
Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met
him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the
woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made
them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed
they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five
dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no
fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two
dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea,
was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has
something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in
circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of [856] the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [576] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/ 832

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the
context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a
number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit
the houses of most of the married women during the temporary
absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys
will often be invited to participate, and the women take spe-
cial pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult
men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, ex-
pressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young
males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of
boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source
of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile
attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to
typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522]
some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric).
These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the un-
married girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays
are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515]
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of com- [302]
mercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534]
soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places
along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few
hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of
information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of
various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available,
and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small
"pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 589 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883 515
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136] the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere). 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 515 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[182] ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192]

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

533 There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that
537 was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows
[516] on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[516]

A B C D E F

G H I J K L

MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

[End Plate 2]

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the lasses overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533 517

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 535 883 [302] [331]

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs 533

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513
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10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*oho-au*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609]
the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522]
come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole popula-
tion.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the ap- 124
pearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change [521]
of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence.
Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in
this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who
would seek to record such information, which is intensified if
the intended informant believes that he will be identified by
name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friend- 123
ship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in 124
altering these attitudes on the part of the informants.
/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories
from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on per-
sonal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain
information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although
data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was 123
made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excava- 521
tions which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of
workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods super-
vising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the
areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation
persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual
topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot [126]
down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as

/5 cont./

the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this 123
context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of 521
archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy [126]
atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross- 124
checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the 123
fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced 124
from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population 161
is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived [127]
from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [114]

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 832 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 757 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [531] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] ● images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 521

/69 cont./

two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news. 837 521

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband. 684 [152] 834 837 [578]

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare. 837

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/70 cont./

lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time. 837 [833]

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates. 833 887

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to indulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic. 521 522 831

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with [illegible] expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May paid us another visit, accompanied by his brother, and exchanged four cocks, which he brought with him, for one of ours, whose crowing had particularly pleased him. The brother also had taken a liking to one of our ducks, and offered a middling-size pig for her, promising at the same time another, not quite so large, for a drake. This exchange was not only advantageous, but very gratifying to me, as it might be the means of introducing into the island a useful domestic bird, unknown there before. During this visit, a circumstance took place of a serio-comic nature. One of my midshipmen, in examining the oar of a canoe that I had purchased, happened to let it fall, and it struck against the head of the king, who was sitting on the deck. His majesty immediately fell down, and began to make the most extraordinary wry faces, as if in great pain. The accident mortified me so much, that I reprimanded the young man a little severely for his carelessness. He was himself considerably alarmed; and, in apologizing, presented the king with a small piece of iron. This changed the scene; his majesty burst into a loud laugh, and expressed by signs, how cleverly he had deceived us, and that he was not in the least hurt. This scene over, the king went on shore in high spirits, and I was myself not a little pleased that the accident terminated as it did.

In the afternoon, captain Krusenstern came to see me, and in the course of conversation informed me, that the king had also brought him in the morning a pig; but as on his coming on board, the officers being at dinner, there was nobody to receive him on deck, he was so much displeased, that he ordered the pig to be taken back again. Though this circumstance appeared to us of

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609]
the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522]
come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole popula-
tion.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/34/ 836

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the
context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a
number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit
the houses of most of the married women during the temporary
absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys
will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult
men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young
males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of
boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source
of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile
attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to
typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522]
some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric).
These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays
are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515]
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of com- [302]
mercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534]
soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places
along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few
hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of
information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of
various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available,
and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small
"pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173] in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [797] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This prac- [833]
tice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy,
and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations
for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are 887
often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 522 ●
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature under- 831
stood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 179 [578]

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
[524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rately a little farther on. Children competed with each other in trying to recite the greatest number of words while the breath was held. Dordillon gives the following terms which his translations indicate were names of children's games: *matapo*, blind man's buff (introduced, according to informants); *matito*, a game consisting of throwing a ball so that it fell in a small circle (said to be introduced); *maueva* and *pohuto ku'a*, jumping rope; *neo*, hide and seek; *kou*, a game which consisted in trying to guess in which hand an object was hidden, also called *koi*. String figures were made for amusement by women and children as well as for practical use in furnishing designs for ornamental lashings. 524

OTHER GAMES[11]

Kai Patu

Kai patu, a guessing game for men, women, and children, was played with a piece of bark cloth rolled into a small pellet between the right thumb and index finger. Somewhat as in our play of "Which hand is it in?", the endeavor of an opponent was to guess under which finger the player had concealed the pellet.

There were three methods of transferring the pellet from its resting place between the right thumb and index finger to the other hand, and an opponent was allowed four guesses for each method before the player proceed to the next method of transfer. The player won the game when he was able to deceive his opponent twelve successive times. The first method of transfer consisted in entering the right thumb and index (the pellet between them) into a circle formed by the left thumb and index held tip to tip, and snapping the circle through the right digits in such a manner as sometimes to leave the tapa pellet between the left digits, sometimes to retain it in the right. Efficacy was added to the sleight-of-hand by blowing upon the fingers as the transfer was accomplished.

The second method of transfer consisted in spreading the left hand, palm-down, upon the lap and snapping the right thumb and index finger (the pellet between them) from under each of the left-hand digits, so as to leave the bit of cloth under one of them or retain it where it was. The third method consisted in snapping the right thumb and index finger between the palm of the left hand and each digit, so as to leave the pellet between a finger and the palm of the left hand.

If the opponent were wrong in the first of his four guesses allowed for a method of transfer, the player cried, *"Keua"*; if wrong the second time, *"Fakia"*; if the third, *"Maieno"*; if the fourth, *"Fitu e vau ua rike."*

[11] The game of *kai patu*, the genealogical game, and the string figures were recorded and are here described by Willowdean C. Handy.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

524 These terms are the same as those used in the game of *teka*, with the exception of the fourth, which combines the fourth and fifth of *teka*. It seems probable that either my informant or I was mistaken as to the number of guesses allowed for each step and that there were really five. Whenever the opponent guessed right, no word was said, but the pellet was passed to him and he became the hider.

A Genealogical Game

Pei was a mother's game invented to teach children their genealogies and give the mothers a chance to boast of the number of their offspring. It was customary for mothers to bring their children to the feast place (*taha ko'ina*), there to vie with one another in this good-humored competition. Using two candlenuts as juggling balls, or sometimes two balls made of fau leaves bound with pandanus strips, each mother, in rhythm with the tossing of these balls, chanted the following *pei* (the names here used are typical possibilities—each player inserted the names of her own children).

CHANT	EXPLANATION
Muamua Teiki	Teiki, first-born,
Teiki, Ani	Teiki, then Ani (second-born)
Ani, Hotu	Ani, then Hotu (third-born)
Hotu, Poha	Hotu, then Poha (fourth-born), etc.
Uapao	Complete
Tatou mei oto	We from inside
To tatou kui	Our mother,
Kui aha?	What mother?
Kui haatepeiu	Mother a chiefess
Motua aha?	What father?
Motua hakaiki	Father a chief
E vii, e vii	Roll, roll,
Ta tatou pei	Your *pei* (balls)
I tai o Ahuau	To the sea Ahuau (name of the sea by Atu Ona, Hiva Oa)
Ui mai na tupuna	The grandparents ask,
"N'ai tenei pei?"	"Whose *pei* is this?"
"Na matou."	"Ours."
"N'ai otou?"	"Whose are you?"
"Na Peke."	"Peke's" (the father's name)
"Na Peke?"	"Peke's?"
"Na Moho"	"Moho's" (the father's father's name)
"Na Moho?"	"Moho's?"
"Na Tutu"	"Tutu's" (the great-grandfather's)
"Na Tutu?"	"Tutu's?" etc.
Haa to ii	Apparently meaningless refrain
Haa to aa	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai tua	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai feani	Apparently meaningless refrain
Feani tiiti	Apparently meaningless refrain

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524

Feani taata	Apparently meaningless refrain
Ui mai na vehine me iuna	The women on high ask,
Uoa, Oupoto,	Uoa, Oupoto,
Ou to Katekahi atu tua	Katekahi (names of three ancestresses far back)
Ua vo tuu pei-e	?
Ua vo tuu	?

According to another informant, only the name of the first-born was used, and the chant was repeated for each of the other children.

String Figures [18]

Pehe, string figures (cat's cradles) made on the hands, are a favorite pastime today of women and children and even of men; but formerly they were of more significance than their present use as amusement would indicate. In the old days there were *tuhuna pehe,* who originated string figures and used them as patterns for lashings for canoes, coffins, houses, adzes, and other things. The sacred chant called *"oho au o Motuhaiki"* (see Chants), which was recited for the sacred first-born, contains a reference to a string figure called *na humu o Tana-oa,* which was evidently the pattern for binding the child's sacred adz:

> "Put it on the handle
> Fix it well on the crooked *mi'o* stick
> Bind it with black and red sennit spun of fine fiber
> Bind it with the binding of Tana-oa (*humu o Tana-oa*)."

Mr. Linton was told the story of Aka, who went to the island of "Kaukau o meia," where he made cord out of the fiber of the banana tree and learned the *pehe* (string figures). It is possible that the patterns were made of such fiber before being copied in coconut fiber (*puu kaha*) for lashings.

String figures in the Marquesas are varied in technique of making and in the form of pattern evolved. Some are made in the usual method by interweaving, exchanging, and dropping loops upon the fingers and a final extension upon both hands; some are woven on the fingers of one hand, which act as pegs; some are made by twisting the cord around the hand, arm, or foot in a manner apparently complicated, but the figure unravels at a touch; and some are played by two persons, who interweave their loops.

The figures evolved fall into several types: those resulting in a single fixed pattern; those growing into more and more complicated figures from a single start; those dissolving into a series of simpler figures; those continuing endlessly in a cycle of changes; those which slide back

[18] Detailed descriptions of the processes of making about thirty Marquesan string figures have been obtained and drawings of the figures have been made.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¼ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large, with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to these on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

524 Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika tuihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par-
526] ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina keana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [567]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 inches high, were made of hard-packed earth at either end of the course. It was on these that the spears were glanced. There were two sides (*keke*) of five men each. Each man had his own lance. All gathered at one *uma* and alternately threw their lances. The man whose spear went farthest on the first throw was called *keua*, the winner of the second was *fakia*, of the third *maiero*, of the fourth *fitu e vau*, and of the fifth and last throw *uarike*. After the first throw, the contestants went along the course, recovered their lances, and then threw the second round from the *uma* at the other end of the course—and so on throughout, changing ends at each throw. The side that won the majority of throws won the game and received applause of the spectators. It is said that skilled players could throw a lance more than two hundred yards.

There were two ways of throwing the lance. Sometimes it was merely held in the hand and glanced on the mound with a sideways motion of the arm. But frequently a cord was used, much greater distance being attained by throwing in this way. A cord (*aho*) four or five feet long was doubled and the ends were tied together. The knot was placed against the shaft of the lance midway between its ends, the doubled cord being then passed around the shaft and back over itself next the knot, (forming a loop around the shaft) and carried up along the shaft toward the forward end, so that as long as it was held taut the shaft was held in the loop. One finger was inserted in the doubled cord, while the rest of the fingers grasped the shaft. When the lance was thrown, the cord served to swing the reed forward until the shaft was released by the cord's being drawn up from the knot.

SHAM BATTLES

54 *Kaokao, pehihua,* or *kahuka* was a sham battle, in which opposing sides of men from different valleys threw chestnuts (*ihi*), young coconuts (*ehi*), young breadfruit (*mei*), candlenuts (*ama*), and even small stones (*kiva*), at each other. The opposing sides stood about fifty paces apart and had alternate turns at throwing. Each man had three chances at hitting any member of the opposing side, and only one man threw at a time. Men were severely wounded and sometimes killed in the game. The game continued until one side was so depleted by casualties that it had to give in. All the while they played, those who were being thrown at leapt and danced about, taunting the thrower and crying *"kaokao"* when a speeding missile would miss its mark. It is said that women sometimes played the game with oranges or limes.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport. 526

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170): 526 481

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai.* Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed 501
in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enume- [526]
rated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys [857]
and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh 648
complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determineed to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these 526 toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space 481 between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its 526 buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step. 481 526

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. [171]

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen. 526

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wrapped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

524 Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise. 526 411

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war. 411

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe. [324]

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shape!, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tunable	Important, no tunable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Present
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slitted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of [856] the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [531] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [197] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink[1] was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[1] [i.e., Kava.—Rualy+]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

[796]

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

527 728

> The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates. 527 728

THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha,* place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu,* as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe. 527 349

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

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527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père 349 Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity 476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

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place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore. 527 476

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small. 527

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 527 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hei titi. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).
Hutaha. Licentious fete.
Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavepua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

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527 **Mau hei titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the fete (*tuakaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

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342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415
531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu*, and was called *toki mana (toki*, adz, *mana*, power), or *toki tapu*. The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e*, creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puho as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were [531] elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of

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411 of ironwood: *matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,* lance: *maaeki,* lance of pandanus wood; *kohaa,* weapon of pandanus wood; *kaaeki,* wooden lance

•[531]

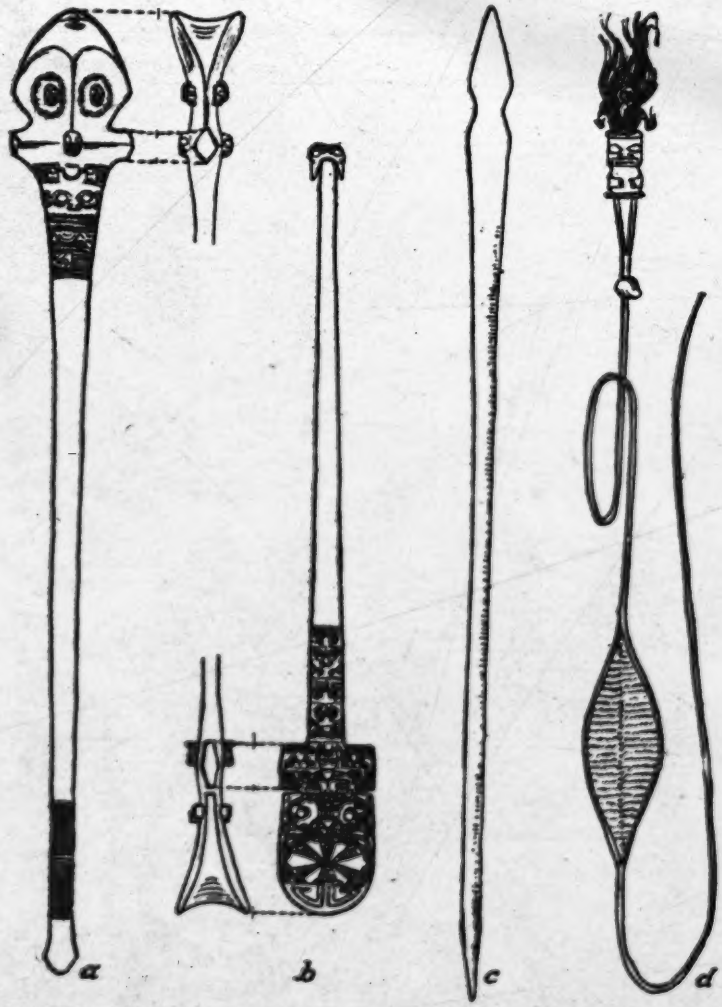

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

of *eki* bush; *epu,* kind of lance. The *miomiota* or *miopatu* was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

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was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid. 342 333

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch. 342 [531]

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ka'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaaka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (pana) closing the front of the house. 342 824

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342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae,* which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in
● 531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau,* accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e,* recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au.*

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e.*

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

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and were called *teka*. The float (*ama*) of the outrigger (*ama*) was made of fau and was attached to the supporting rods by four or six small sticks (*ti'a ti'a*) which were inserted into holes on the outrigger float and bound on the supporting rods. The platform (*papua, hou'ua*) resting on the poles that held together a double canoe has been described. On all large single canoes used for fishing or for war there was at the stern an elevated platform (*papa'u*) on which the steersman stood. Stewart (26, pp. 211-20) describes "a high platform deeply fringed with the pendant leaves of a palm," on which the steersman stood on the stern of a canoe. Stewart states that in the bow of this canoe there was another platform made of small sticks covered with a mat on which was seated a man who was evidently a priest. 501

Sails (*ti'a, moena*) which were used on the smaller fishing craft and the large voyaging canoes were of the triangular, or lateen, type, and according to Linton were made of coconut leaf mats. It seems probable that pandanus mats were also used, particularly for voyages, on account of their greater durability. The mast was stepped in a hole (*puti'a*) in the bottom of the canoe and passed up through one of the forward seats (*pihao*).

The paddles (*hoe*) were made of rosewood. The handle ends were ornamented with a small *tiki* figure and the blades with designs similar to those used on bowls. The lower end of the paddle blade always terminated in a long rounded point. (See fig. 16, *c*.)

The bailers were made of *mi'o* or *temanu* wood and were "shaped like a sugar-scoop with the handle reversed—that is, projecting forward over the cavity" (20). (See fig. 16, *b*.)

Ornamentation of Canoes

The main decoration of canoes was by means of carving and ornamental lashing. Bow and stern pieces were carved with the ornamental adzed designs (*tiki*) used on house posts (See fig 16, *d*). Some modern informants say that tattooing designs were also applied on these parts. This is true at least of canoe models. I believe with Mr. Linton that this type of carving was not used on the large canoes of ancient times. Ornamental lashings (*pu'u kaha*) the designs of which were taken from string figures, bound the supporting rods of the outrigger to the balancer and to the sideboards, and the sideboards to the hull, these lashings being made of sennit dyed red, yellow, and black. There was a conventional figure head, which was apparently always used at the forward end of the bow piece, consisting of a flattened conventionalized face. "There was a tendency to decorate the neck of the bow piece with figures carved in high relief or by the 501 531

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501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

●531 Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip [825] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atu-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
518 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*, (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of I'ua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

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ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *ke'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

Carvings on Posts

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 531

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides: the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving. 532

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

1. Straight horizontal lines. Bands of these were used to separate zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones. This motif with its variations is shown in Figure 4, *a, b, c, d.*
2. Straight diagonal lines. Used to fill zones (fig. 4, *e*).
3. Series of parallel zigzag lines running horizontally (fig. 4, *f*).
4. Bands of alternate interlocking triangles (fig. 4, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles whose bases are formed by the sides of the zone. The interiors of these triangles are filled with lines parallel to the base, lines parallel to one side, or a series of V's whose sides are parallel to those of the triangle (fig. 4, *j*).
6. Large diamond shaped figures covering the length and breadth of a zone, leaving four triangles at the corners (fig. 4, *k*).
7. Small diamond shaped figures arranged in close order to fill an entire zone (fig. 4, *h*).
8. Irregular combinations of diagonal lines (fig. 6, *d*).

The Marquesans appear to have never used checkerwork, patterns formed of groups of small triangles, or cross hatching, in their house post decorations.

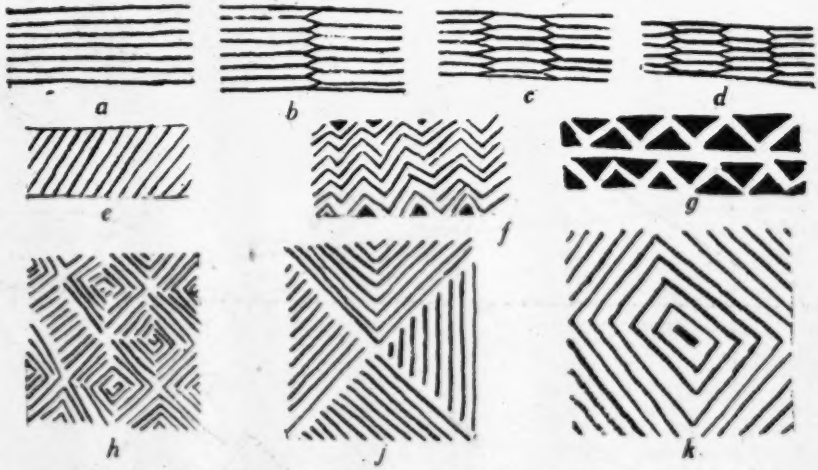

FIGURE 4.—Angular-geometric designs carved on house posts: *a*, straight horizontal grooves; *b*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-half the width of the post; *c*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post; *d*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth of the width of the post; *e*, diagonal lines; *f*, parallel zigzag lines; *g*, interlocking triangles; *h*, small diamond shaped figures; *j*, groups of four triangles; *k*, large diamond shaped figures. Reproduced from rubbings.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

The curvilinear designs used in house post decoration may be reduced to a few simple elements, but these are combined with each other and with angular-geometric designs to form a bewildering variety of patterns. The basic elements are:

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1. Circles, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *a*).
2. Ovals, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *b*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, either plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference, (fig. 5, *c*, *d*, *e*).
4. Series of parallel wavy lines (fig. 5, *b*.)
5. Irregular curves (fig. 5, *a*.)

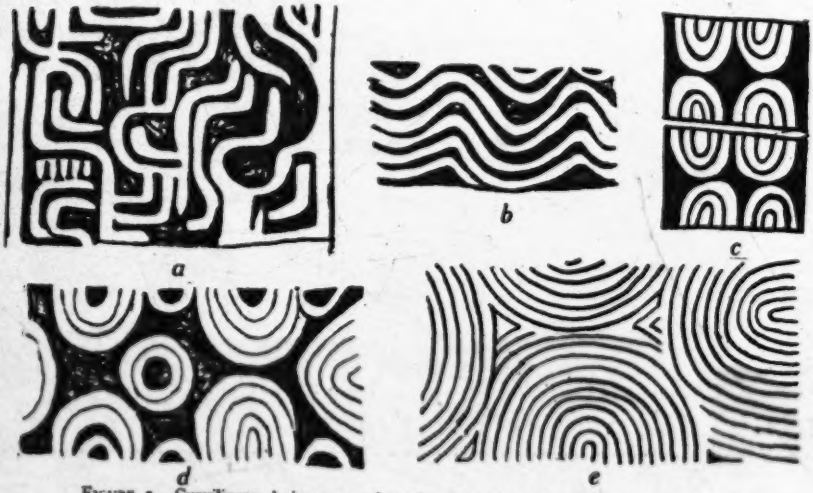

FIGURE 5.—Curvilinear designs carved on house posts: *a*, irregular curves; *c*, *d*, *e*, segments of circles or ovals; *b*, series of parallel wavy lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

When used in patterns the arrangement of these design elements is never perfectly symmetrical, although in some designs, notably those formed by four semicircles or semiovals (fig. 5, *a*), there is some approach to balance. Many of the patterns consist almost entirely of irregular curves and are completely unsymmetrical, no two elements corresponding in size or position. Interesting features of the curvilinear decoration are the complete absence of the conventionalized human faces used in all other forms of Marquesan carving and the practical absence of spiral forms.

COMBINED ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC AND CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

Angular-geometric and curvilinear designs frequently occur together in the same zone, the common arrangements being:

1. Curvilinear designs, especially concentric circles or ovals, superposed upon angular-geometric designs (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).
2. Curvilinear designs used to fill one or more of the elements of a geometric pattern.
3. Gradual transitions from angular-geometric to curvilinear designs, as in the case of some bands of parallel lines which grade imperceptably from zigzags at one end to wavy lines at the other. In all such combinations the angular-geometric motifs appear to be the basic ones.

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342 531 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

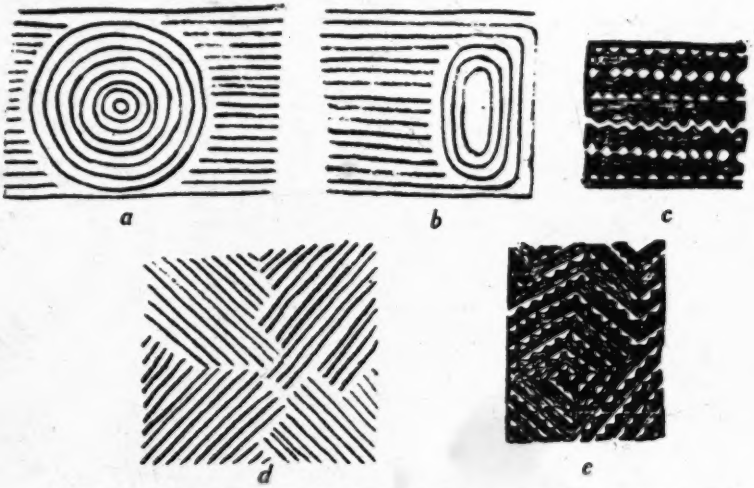

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 531 284 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the materials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

342 531 284 [824]

The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

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left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the crosspiece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord. This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left. Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

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396 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform
501 were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental
531 lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual
501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with
532 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

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The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the *tevake* bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip. 501 531 [237]

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth." 501 531 824

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung on coconut branches. [237]

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-hina* (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way. 501 531 [824]

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage. [727]

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled. 502

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the information obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which 501

distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *mio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [832]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

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501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
●531 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. [824] These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe models. [439] At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. [824] Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

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412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 284 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of three plait coconut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.) [824] [531]

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

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227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahebe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

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4/2 rather abruptly, and the ends are almost vertical. The top bears a longitudinal groove instead of the usual transverse one. In No. 2 the head is smoothly rounded, with a short transverse groove.

Tiki Headed Pounders

4/2 Tiki headed *popoi* pounders represent the highest development of Marquesan stone working, the only objects which approach them in excellence being 531 certain of the small stone figures. The expedition was fortunate enough to obtain five perfect specimens and the carved head of a sixth, while ten others were studied in private collections or from photographs. In all of these pounders the carving followed one or the other of two well-marked conventions and the series appears large enough to make possible a fairly accurate study of the type. In spite of their fine workmanship and present rarity tiki headed pounders were, and in some cases still are, used as ordinary household utensils. All informants agree that the carvings are purely decorative and have no religious significance.

In general form the tiki headed pounders agree perfectly with the angular headed type of phallic pounder already described, and it seems certain that they have been developed from these implements. According to informants the carving was done with sharks' teeth or rats' teeth, but the form of the carving tools and the method of employment have been forgotten. In the actual specimens the grooves of the carving are semicircular in cross section and exhibit a high polish.

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The decoration consists of two heads, formed by carving a face upon each of the lobes of a phallic pounder of normal angular type. In carving these faces two distinct conventions were employed, one of which appears to have been rare, being shown by only three of the sixteen specimens. In the normal convention the features are carved in low relief and the decorated top is set off from the neck of the pounder by a well marked groove. Each of the faces covers the entire surface of a lobe, its center line being in the middle of the outer end. The mouths are broad, in the form of long narrow ovals with rounded ends. The tongue is shown as a narrow longitudinal ridge, and the lips are broad, with a flat or slightly concave surface. In one specimen there is a narrow band between the lips and the tongue, which may represent the teeth. Immediately behind each corner of the mouth a small decoration in the form of a "V" is sometimes carved. The nose is broad and flat, with almost semicircular nostrils. The eyes are carved on the upper corners of the lobe and are directed toward the side rather than forward, and the space between them is disproportionately wide. The eyes are of the usual spectacle form—a raised ring encircling a convex center—and are connected to the base of the nose at the inner end and to the ear at the outer end by narrow raised bands. As a rule the eyes are horizontal, but some specimens show a slight upward or downward inclination. The ears are represented as double scrolls, and are so placed that their outer edges fall along the line of the inner edge of each lobe. There is a well marked groove above either eye. The top of the head may be either rounded or pointed, while in one specimen broad flat grooves have been carved along either side above the eye groove, giving the head a sharp central keel. The space on the side of the pounder below the ears and between the corners of the mouths of the two faces is filled with either one or two small block figures bearing incised designs. In one specimen (not shown) a small block figure of this sort is placed in the middle of the forehead of either face.

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The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¾ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large, with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to these on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

considerable age. Of the carved specimens, one large and one small specimen are from Nuku Hiva and the other two from Hiva Oa. 412 531

In all five pounders the material appears to be local, and as the use of carved decoration on pounders is limited to the Marquesas, the theory of importation may be discarded. The heads carved on the small examples show a slight resemblance to those carved on the rarer type of tiki headed pounders, but the angularity of the features on the larger specimens finds no parallel in other Marquesan work. A similar angularity was noted, however, in some of the wood carvings in the Society Islands. The form of these specimens also finds a fairly close parallel in certain small specimens from Tahiti and in certain pounders of coral rock from the Austral Islands. The similarity of the decoration on all Marquesan conical pounders seems good evidence that it represents a distinct convention which was in some way linked with the conical form. The best explanation of these facts seems to be that the conical pounders are hybrids which owe their shape, and to a lesser degree the convention employed in their decoration, to a Southeastern Polynesian influence. An alternative explanation is that the conical pounders are archaic and that their carving shows a technique which is more primitive than the historic Marquesan convention.

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN POUNDERS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

Stone pounders appear to be entirely lacking in Melanesia unless we include under this head certain heavy, bottle-shaped implements used for cracking nuts in the Solomon Islands and some archaeological finds in New Guinea. In Micronesia, stone pounders were used in the Marshall and Caroline islands but seem to be lacking in the Gilbert Islands. In the Marshall Islands at least, they were used side by side with wooden pounders of identical shape. All the Micronesian pounders appear to be of one type, with some minor variations in the treatment of the upper surface of the head. They have been frequently described and figured. 412 171

The pounders of Polynesia must not be confused with the pestles which were found in many parts of Polynesia, but seem to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

Stone pounders do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga but are found everywhere in marginal Polynesia with the possible exception of Easter and Chatham Islands. The New Zealand pounders appear to be pestles rather than true pounders and bear little resemblance to the other Polynesian forms. The absence of broad based pounders in New Zealand is of little significance in a comparative study, for these were specialized implements used principally for crushing breadfruit or taro and would have been of little use there,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections. 415 [314]

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated. [322] [531]

COCONUT SHELLS

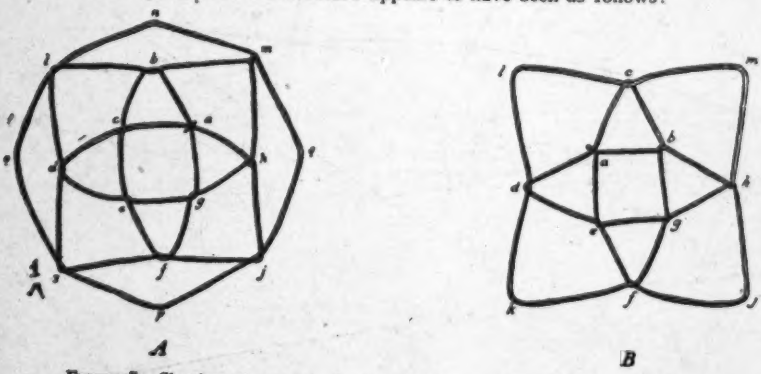
The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut 415 322 415

GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*). 415 [824] [531]

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows: 415 286



A *B*

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

1 [this should be k, in light of description on page 358—Analyst]

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghjf*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *kp*, and *jgm*[1] made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¼ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

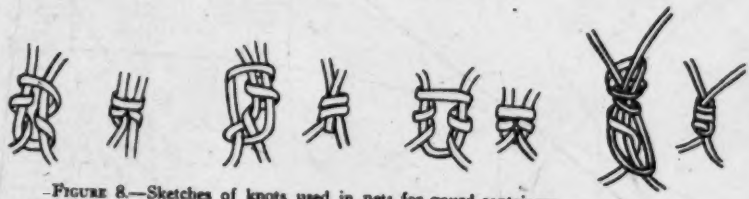


FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

415 Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [531] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[98]

1 [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. —Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

WOODEN CONTAINERS

The Marquesans made a great variety of wooden containers all of which may be placed in one or the other of two main groups: boxes, and bowls or dishes. The objects of each of these classes show considerable individual variation, and in the case of covered containers it is often difficult to say whether a given specimen is a bowl or a box. 415

BOXES

Wooden boxes, used for the storage of valuables, formed part of the equipment of every well-to-do Marquesan family. Such boxes were hewn from large pieces of wood by the processes described under bowl manufacture. (See p. 360.) The favorite materials were breadfruit, temanu and *mio*. The boxes varied greatly in size and in minor details of form and decoration, but all the specimens seen were clearly of a single type. They were made in two parts, a body and a lid. (See Pl. LIX, *A*.) [824]

The body was oval in outline, with a more or less rounded bottom and considerably recarved sides; the upper edge was finished in a narrow flat rim which was broadened at either end. At one end of the body a large knob projected above the rim, while at the opposite end the body was either flattened or bore a short flat-ended horizontal projection. The lid was rounded on the outside, excavated inside, and bore along the inner edge of its rim a thin downward projecting flange which accurately fitted the orifice of the body. The end which rested against the knob of the body when the lid was in position was either flat or notched. The opposite end was elongated and provided on the under side with a short downward projection like a thick blunt hook, which rested against the outside of the body.

In one specimen, which differs in other details from the normal type, the rear end of the lid bears an upward projection corresponding to the knob of the body. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) In well made boxes the lid fits the body so closely that it is frequently difficult to remove it. The whole utensil appears to be a more or less modified bird form, the body knob representing the head; the horizontal projection of the lid, the tail. (See Pl. LIX, *C*.) Boxes were frequently carved and the designs were usually the same as those used upon bowls. The first step apparently was to carve the body knob into a tiki face, and specimens in which this constitutes the sole decoration are not uncommon, although the more ornate examples are carved all over. In one crudely carved specimen in the Bishop Museum the designs show a preponderance of angular-geometric figures coupled with small line representations of human beings which are not of tiki type. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) 415 531

BOWLS AND DISHES

Wooden bowls and dishes are probably more numerous in ethnological collections than any other objects of Marquesan manufacture, as the elaborate carvings with which many of them are decorated make them eagerly sought after by collectors. They still form part of the equipment of every native household 415

thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years. 415 322

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary: 415 531

Kotipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities). 415
Kotihu. Dish. 192
Kopuha. Kind of native dish.
Kokoma. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kokipe. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapa. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipo. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kapo. Vase for kava.
Kaipu. All vases.
Ipu. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hue. All vases with large openings.
Hue maoi. Calabash.
Tipoui. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahara. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Tanoa. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaka. Small dish.
Tahoe. Oblong dish.
Tahoha. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hua. Small dish.
Pihara, Piarahara. Native dish.
Papa katua. Covered dish for popoi.
Maao tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Akuipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants. 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *ripoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them. 415 [531]

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round. [177]

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3⅛ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact. [177]

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.) 415

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived. [531]

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong. 415 531

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old 415 177

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

box to the marginal, and the round box to the western culture. Vessels with legs are common in Western Polynesia and in the Society Islands, but are rare in Hawaii. They are absent in the Marquesas, and the only utensils which approach this form in New Zealand are certain large gourds used for potting birds which, according to Tregear (82, p. 98), were fitted with three or four legs to make them stand upright. It is probable, therefore, that the use of legs cut in one piece with the utensil was a feature of the western culture, their absence a feature of the eastern. 415 171

A comparison of Marquesan and Micronesian containers yields some interesting results. The Micronesian containers are uniformly flat bottomed and many are provided with bases. The Marquesan containers are round bottomed and the aboriginal use of a base is questionable. The bases of modern utensils appear identical with those used in the Pelew group. (Kubary, 76, Plates 23-7.) Bird shaped containers similar to those of the Marquesas were used in Pelew and the Caroline Islands. (See Finsch, 73, p 321, and Wilson, 83, p. 102.) These bird forms are not found in any other part of Polynesia or Micronesia.

Melanesian containers have never been studied or described as a whole, but it seems certain that the long oval box, which is a feature of eastern Polynesian culture, does not occur in this region. Legged utensils on the other hand are rather common, being most numerous in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji. Bases similar to those of the Pelew and Marquesas Islands seem to have been rather common in the Solomon Islands.

DECORATION OF CONTAINERS

Marquesan containers were decorated by several methods of which carving was the most important. The handles were decorated with seeds and bone tubes, and feathers or locks of hair seem to have been attached to the bodies of some of the containers. The lids of some bowls were covered with an incrustation of red or black seeds imbedded in breadfruit gum. Single red seeds, applied here and there, were used to heighten the effect of the carving, especially when the container was made of the dark colored *mio* wood. These seeds were either wedged in deep grooves of the carving or partly imbedded in the wood. This imbedding of seeds is an approach to inlaying, but it is significant that in spite of the strong aesthetic sense of the Marquesans and their extensive use of bone and mother of pearl in personal ornaments, they appear never to have inlaid wood with these materials. 415 531

The elaborate carved decoration of many Marquesan containers made them much sought after by collectors, and the demand for objects of this sort has led to a persistence of the art, although in a rather decadent form. In pre-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In pre-

415 European times the carving was done with sharks' teeth, rats' teeth, or shells, but
● 531 for nearly a century these implements have been replaced by implements of iron.
322 Practically all the tools now used by carvers are home-made and are crude, but effective. They consist of small chisels, made from large nails ground to a straight edge; curved chisels, also made from nails, and small gouges, which are usually made from umbrella ribs. Knives are apparently never used for carving.

Containers are always completely shaped and polished as if for use before carving, a practise which increases the difficulties of the artist as it makes it impossible to conceal any slips of the chisel. The bowl to be carved is soaked in a stream for some time to soften the wood, and when not being worked on is usually kept in water. Only beginners draw the designs upon the utensil before carving; the skilled workman carves entirely free hand and arranges the spacing of even the most intricate designs entirely by eye. The chisel, usually fixed in a rough wooden handle, is held with the bit below the hand, and the carver appears to work with equal facility either toward or away from the body. The incision is first marked out by pressing the chisel into the wood vertically, and is then made by pushing the tool along horizontally, with one corner of the bit at the bottom of the original vertical cut and the edge, sloping upward to the surface of the bowl at a variable angle. A long triangular sliver is thus removed; any irregularities in the cutting are dressed down with small chisels. In a very large proportion of the carved specimens all the incisions have this triangular form, but when wide spaces are to be cut away they are outlined by two cuts of the sort just described, the wood between is removed, and the bottom of the space dressed flat or left with a low central ridge. Curved chisels are used to dress the vertical sides of incisions in curved designs, while the gouges are used principally for small details or shallow designs which are incised rather than carved.

Modern carvers have a strong tendency to enlarge and simplify the details of the designs and broaden the incisions in order to increase the speed of production.

415 Carved decoration appears to have been most commonly used upon round
531 bowls, next in frequency being the boxes and the tureen-like covered dishes. At least some of the other forms were probably carved in pre-European times but no carved *toto* or oval bowls, with the exception of the bird effigies, are known. Bird effigies and some boxes were carved only upon the projecting knob, and a few bowls and dishes were decorated with a carved band below the rim, but as a rule the carving covered the entire outside of the utensil. In applying the designs the surface was rarely, if ever, treated as a whole, being broken up into a number of sections which were treated as separate units. In the actual process of carving the outlining of these sections upon the bowl was the first step, and the filling designs were applied afterward. A symmetrical arrangement of the sections appears to have always been intended, and there is usually more or less agreement between the filling designs of corresponding sections. In decorating a circular bowl the bottom was usually treated as a single unit, although it was sometimes divided into two or more parts. The sides were divided either into horizontal zones or vertical sections, and the boundaries marked either by plain

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

grooves or by narrow bands of design. On account of the shape of the vessel the vertical sections were wider at the top than at the bottom. Some specimens show both horizontal and vertical divisions. On boxes and other oval containers the arrangement of the sections appears to have been variable. 415 531

CLASSIFICATION OF DESIGNS

The material available for a study of container designs is limited. Only one of the carved containers studied appears to belong to other than the later period of European contact, and the bulk of the specimens in museums are unquestionably commercial products. Most of the modern work indicates a sacrifice of quality to quantity of production, which shows itself in slipshod work, simplification of the designs used, and an increasing tendency toward angularity. Each of the modern carvers has a tendency to ignore all but a few motifs, which he has learned to reproduce rapidly and accurately. As a result of this the work of a given carver, or that of his pupils, can at once be distinguished in a mixed collection. The style of many of the older specimens seems to indicate that a similar individual specialization in designs existed at least thirty or forty years ago, but it is impossible to say definitely that such was the case. It is probable that distinct local or individual schools of decoration existed in pre-European times; but if so, their content and differences can not now be established. The modern carvers appear to have borrowed few, if any, European motifs, and the present art is a simplified rather than a mixed one.

The simple division of designs into angular-geometric and curvilinear, used in the study of house post decorations, is unsatisfactory for containers. The best classification appears to be as follows: (1) band decorations, (2) angular-geometric designs used to fill sections, (3) design elements, (4) motifs, (5) representations of natural objects.

(1) BAND DECORATIONS

Band decorations consist of various arrangements of dots, straight lines and angles, with one arrangement of spirals, employed upon the spaces separating sections of design, and to some extent upon design elements. Bands appear rarely, if ever, to have been used to fill sections. Band designs are shown on Plate LXII as follows:

A. Straight parallel lines.
B. Straight rows of dots, used either singly or in parallel.
C. Parallel diagonal lines.
D. Herringbone patterns.
E. Cross-hatching.
F. Zigzag parallel lines, either longitudinal or transverse.
G and *H.* Alternate interlocking triangles, solid or filled with V's or with lines parallel to one side.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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J. Alternate interlocking triangles separated by parallel diagonal lines.
K. Two rows of opposed triangles, the spaces between being filled with concentric diamonds or broken scrolls.
L. Bands of oblongs placed transversely at intervals equal to their width.
M. A combination of *L* with a row of inverted triangles, the apex of each triangle resting against the end of an oblong.
N. A combination of *L* with a zigzag line, apparently a modification of *M*.
O. Rows of pointed half ovals, each oval containing a spiral.

(2) ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS

Angular-geometric designs were rarely used to fill sections. The collection included only two specimens decorated in this way. One of these is a large feast bowl from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, decorated entirely with simple angular-geometric designs, most of which are like those used upon house posts. The other is a crudely carved box, locality unknown, which bears very few designs of ordinary container type. The designs used are shown on Plate XLII, *P*.

1. Four triangles meeting at the apex, their interiors being filled with V's.
2. Groups of diamonds filled with concentric diamonds or angular scrolls.

(3) DESIGN ELEMENTS

The designs here described (Pl. LXIII, *A*), although sometimes enlarged to fill entire sections, were usually incorporated into complex motifs or used to fill in the parts of a section not covered by the main motif.

A. Spirals are the commonest element of Marquesan bowl design. Both single and double spirals are employed. A few examples age true spirals of nearly circular outline. Some are triangular but the greatest number are rectangular. The double spirals appear in several forms with the turns both in the same and opposite directions. (Drawings 1-5.)

B. Circles appear to have been normally used only to outline the section of decoration covering the bottom of round bowls. Only one example of a series of concentric circle used to fill a section was found. (Drawing 6.)

C. Ovals and rectangles grade imperceptibly into each other and it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other. Both were employed either as fill, or in enlarged form, to decorate entire sections. The interiors of these figures were usually filled with concentric ovals or rectangles. (Drawings 7 and 9.)

D. Pointed ovals were ordinarily used only as parts of more complex motifs and were less common than the ovals of class 7. They were filled either with concentric ovals or with herringbone patterns. (Drawing 8.)

E. Segments of ovals were extensively employed as fill and as portions of more elaborate motifs. They were usually filled with either concentric half or quarter ovals or with hooks. (Drawings 10-12.)

F. Combs, half ovals or half rectangles whose interiors were filled with short parallel lines perpendicular to the long axis of the figure, were employed principally as details of larger motifs. (Drawings 13 and 14.)

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G. Pokaa is the name given a small circle, oval or rectangle broken at some point in its circumference. In the container designs *pokaa* figures grade imperceptibly into small circles bisected by a groove or bar, and from these into various forms of double spiral and scroll. The term is used here to include all figures of this class not certainly spirals or scrolls although its native application is probably more limited. The extent of the variation can be seen from the accompanying plate taken from those used upon commercial clubs. The *pokaa* was used to a minor degree upon bowls, and is fairly common in modern carving, but appears to have been primarily a tattooing design. It was also used on ancient war clubs. Arrangements of two *pokaa* placed back to back and joined by a bar do not appear to have been used in tattooing, but are found in the carving. (See drawings 15 to 20.) 415 531

H. The natives designate a series of concentric circles, ovals or rectangles broken by a bar or groove extending from the center to beyond the rim as *cipuoto*. These figures grade into *pokaa* and the two motifs are closely related. They are of only minor importance upon bowls, but appear in tattooing, upon house posts, and as petroglyphs. From their use in rock carvings it seems probable that these designs have a special significance, being possibly a conventionalized representation of a vagina and phallus. (See drawings 21-27.)

I. The use of hooks of characteristic form does much to give Marquesan art its distinctive quality. These hooks are of two types: One hook has a short vertical and a long horizontal arm meeting at right angles. The sides of the vertical arm are parallel; the lower side of the horizontal arm is straight and the upper irregularly convex. The end of the horizontal end is pointed. (See drawing 28.) The second hook contains either two or three sections which meet approximately at right angles, the sides being parallel throughout and the ends straight or rounded. (See drawing 29.) The pointed hooks are rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing. The other type of hook is constantly used in container design, ranking even before the spiral in frequency. It is used principally to fill segments of ovals or rectangles, and the arrangement is more or less stereotyped. In filling a half oval a series of three section hooks are placed with their bases resting upon the straight edge of the figure and their points at alternate ends. The innermost hooks are usually of two sections only. (See drawing 30.) In filling a quarter oval two sections are employed, the bases of alternate hooks resting against first one and then the other of the straight sides of the segment. (See drawing 31.) The hooks are always incised and the raised surface left between the cuts forms a continuous scroll which will be referred to as a hook scroll.

J. Crosses. Both plain (drawing 32) and staggered (drawing 33) crosses were employed, but always in connection with other designs which filled the spaces between their arms and the edges of the section.

K. Triangles rarely appear outside of the band decorations. They are used principally upon the bottoms of bowls and are filled either with angular spirals or with concentric triangles (drawing 34).

(4) MOTIFS

Motifs include the various standardiation combinations of design elements other than those which appear to be representations of natural objects. These are illustrated in Plate LXIII, *B* as follows:

1. Crosses, either plain or staggered, with arms continued into hook scrolls which fill the four quarters of the section.

2. *Kaake*, broad, straight-ended elbow figures with ends and bodies decorated with designs. (The *kaake* motif is common in tattooing, but rare in container decoration.)

3. *Mata.* The simplest form of the *mata* consists of two half ovals (convex side downward) each of which is filled with hooks or concentric half ovals, below which centrally there is some variant of the *pokaa*. The space on either side of the *pokaa*, below the half ovals, is usually filled with small designs not connected with these main elements. The whole arrangement apparently represents a highly conventionalized face in which the half ovals serve as eyes and the *pokaa* as nose. Some forms of double spiral seem to be related to the *mata* motif. *Mata* are rather rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing.

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FLORAL DESIGNS

415 532 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 531 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs played a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *kaake* are rare, while *pokoa* and *cipuata* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 531 171 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chatham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[2] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Ruth Gruner (73). Only the most important points will be summarized here.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

development in the Marquesas. A superficial study of the designs employed in the regions of their occurrence shows the following:

In southeastern Polynesia, to judge from the few examples available for study, we have a division of the surface to be decorated into a number of small sections or bands which are filled with small angular geometric motifs. These motifs are usually applied in bands, and are not as a rule combined to form larger designs. The only curvilinear form is the concentric circle.

In the Marquesas we have a division of the surface to be decorated into sections of relatively large size which are often separated by bands of simple design. These sections are treated as units, being filled with large designs formed by the combination of several design elements. Both curvilinear and angular-geometric designs are employed, but curvilinear designs are clearly dominant in container decoration. There is a tendency to give angularity to basicly curvilinear forms, such as the spiral, but there is an equally strong tendency to round the angles of basicly angular forms, such as the oblong.

In northern New Zealand the surface to be decorated is either treated as a whole, or divided into a very few large sections by bands of narrow design. Only curvilinear designs are employed, the dominant motif being the spiral. An important feature of the technique is the use of a beaded interline.

If we compare the southeastern Polynesian carvings with those on western Polynesian weapons, the most elaborately carved objects from that region, we are at once struck by a basic similarity in design and execution. There is the same division of the surface into many bands or sections which are filled with small angular-geometric motifs. The southeastern Polynesian examples show an additional motif, the concentric circle, and show superior workmanship, but the carvings from both regions resemble each other much more closely than they do those of either the Marquesans or Maoris.

The Marquesan and Maori carvings have little superficial resemblance, but they possess two features in common which are foreign to the regions just compared; a predominance of curvilinear designs, and an extensive use of the spiral. The toothed line, important in New Zealand, occurs in the Marquesas but is rare there. The practise of dividing the surface to be decorated into sections, constant in the Marquesas, is rare among the northern Maori, but angular-geometric designs seem to have been used in carving in some parts of New Zealand.

It appears that there existed originally in marginal Polynesia, exclusive of Hawaii, a predominantly curvilinear art which treated surfaces as a whole or in large sections. The original western Polynesian art was angular-geometric, with a division of the surfaces treated into many small sections. In the Cook Islands, Austral Islands and Society Islands, the original marginal art was almost de-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/15 stroyed by an invasion of western culture. The strong evidences of such an
531 invasion have already been pointed out in the case of other elements of material
171 culture. On the side of pure decoration the original art modified that of the invaders to a very small degree. Northern New Zealand, because of its location, was practically unaffected by the western Polynesian art. The Marquesas on the other hand, received a moderately strong influence resulting either in the introduction of sectional treatment of surfaces and angular-geometric designs on in the strengthening of these features if they were present in the original complex.

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285 [352] see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind of coarse mat, called *hupon*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *heau* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re-weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 531 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal [302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

285 In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract." 411

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long, Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant, [824]

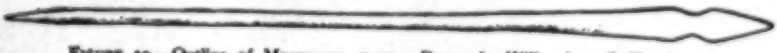

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.) [227]

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this 411 531

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411 type are elaborately carved according to a set convention, the decoration of the numerous
531 specimens examined varying only in minor details (Pl. LXIX, *A*).

Each side of the club is treated as a separate unit, but the arrangement and position of the various decorative elements on the two sides, and to a lesser degree the designs employed, correspond. The carvings upon a single side are arranged as follows:

At the lower end of the expanded portion, next the handle, there is a broad transverse band composed of decorative designs. Above this is placed a tiki face, minus the mouth, whose ears rest against either edge of the club. Above this face in turn, filling the space between it and the bottom of the knobs, is a narrow band of carving broken in the center. The inner ends of the sections are connected by narrow curved bands, or the space between them is filled with one or two small detached designs. Above this band, on the line of the lateral knobs, a small tiki face in high relief is carved centrally. The section above the lateral knobs is divided into two equal parts by a low longitudinal keel and upon each of the halves thus formed is carved a large circle or oval having in the center a head in high relief from which lines run radially to its circumference. Above these circles, on the extreme end of the club, a flat tiki face is carved centrally. The curve of the thick outer end of the club extends upon either side to within about two inches of the lateral knobs and in a few specimens small faces, directed laterally, are carved at its lower extremities.

Practically all old *uu* have a glossy black finish given by burying the finished implement for some time in the mud of a taro patch and then rubbing and polishing with scented coconut oil (*pani*).

The *uu* have always been much sought after by collectors and this demand
411 has resulted in their continued manufacture although the best modern examples are only caricatures of the ancient specimens. The carefully worked out contours of the old clubs have given place to flat surfaces and angles, and the simple and rigidly conventionalized decoration to elaborate and meaningless carvings. The finish of the modern specimens is usually rough, and the wood is always left the natural color, making them easily distinguishable. (Pl. LXIX, *B*.)

The second type of Marquesan club, called *parahua* (Dordillon, 17) is also well represented in collections. It has a handle identical with that of the *uu* but the elaborately worked out head is replaced by a sharp edged blade closely similar in form to that of a modern American canoe paddle (Pl. LXIX, *E*). Weapons of this type appear never to have been carved or blackened, and are as a whole longer than the *uu*. Some of these paddle clubs are remarkable for their size and weight, one specimen in the Bishop Museum being 7 feet, 9¼ inches long with a blade length of 2 feet, 10½ inches and a maximum blade width of 7 inches.

In many *uu* and *parahu* there is a small hole pierced through the expanded lower end of the handle, probably for the attachment of a wrist loop, and in some specimens the grip is wrapped for a distance of 5 to 8 inches with fine plaited

534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few [531] drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated [531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums [531] seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin, 264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at regular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, [231] threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, 534 and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

534 Triton trumpets were highly prized and were used in war and in religious ceremonies. Old specimens are still quite commonly to be found in *me'ae*. According to Handy the Triton trumpet was called *putona*, and the shell itself *vehine na te mano*, "wife of the shark." The maternal uncle of the first child born in a chiefly family announced the event by a blast on a trumpet of this kind.

FLUTES

The Marquesans used both mouth flutes and nose flutes.

The nose flute, called by the natives of Hiva Oa *puhekuheku*, is made from a single joint of bamboo ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter and 15 to 20 inches long. The upper end of the flute is closed by the septum of the joint, while the lower end is open. The blow hole is in the side of the instrument, immediately below the septum, and the stops in most flutes are placed in the lower half of the tube, in line with the blow hole. (See Pl. LXXIII, *G*.) In historic times the holes appear to have been made by burning with a hot iron. The usual number of stops is two, but some instruments have three and a flute found by Handy in Ua Pou (Pl. LXXIII, *F*) has four stops, two of which are placed a short distance below the blow hole; the other two in the usual position. The lower end of this flute is roughly cut, suggesting that it was originally longer.

[531] In ancient times nose flutes were sometimes decorated with burned designs made with a stone or bone point heated in the fire.

A peculiar nose flute in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXXIII, *E*) attributed to the Marquesas, is made from a joint of bamboo 22¾ inches long and 1⅝ inches in diameter and is closed at both ends.

Along one side of the flute are five holes, each about ¼ of an inch in diameter. The top hole is close to the septa of the joint while the others are placed at equal intervals. In line with the central hole two others are pierced at equal intervals in the circumference of the tube. The flute is decorated with burned designs of decidedly non-Marquesan character so that its Marquesan origin seems doubtful. It is probably Tongan.

Nose flutes are now obsolete in the Marquesas, and very few persons can play them properly.

In playing, the instrument is held with the edge of the closed end resting against the septum of the nose and the blow hole below and a little distance away from the right nostril. The body of the flute inclines downward and to the right and most of the knack in playing the instrument lies in holding it at the correct angle. The upper end is supported in the left hand, the left nostril being closed by the thumb. The stops are manipulated with the fingers of the right hand. In the Ua Pou specimen the two upper stops must have been played with the left hand. Several of the flutes seen had one of the stops plugged with a wad of coconut fiber, and it is said that a beginner would learn to play well upon one stop before attempting to use more.

The ordinary mouth flute (*puakahau*) (Pl. LXXIII, *D*) is still used throughout the Marquesas. One informant believed that it was not an aboriginal instrument, but if foreign it must have been introduced at an early date.

The mouth flute is made from a long joint of bamboo, rarely over three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The upper end is closed by the septum of the joint. The sound is produced

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy.

This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not cer-
287 tain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop
386 Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark
287 of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen
331 has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Art

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Carving	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	Poor development, not used on houses, canoes or tools, a few utensils decorated with figures carved in round	Moderate development, applied to canoes and some utensils	Poor development, applied to canoes (rarely) and weapons	Poor development, weapons only
Inlay	Not used	Eyes of images only	Eyes of images and a few utensils	Rare or absent	Not used, carved designs on weapons filled with lime	Crude, weapons only
Painting	Practically absent	Applied to rafters, canoes and images	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only
Designs	Curvilinear or angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional faces or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Curvilinear, angular geometric designs rare; spiral predominant, use of conventional faces or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Angular geometric designs with a few floral; spiral absent; human or animal forms not used	Angular geometric or circles, no spirals; human and animal figures in tattoo; floral designs on tapa	Angular geometric or floral; spiral rare or lacking; human and animal figures (outline) on weapons	Angular geometric or floral; no spirals; figures rare or lacking
Treatment	Surface divided into zones or sections which are treated separately, occasional superposition of designs	Surface divided into a few large sections or treated as a whole, superposition of designs common	Designs applied in stripes or over whole surface (tapa only), no design superposition	Carved surfaces divided into sections treated separately; tapa surface treated as whole; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately, no design superposition
Human figures	Conventionalized only	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized, very crude	Not used (one doubtful example)	Rare, no data on form

Conventions of Human Figures

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Leg	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	.....	.....
Arms	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on hips. Hand to mouth position not used	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	.....	.....
Hands	Five fingers of equal length, outer fingers connected by groove behind three inner	Three fingers of equal length	Five fingers when indicated	Five fingers or not indicated	.....	.....
Body	Formed by a series of plane s meeting at well defined angles	Simple treatment, rounded contours	Formed by a series of plane s meeting at well defined angles or simple treatment with rounded contours	Formed by a series of plane s meeting at well defined angles and treatment or simple treatment with rounded contours	.....	.....
Mouth	Exaggerated, oval, prominent tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form, protruding tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form or oval (semi naturalistic figures); protruding tongue, common in semi-naturalistic figures	Exaggerated, oval, prominent tongue, or naturalistic mouth	.....	.....
Nose	Flat, nostril exaggerated	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in many cases	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in some cases	Higher than Marquesan conventions and more naturalistic, nostril exaggerated	.....	.....

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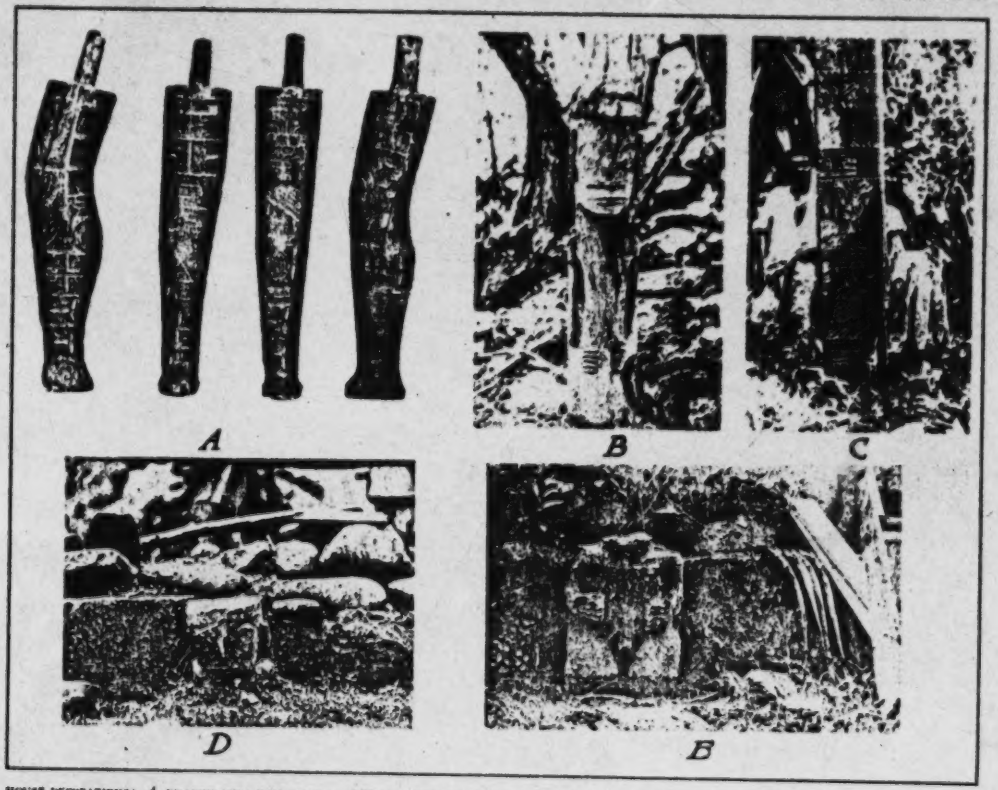

HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[end plate 27]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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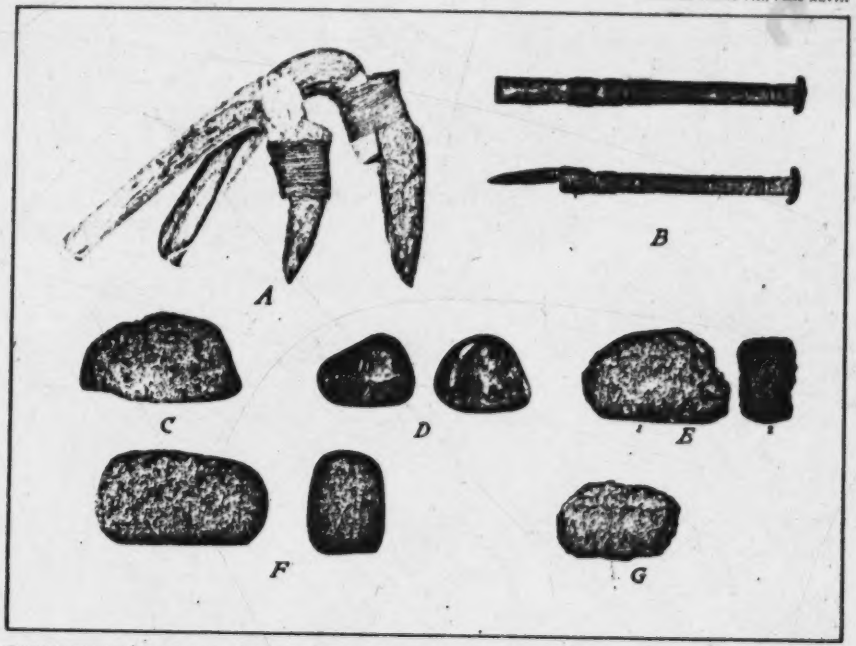

STONE IMPLEMENTS: *A*, HAFTED ADZES; *B*, HAFTED CHISEL, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, RUBBING STONE OF CORAL; *D*, SUBSTITUTES USED TO POLISH WOOD; *E*, SCRAPERS; *F*, HAMMER STONES; *G*, KNIFE.

[end plate 9]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 CX6 Marquesas CX6

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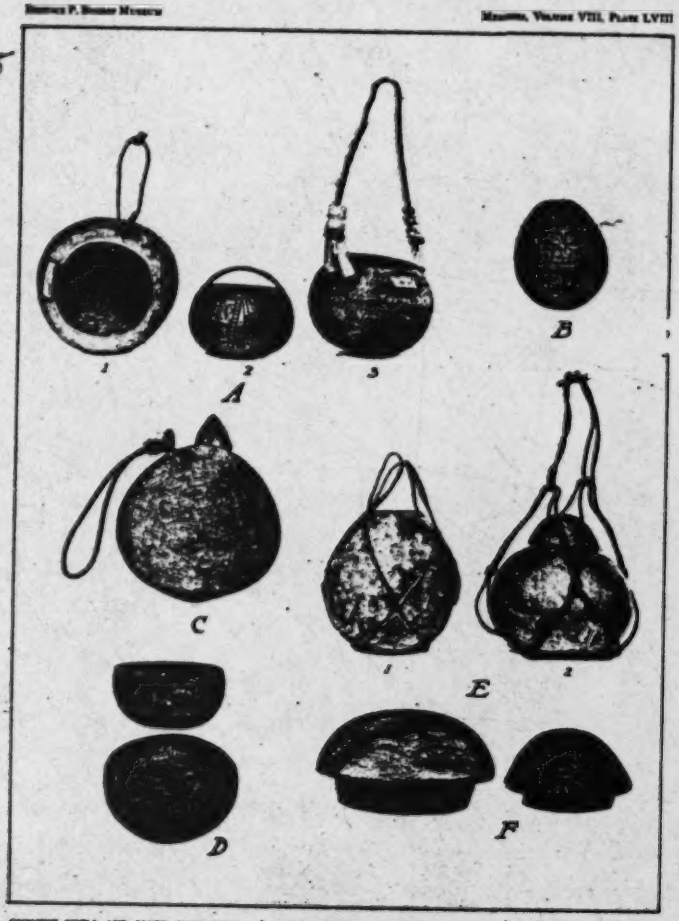

COCONUT SHELL AND GOURD CONTAINERS: *A*, COCONUT BOWLS — (1) WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, (2) WITH HANDLE MADE FROM SHELL, (3) WITH DECORATED CORD HANDLE; *B*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR OIL; *C*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR WATER; *D*, CARVED COCONUT CUPS; *E*, GOURD CONTAINERS (HUX); *F*, STOPPERS FOR GOURD CONTAINERS.

[end plate 19]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 CIX6 Marquesas CIX6

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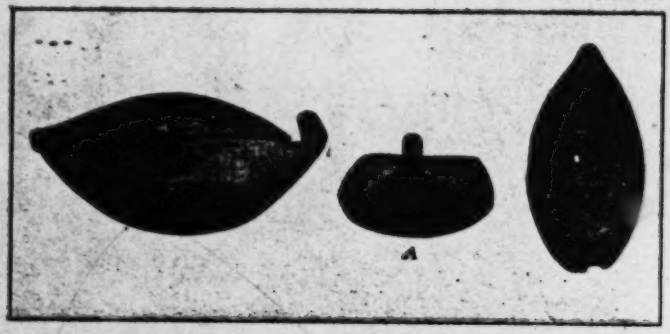

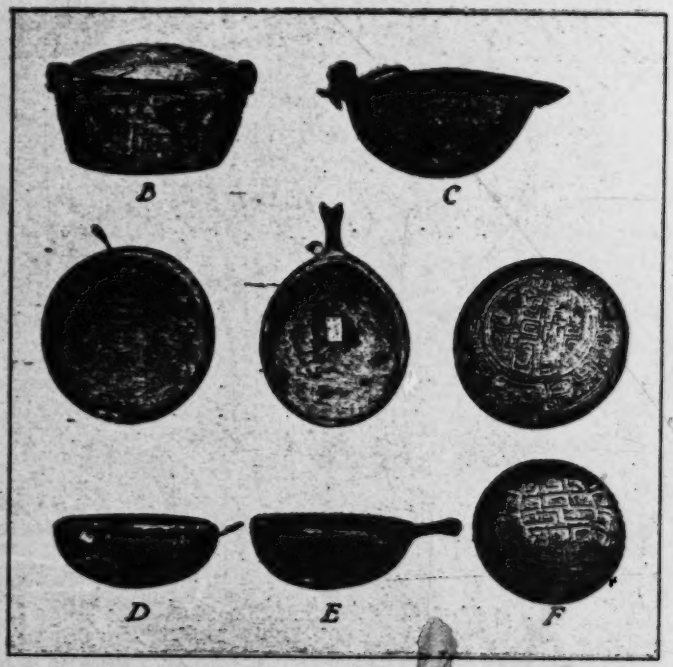

WOODEN CONTAINERS: *A*, LARGE BOX, VIEWS OF SIDE, END AND INSIDE OF LID; *B*, CARVED BOX, UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, SMALL BOX; *D*, BOWL WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *E*, BOWL WITH HANDLE, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *F*, CARVED BOWLS, BOTTOM VIEWS.

[end plate 27]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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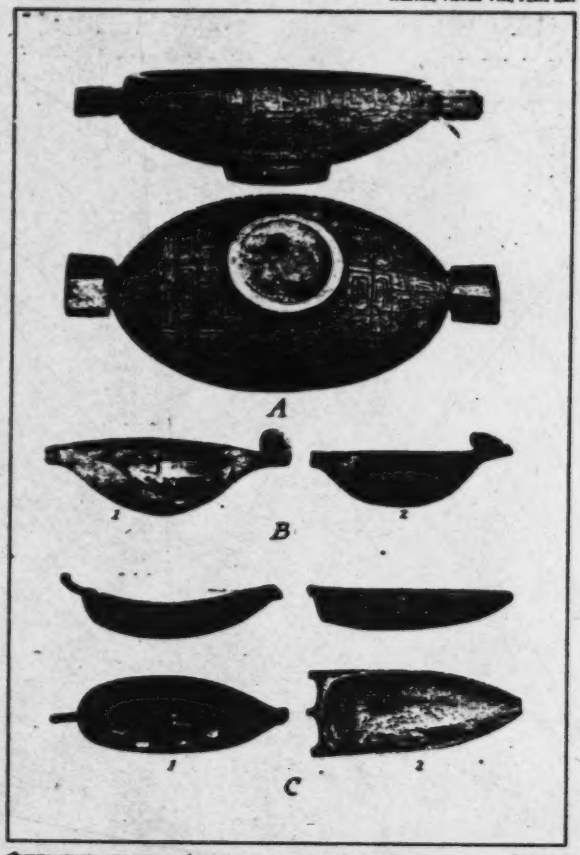

WOODEN DISHES AND BOWLS: *A*, OVAL DISH WITH BASE, SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEWS; *B*, SMALL BOWLS; *C*, KAVA BOWLS OF UNCERTAIN FORM, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS.

[end plate 22]

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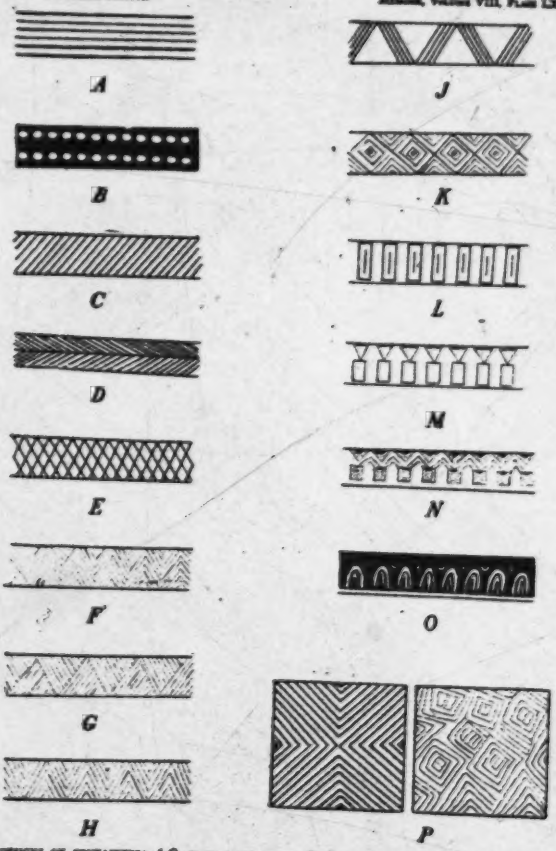

DESIGNS ON CONTAINERS: A-O, BAND DECORATIONS; P, Q, DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS.

[end plate 23]

DESIGN ELEMENTS AND ART MOTIFS: *A*, 1-34, DESIGN ELEMENTS; *B*, 1-3, ART MOTIFS.

[end plate 24]

7: Lisboa E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OZG Marquesas OZG

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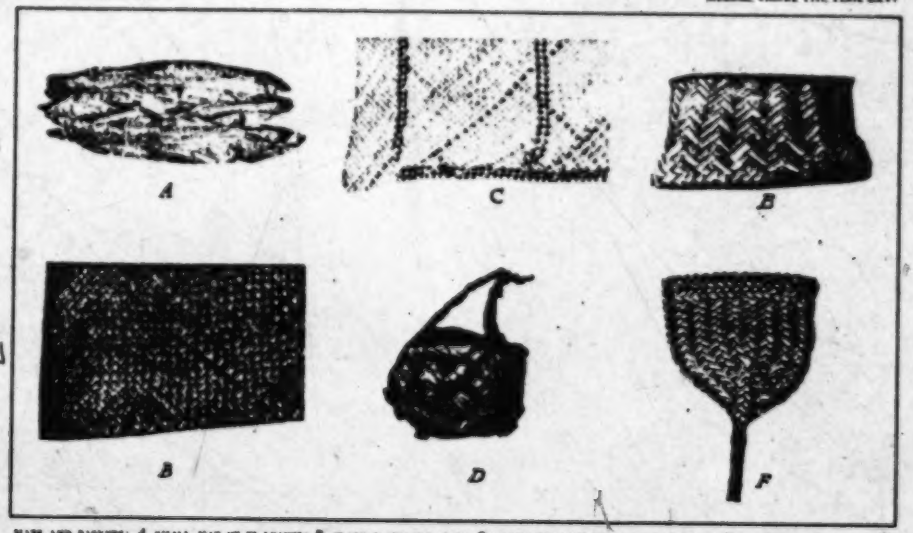
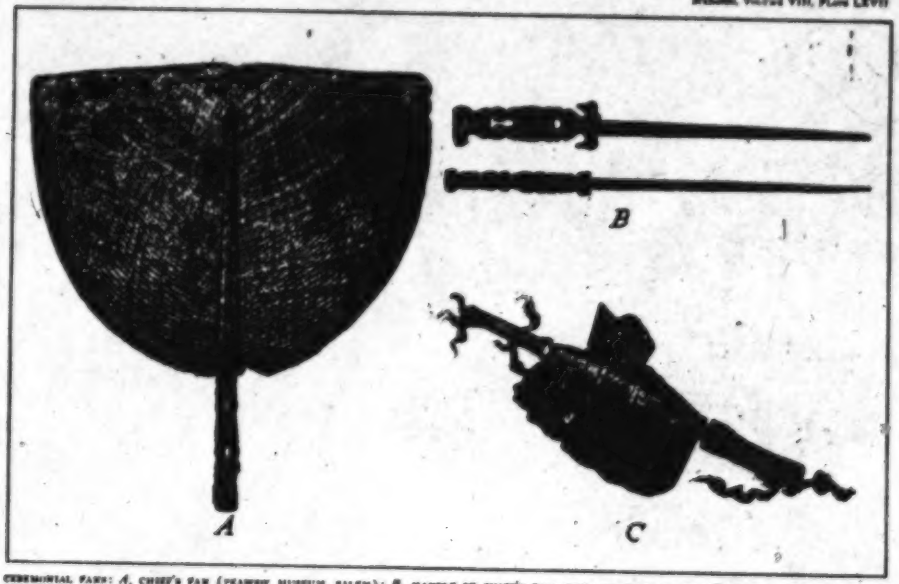


MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF TI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, BRAIDED TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKETE TYPE; *F*, FAN OF BASKET WEAVE—TYPE IN USE IN 1920.

End plate 27



CEREMONIAL FANS: *A*, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *C*, TORTOISE SHELL FAN USED BY EMBALMERS.

[end plate 25]

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St. Louis E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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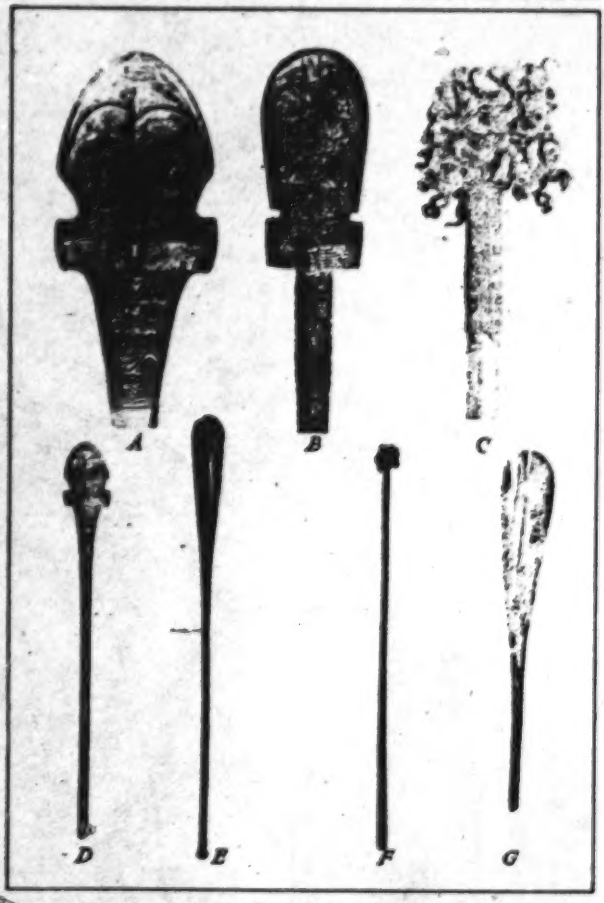

CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF OLD UU; *B*, HEAD OF WOMEN UU; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, UU, FRONT VIEW; *E*, PAHAHU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (HOCYAI).

[end plate 30]

To: Lemon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXS Marquesas OXS

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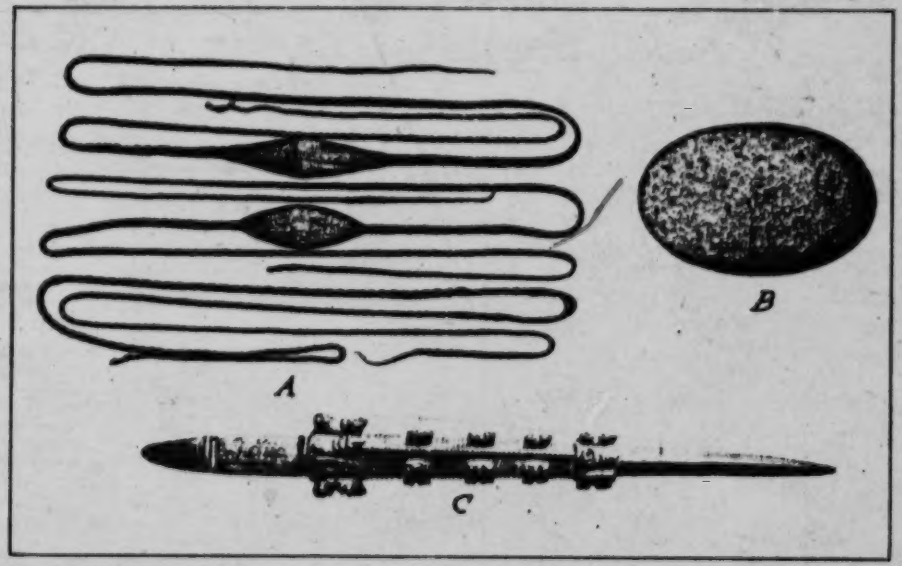
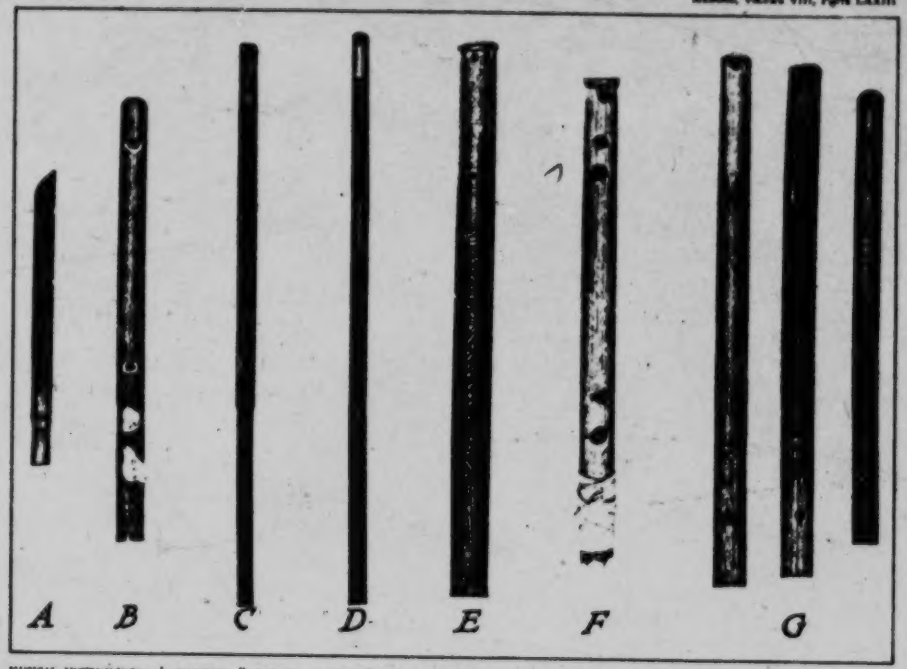


SLINGS AND HARPOON: *A*, SLING, OUTSIDE AND INSIDE VIEWS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, SLING STONE; *C*, HEAD OF HARPOON (UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM).

[End plate 31]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, WHISTLE; *B*, WHISTLE FLUTE; *C*, TUNABLE MOUTH FLUTE; *D*, MOUTH FLUTE (PUAKAHAU) ORDINARY FORM; *E*, DECORATED NOSE FLUTE; *F*, NOSE FLUTE, UNUSUAL FORM (LOCATION DOUBTFUL); *G*, NOSE FLUTES, ORDINARY FORM.

[end plate 34]

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 [177] represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. I) covering the crown of the head (Pl. V, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

*304 531 There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the 304x
southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the 531
vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C)*, sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A)*, while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B)*. It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of 304x
this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that 531
prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following de- 184
tails are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen (II, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

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304 by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a
531 combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal
184 conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *artu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j)* but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d)* and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k),* with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c).* Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A, 2, a;* XXVIII, *D, E).* The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b);* the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *h;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h);* and the *mata hoata* (Pls. XXX, *e,* lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D,* thigh); and what I

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'ĩi* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A, a;* XII, *A, B, D*). 304x 531 184

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other. It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times, consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

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said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke*, distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B, b;* XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g;* XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f;* XXX, *d);* in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d;* possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C, b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E, b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E;* XVIII, *a).* It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

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ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D, a)*. Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D;* XXXV, *c)*.

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E)* are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B;* X, *A, 2, a;* the *tava*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, 7. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a)* and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K)*. On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B, b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A, e;* XXI, *D, b)* and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A, b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

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to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e)*, would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A*, *c*; XVIII, *b*; XXXIV, *b*; XXXIII, *c*; XXIII, *B*, *f*, *a*; XXIII, *A*, *a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h*; XXX, *i)*; and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B*, *a*, *b*; XIII, *C*, *c* and *d*; XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B*, *b)* and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a)*. Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*; XXVI, *A*, *d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

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found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible 304x definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or 531 the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements 184 did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX), Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

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geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

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back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, 304x back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of 531 the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the 184 present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, "*i te tiki*" means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living 304x informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old 531 mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their 304x significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the 531 body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the 552 body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *d*, left and right) zigzag; or in terms of

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304 the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ha'ava* (Pl. x, *B*, 531 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this 552 function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *h*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *h*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *kaka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

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aa fanaua	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
hei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
nihoniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
tamau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

(From drawings by the author except where otherwise indicated.) 304x 531

PLATE I.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED MAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

The patterns on half the body of Eotafa of Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa—the most fully tattooed man seen in the Marquesas by the author—the motives being brought out by painting them with black paint. Identical patterns on the unpainted half of the man's body do not appear in the photograph.

PLATE II.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED WOMAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

Typical modern patterns for women, on the body of Tuuakena at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa: *A*. Front and side view of face, showing lip and ear patterns. *B-E*. Front and rear views of legs showing patterns on the painted portions.

PLATE III.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'a ti'a pu:* 1. An unfinished example from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.—2. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *enata* motive *(a)*.—3. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing a half band on the forehead.—4. From Hokatu, Ua Huka, showing the motives *tiki ae (a)*, *kikomata (b)*, *tiki pu (c)*, and *pariko* (inset in *c*).—5. From Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing a band over one eye, *mata (a)*, and a mouth band, *nutu kaha (b)*.—6. From Vai Paee, Ua Huka, showing the motives *vohana ae (a)*, *mata (b)*, *nihoniko peata* (*c* left), name unknown (*c*, right), detail of *c* right (*e*), and the *kikutu (d)*.—7. from Vai Paee, Ua Huka.—8. From Hane, Ua Huka.

PLATE IV.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'ati'a pu:* 1. From Omoa, Fatu Hiva.—2. From Hanavava, Fatu Hiva, showing on inter-band the *nihoniko peata* motive.—3. From Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. From A'akapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, showing detail of a chainlike design *(a)*.—6. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, the three bands here called as a whole *tou pae*.—7. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *mata (a)*, *veo (b)*, *kiki pu (c)*, *enata* (*d*), detail of *b* (*e*), detail of *d (f)*.—8. From Hoouma, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. From Haapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—10 and 11. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou.

PLATE V.—FACE AND HEAD PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of various styles of different periods: 1. From Hana Iapa, Hiva Oa, showing an unusually shaped eye band and an unfinished mouth band.—2. From Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing shoulder and chest patterns mounting the neck to join the face bands.—3. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou: an unfinished pattern, showing the probable sequence of execution—one eye being allowed to heal while half of the mouth was done, and so on.—4 From Ha'a Kuti, Ua Pou (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva, one of two extant examples showing the Nuku Hiva style of an oblique band *(pa heke)* crossing the face.—6. A former Hiva Oa pattern (after a description by an Atuona informant).—7. An old pattern for warriors of all the islands (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva.—8. A variant of the *ti'ati'a pu*, with nostrils covered, belonging to Fatu Hiva and called *ihu epo* (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. A pattern formerly used on the crown of the head (after a painting on a sculptured figure which once served as a house post in Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa, and is now in possession of M. Chadourne of Papeete, Tahiti.—10. The *hue epo* pattern, an example of a former style of the people of Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva (after a description by a Nuku Hiva informant).—11. An old Nuku Hiva pattern (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva).

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PLATE VI.—HEAD AND SHOULDER PATTERNS FOR WOMEN.

A. Typical face patterns for women: lip marks, *koniko*, and an ear pattern, *omao puaina*.

B. A band across the arm just below the fall of the shoulder, on a woman of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).

C. Ear patterns: 1. On a woman of Hakani, Nuku Hiva.—2. Of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing the *omao puaina* design around the lobe and the *kea* design at the back of the ear.—3. Of Tai-pi Vai, showing the *puainga* design (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. Of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing around the lobe the *oniatia (onihoupeka*, Dordillon) motive and back of the ear the *po'opito ua puaina*.—5. Of Hiva Oa.—6. A woman's pattern on a man of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa—a rare occurrence.

PLATE VII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand.—2. The palm, showing the *pariko* motive on the underwrist around the palm, the *mata (a)*, the *tomau (b)*, and the *pariko (c)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the middle finger, the *pikou (tuma ima*, Langsdorff) *(a)* and the *mata (b)*.—2. The underwrist

PLATE VIII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM NUKU HIVA AND HIVA OA.

A. On a man of Nuku Hiva.

B. On a woman of Hiva Oa, showing the *taina vou* motive between the thumb and index finger, *e tua poou (a)*, *ti'i hao (b)*, and the *poa niho (c)* around the palm.

PLATE IX.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. An old pattern of Fatu Hiva called *kohi'u* (after a drawing made by an old *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva), showing finger motives, *mata va'u*; finger and upper hand units inclusive, *nutu haka*; *po'i'i (a)*; *hea po'i'i (b)*; *hei po'i'i (c)*; and *hei ta'avaka (d)* around the palm.

B. On the left hand of a woman of Tahu Ata (for the design on her right hand see Plate X, *A*), showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the fingers; the *po'i'i (a)*, *Poku (b)*, and the *eia va'u (c)*.

C. On a woman of Hiva Oa, done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand showing the central oval, the *po'i'i* motive; the *poka'a* at the base of the fingers and the thumb; *matua hee moa (a)*, *aua opea* between the thumb and index finger; and the *fanaua (b, c.)*.—2. The palm showing the *fanaua* motive around the palm, the *po'i'i (a)*, and the *piaotia (b)*.

PLATE X.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back of the hand, showing the *ka'ava* motive at the base of the middle finger to the wrist, *kou'u (a)*, *poka'a (b)*, *mokovaka (c)*, and the *mata (d)*.—2. The underwrist, *koua'ehi (a)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata. (The tattooing was done by the same *tuhuna* whose work is shown in Plates X, *A* and IX, *B*.) 1. The back, showing the motives *papua (a)*, *e tua poou (b)*, *poka (c)*, *ka'ava* (center), *fanaua (e)*, *Poku (f)*, and *ka'aka (g)*.—2 Underwrist, showing the motives *poa niho* around the palm; *papua au ti (b)*, and the *vai o Keua (c)*.

PLATE XI.—HAND PATTERNS. VARIANT MOTIVES.

A. Principal units on the hand of a woman of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *mata putona (a)*, *kea (b)*, and the *mata io (c)*. (After a sketch by E. S. Handy.)

B. A representation of a bird on the underwrist of a woman of Nuku Hiva.

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C. Pattern on two men of Ua Pou.
D. On a man of Hiva Oa, tattooing done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy). 304x 531
E. On the underwrist of a woman of Hiva Oa, an unusual *kea* motive.

PLATE XII.—ARM AND BREAST PATTERNS FOR MEN. EVOLUTIONARY TYPES.

A. An old style of Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing breast stripes, *ti'i koko*.
B. An old style of Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy from the description of an artist of Fatu Hiva).
C. Detailed drawing of *A*, showing the motives *kea (a)*, the *etua posi (b)*, the *poka'a* or *pahito (c)*, *fa'amoana (d)*, *ipu ao (e)*, and the *vi'i pa'i'i (d* and *e)*.
D. The present style: under-arm, *ipu oto;* shoulder disk, *puka puoka;* chest, *ka ma'eka*.
E. Detailed drawings of *B* showing the motives *nikouiko (a)*, *pa'i'i (b, c)*.

PLATE XIII.—ARM PATTERNS FOR MEN. TYPICAL MODERN MOTIVES, *ipu oto*.

A. On a man of Ua Huka.
B. On three men of Ua Pou showing a variant of the armpit motive, the *poka'a (a)*, and the *enata (b)*. Three pairs of squarish ovals, similar to those in *A* complete this arm pattern.
C. On a man of Fatu Hiva showing the motives *punina (a)*; *ti'i o'oka (b)*; the three pairs of ovals, *ipu oto;* the arm-pit unit, *ipu ao; poka'a (c)*; and *enata (d)*.

PLATE XIV.—BODY PATTERNS FOR MEN. OLD AND NEW TYPES.

A. An unfinished example from Nuku Hiva, typical of all islands at the present time, showing the arm-pit design, *ipu kata* and chest, *teeva*.
B. An old style in back and side patterns from Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing back patches, *pahito; ipu oto (a); pahito (b); mata (c); mata (d); koke tua (e)*, a girdle and leg stripe.
C. An unfinished back pattern, *poka tua*, from Nuku Hiva but common to all the Marquesas islands. On Ua Pou this pattern is called *moko*.

PLATE XV.—A BACK PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A girdle on a chiefess of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *ka'aka (a)*, *mata (b)*, and *fanana (c)*.

PLATE XVI.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva: *kouiko (a)*, *mata koata (b)*, *vai ta keetu (c)*, *pana'o (d)*, *iheika (e)*, *kei pa'i'i (f)*, *akaaka fa'a (g)*, *fa'a mana (h)* worn on the inner ankle, *mata ema'e (i)* worn on the inside of the knee, like the present *pahito*, *puka tahi (j)* worn below the knee on the inside of the leg, *eia ua'a (k)* worn on the inside of the calf, *uata haka (l)*, *taua (m)* worn on the inside of the leg above the ankle (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

The only surviving example, so far as known, of an old style of Nuku Hiva.
A. Front and side views of the left leg.
B. Back and side views of the right leg.

PLATE XVIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the motives shown in Plate XVII, *A*.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 30+
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PLATE XIX.—DETAILED STUDIES OF A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Of motives in Plate XVII, *B.*

B. Back thigh units of both legs of patterns in Plate XVII.

C. Ankle motives of the right leg of pattern in Plate XVII, the rest of the ankle and foot pattern being identical with those of the left.

PLATE XX.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the right leg motives of an old style of Ua Pou, the only surviving example to be found today.

A. Front: *paku (a), mata io (b), mahamaku (c), vai ma'ama (d), hoau (e).*

B. Back: *po'i'i (a), ka'ake (b), kaka'a (c), mata io (d), vai ma'ama (e), pahiei (f), pu (g).*

PLATE XXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the left leg motives of the preceding example:

A. Front, knee to ankle: *mata (a), ka'ake (b), pahiei (c), vai ma'ama (d).*

B. Back, knee to ankle: *ka'ake (a), mata io (b), vai ma'ama (c).*

C. General view of the left leg.

D. Ankle band.

E. General view of the right leg, of which detail is shown in Plate XX.

PLATE XXII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. THE MODERN TYPE.

Typical motives indicating the color of the tattooing as it appears on the skin.

A. Back pattern: *vai paku* (*a*, left), *ka'ake* (*a*, center), *mata hoata (b), ka'ake (c), mata hoata (d), ipu ani (e), vai o Kena (f), mata hoata (g), ka'ake (h)* and *(j), Paku (i), ipu ani* (*k*, center), *ka'ake* (*k*, left and right).

B. Front pattern: *mata hoata (a), pa'okoko* (*b*, left and right), *kea* (*b*, center), *ka'ake* (*c*, left and right), *pahito* (*d*, left and right), *ipu ani* (*d*, center), *mata mei nei (e), ka'ake* (*f*, left and right), *vai o Kena*, sometimes called *potia kae* or *peke ou mei* (*f*, center), *Paku* (*g*, center), *mata hoata (h), pahito* (*i* and *j*, left and right), *ka'ake* (*i* and *j*, center), *ipu ani (k), mata hoata (l), etua poou*, sometimes *Paku (m).*

PLATE XXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. A VARIANT ARRANGEMENT ON A WOMAN OF PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

A. Front pattern: *ka'ake* (*a*, left and right), *mata hoata* (*a*, center), *aniatia* (*b*, left and right), *ka'ake* (*b*, center), *kopiko* (*d*, left and right), *po'i'i* (*d*, center), *ka'ake* (*e*, left and right), *mata hoata* (*f*, center), *ka'ake (g), etua poou (h), mata hoata (i), pahito* (*j*, left and right), *pahito* (*k*, left and right), *ka'ake* (*j* and *k*, center), *po'i'i (l), mata hoata (m).*

B. Back pattern: *mata hoata (a), ka'ake (b), mata hoata (c), po'i'i (d), ka'ake (e), mata hoata (f), ka'ake (g), pae niko* (*h*, around the foot).

PLATE XXIV.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

A and *C.* Detail of upper thigh motives omitted from the leg but burned instead upon bamboo.

B. A general view showing how the motives in Plate XXIII are arranged on the leg.

PLATE XXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Front and rear views of an elaborate leg pattern from Pau Ma'u, showing a combination of the fine motives and heavy patches usually worn by men.

PLATE XXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Detailed study of the motives in the front pattern of Plate XXV: *mata kaka* (*a–c* inclusive), *kea* (*a*, center), *ka'ake (b), kea* (*c*, center), *pahito* (*d*, left

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and right), *po'ïi (d, center)*, *nihu hoata (e)*, *tu'u po'o*, sometimes *vai o Kena* on Fatu Hiva *(f)*, *vai o Kena (g, center)*, *ha'ake (g*, left and right), *mata hoata (h)*, *pahito (i* and *j*, left and right), *ha'ake* and *peke ou mei (i* and *j*, center), *po'ïi (k)*, *mata hoata (l)*, *tu'u po'o (m)*.

B. Back pattern: *oniho (a)*, *paka (b)*, *pahito (c)*, *papua (d)*, *pahito (e)*, *mata hoata (f)*, *po'ïi (g)*, *iti'iti'ïi (h)*, *mata hoata (i)*, *ha'ake (j* and *U*, *peke ou mei (h)*, *ha'ake (m*, left and right), *po'ïi (m*, center).

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PLATE XXVII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. VARIANTS.

A, *B*, and *C*. *Nuku haka*, variations of the thigh pattern.
D. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Nuku Hiva.
E. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. *Oniho*, a band outlining the sole of the foot of a woman of Ua Huka.

PLATE XXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. OTHER VARIATIONS.

A. An elaborate *po'ïi* on the knee of a woman of Tahu Ata.
B. A front shin pattern of unusual arrangement and combination.
[Note the use of the *vai o Kena* on its side *(a*, center*)*, and the combination of *mata* and *vai o Kena (b)*.]
C. A variant of the *aniatia* of Plate XXIII, *A*: left and right *(b* and *c)*.
D. Crude representations of the *pa'a'oa* (fish) found on the knees of a woman of Tahu Ata.
E. An upper thigh motive, *puhi*, on a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. An unusual extension of the *ha'ake (a)*, a variant of Plate XXIII, *A*, *h*, found on a woman of Ua Huna; a binding motive *(b)* from Ua Huka, a variant of the *iti'iti'ïi* of Plate XXVI, *B*, *k*.

PLATE XXIX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Nuku Hiva: the *hohe ta*, or sword motive, consisting of a girdle across the back and a stripe down the side of the leg *(a, b)*, *hikuhiku atu (b)*, *pua hitu (c)*, *pahito (d)*, *huetai (e)*, *po'ïi (f)*, *mata hoata (g)*, and the *ha'ake (h)*. (After drawings by an artist of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XXX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva): *oa fanana*, worn on the upper front thigh *(a)*; *mata hoata (b)*; *pahito (c)*, *vai o Kena (b* and *c)*, worn on the back of the leg below the bend of the knee; *papua enata (d)*, worn on the inside calf just above the ankle; *mata hoata (e)*, worn on the upper thigh alongside the *oa fanana*; *ti'i hochoe (f)*, worn on the bend of the knee; *paka'a (g)*, worn on the back of the calf; *nihoniho (h)*, worn on the inside calf; *ha'ake (i)*, *pua hue* and *iheike (j)*; *pia'o tiu (k)*, worn around the ankle; *ti'i hakao (l)*, worn on the foot.

PLATE XXXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

The Nuku Hiva style of leg pattern, done by a *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva and found on only one man: ornamental band on the thigh, *puhi puha*; the heavy patches, *paipai ia*.

PLATE XXXII.—LEG PATTERNS FOR MEN.

The Hiva Oa style, in vogue on all the islands at the time of the discontinuance of the art:

A. Side view of a leg with motives from Ua Huka. The buttock and inside front quarter of the leg pattern are lacking, as is usual in modern examples.
B. Front and side views of a leg with motives from Fatu Hiva, the inside front quarter of the leg pattern, below the knee, being present.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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C. Back view of a leg with motives from Ua Pou, the buttock pattern being present.

PLATE XXXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of Plate XXXII, *A: kohe ta (a, b,* and *c), kea (b), mata io (c), puto'o (d), koutupa (e), fatina (f), pahito* with *po'i'i* inset *(g), hikuhiku atu (h), pahito (i* and *j), auhoi (k), tapu vae (k* and *l).*

PLATE XXXIV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of motives on Plate XXXII, *B: kohe ta (a* and *b); puto'o (c); pahito* with *mata hoata, ka'ake,* and *tiki* insets *(d); mata vaho,* the half oval; *pua hue (e); fatina (f); pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets *(g); paka oto (h, i, j); hikuhiku atu (k); pahito,* with *mata* and *ka'ake* insets *(l), tapu vae (m).*

PLATE XXXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A detailed study of the motives of Plate XXXII, *C: kohe ta (a* and *b); tifa (c),* containing a *mata hoata, enata,* and a *kea* in the center at the bottom; *puto'o (d); pahito (e); fatina* with elaborate double rows of cross-barred teeth inset *(f); pahito (g); paka (h),* in place of the usual *hikuhiku atu; pahito (i); tapu vae (j); auhoi (k).*

PLATE XXXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

An elaborated pattern of the Hiva Oa style found at Ua Huka: *kohe tine (a-c),* complicated by two *meta io (b* and *c), puto'o,* lightened by a *mata io* inset *(d), pahito* broken by a *ka'ake* and a *po'i'i* inset *(f).*

PLATE XXXVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A more complicated pattern from Hiva Oa, rendered almost as lacelike as those for women by the numerous fine-line insets in the heavy patches: *puto'o (a, b, c,)* with insets of cross-barred teeth, double rows of *tiki,* and a *vai o Kena; pahito* with *mata hoata, ka'ake,* and *po'i'i* insets *(d); fatina* with *mata* inset *(e); pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets *(f); hikuhiku atu (g)* with flourishes at the points; *pahito (h),* whose simple lines are almost lost in the elaborate insets of *vai o Kena* and *mata.*

PLATE XXXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

A. Kohe ta from Fatu Hiva.

B. A thigh pattern from Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy): *mata (a), hue ao (b).*

C. Two bands for the foot: *pia'otiu* and *kakao.*

D. An inside knee motive, *mata vaho,* from Fatu Hiva.

E. and *F.* Ankle bone decorations, *auhoi.*

G. An ankle band from Fatu Hiva: *Tapu vae (a); hikuhiku atu (b); pahito* with *ka'ake, mata io,* and *tiki* insets *(c).*

H. An elaborated *pahito* from Fatu Hiva with *ka'ake, enata,* and *mata io* insets.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 1]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
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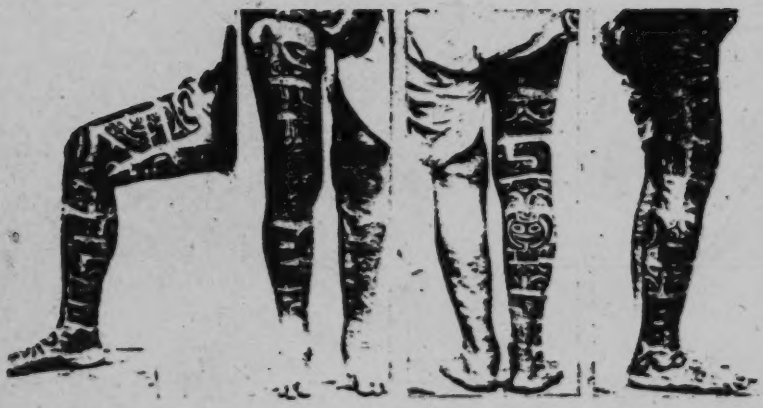
A

B C D E



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 2]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

X 304
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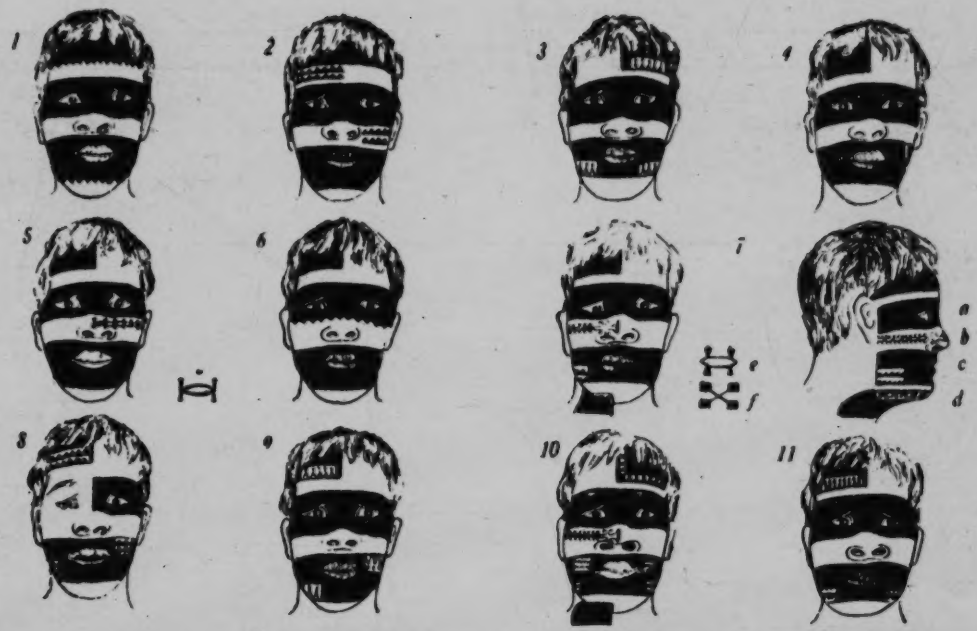
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[End Plate 5]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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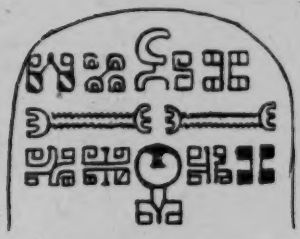
A

B



C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 6]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 7]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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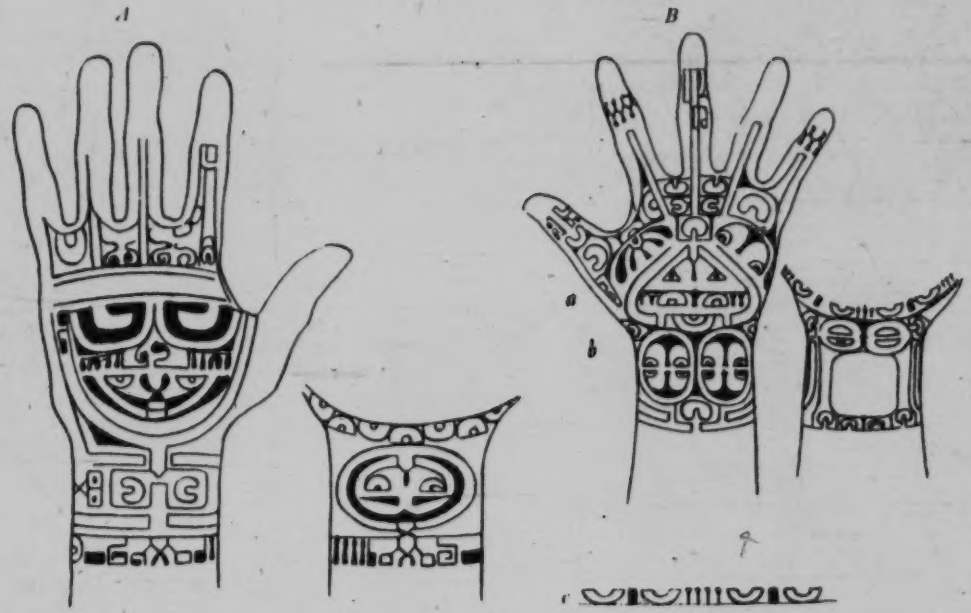

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 8]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 9]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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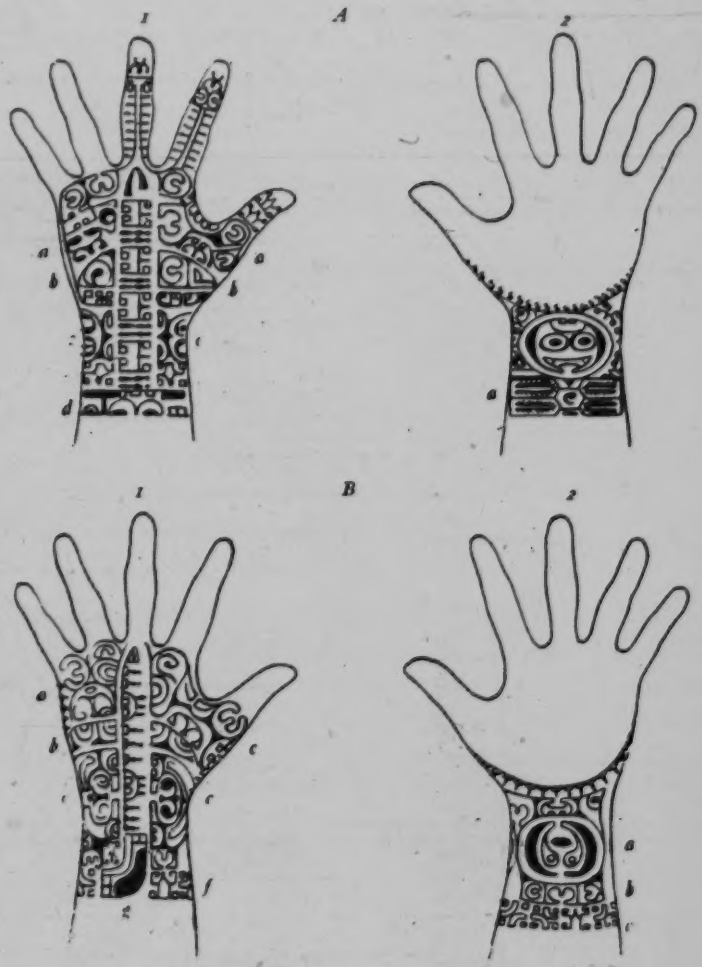

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 10]

Bishop Museum

Bulletin 1, Plate XI

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End Plate 11]

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8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Y 364
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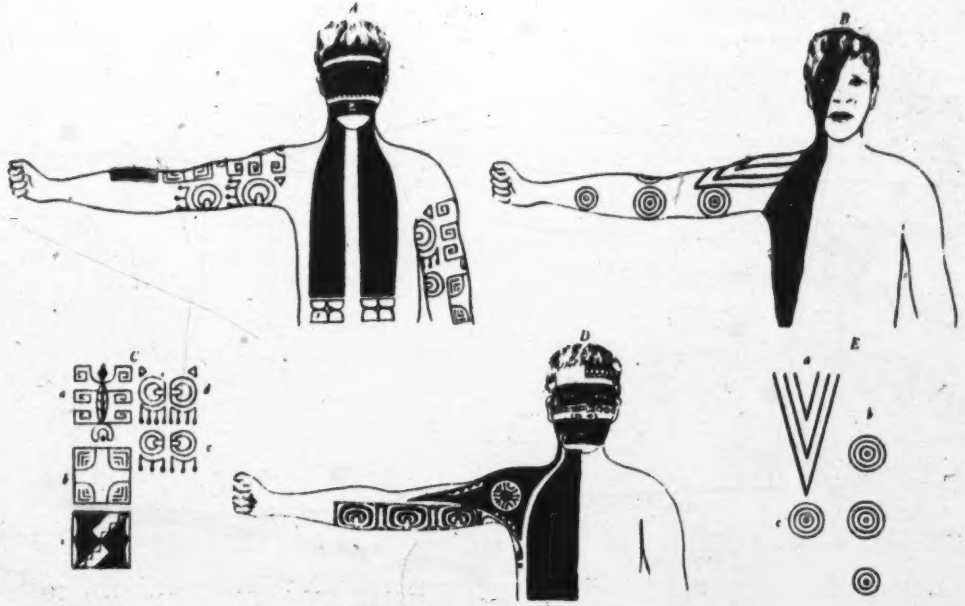

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 12

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

Fig 1 Plate 13

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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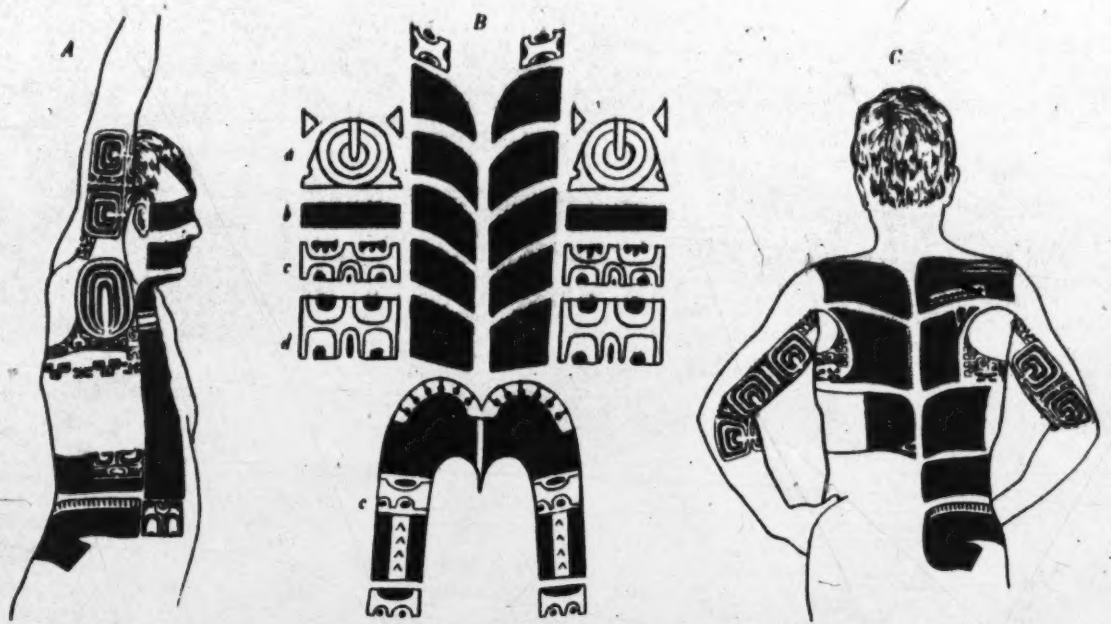

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 14]

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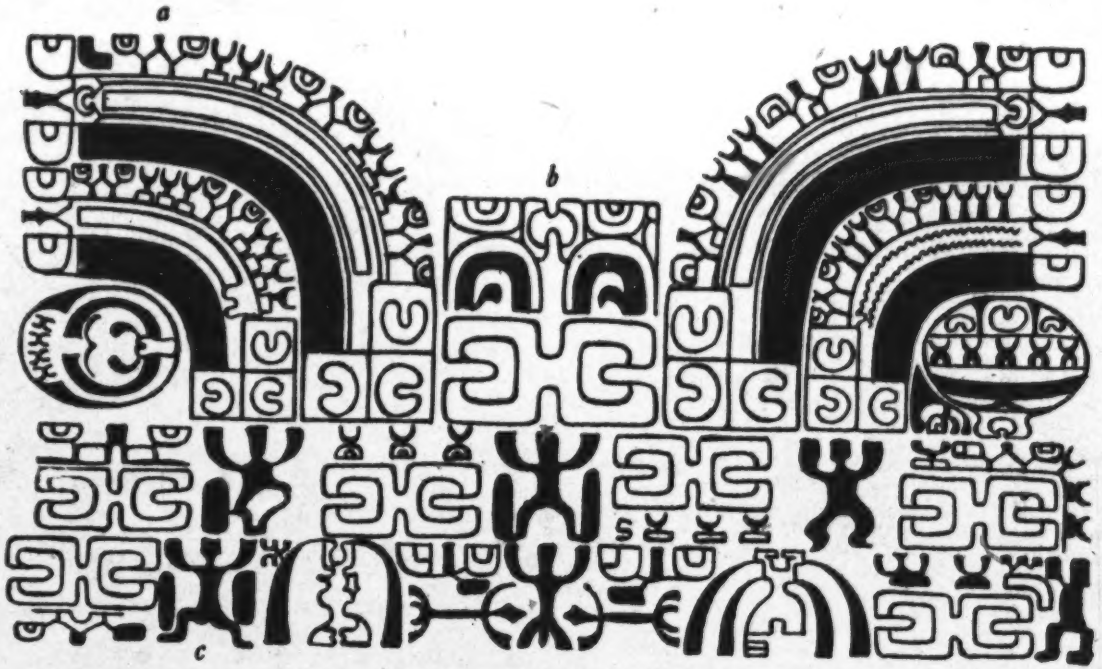

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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[End Plate 15]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 16]

A B

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

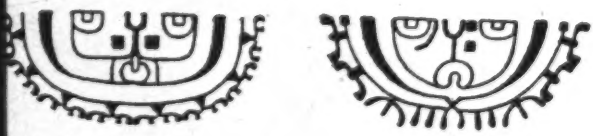
[End Plate 18]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531

A

B



C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 19]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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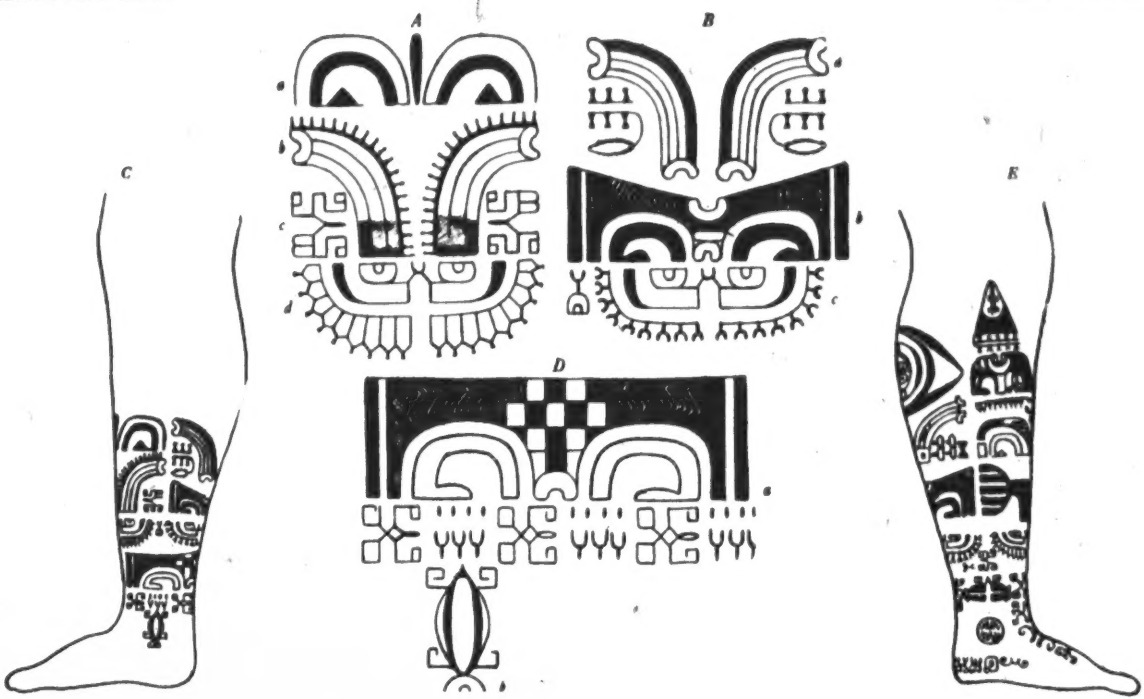
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 20]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 21]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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531

[End Plate 22]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

A B

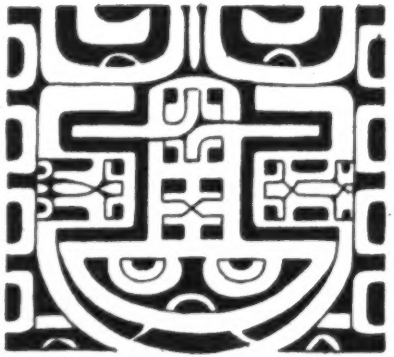
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 23]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

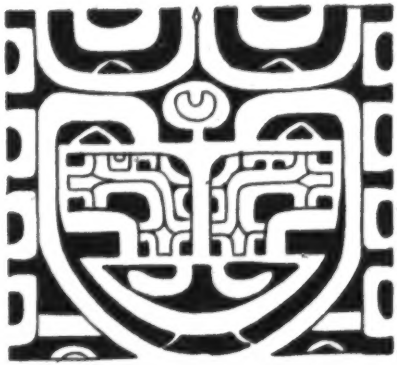
X 304
531

A



B

C



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 24]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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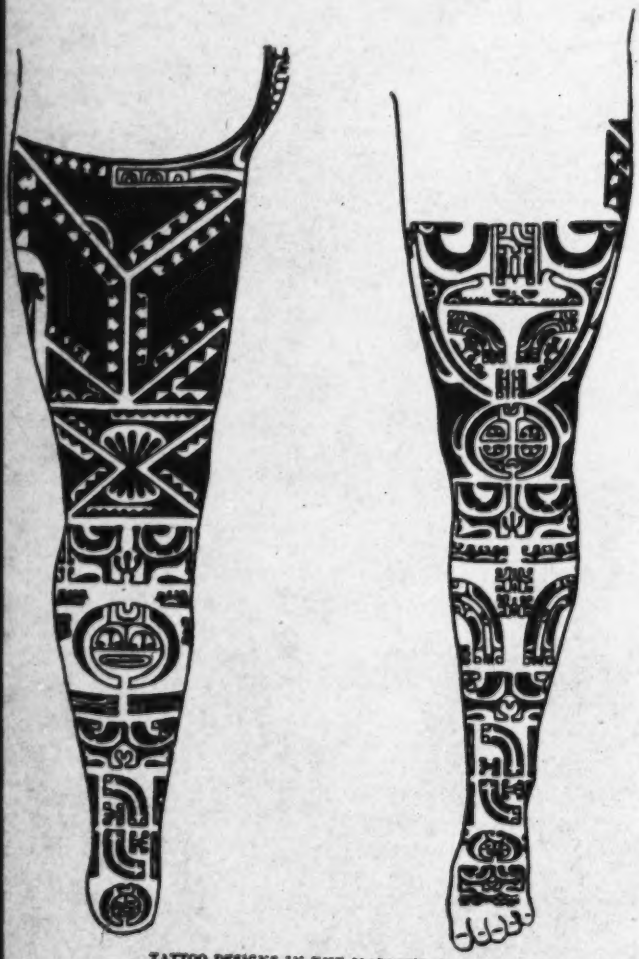


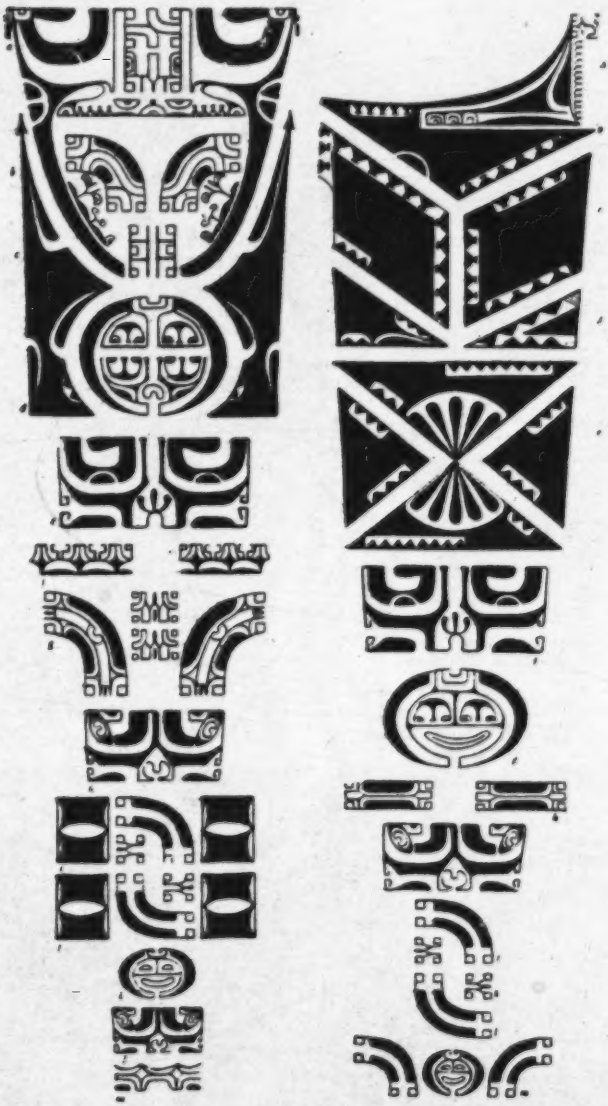
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 25]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

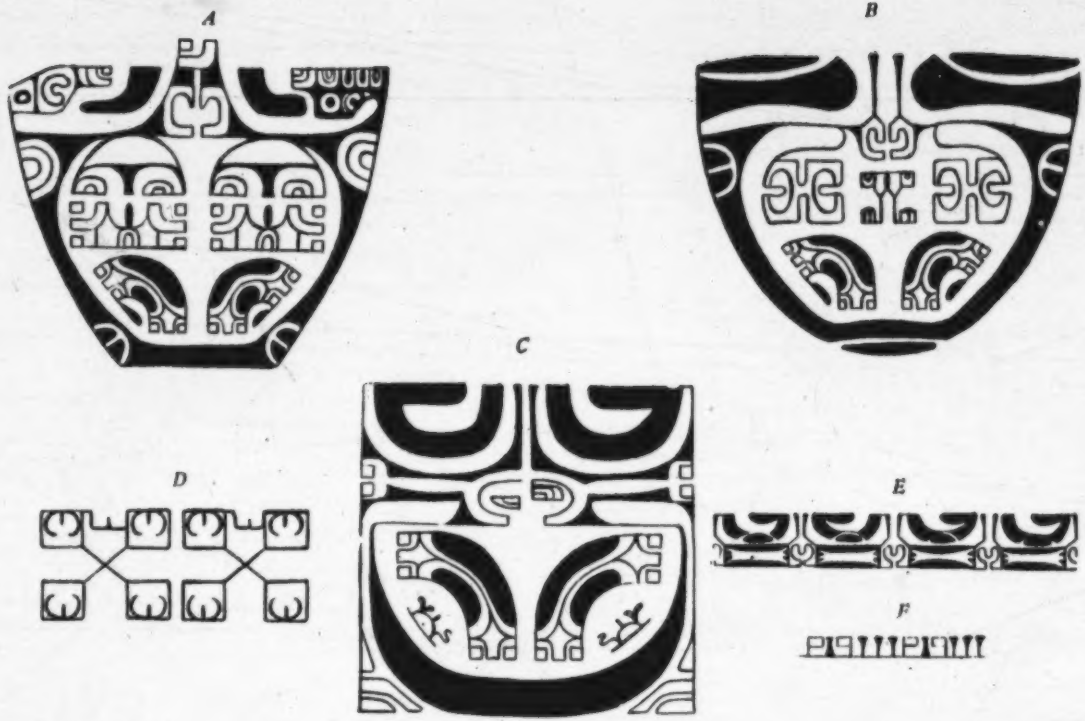
x 304
531

A B



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 26]



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 27]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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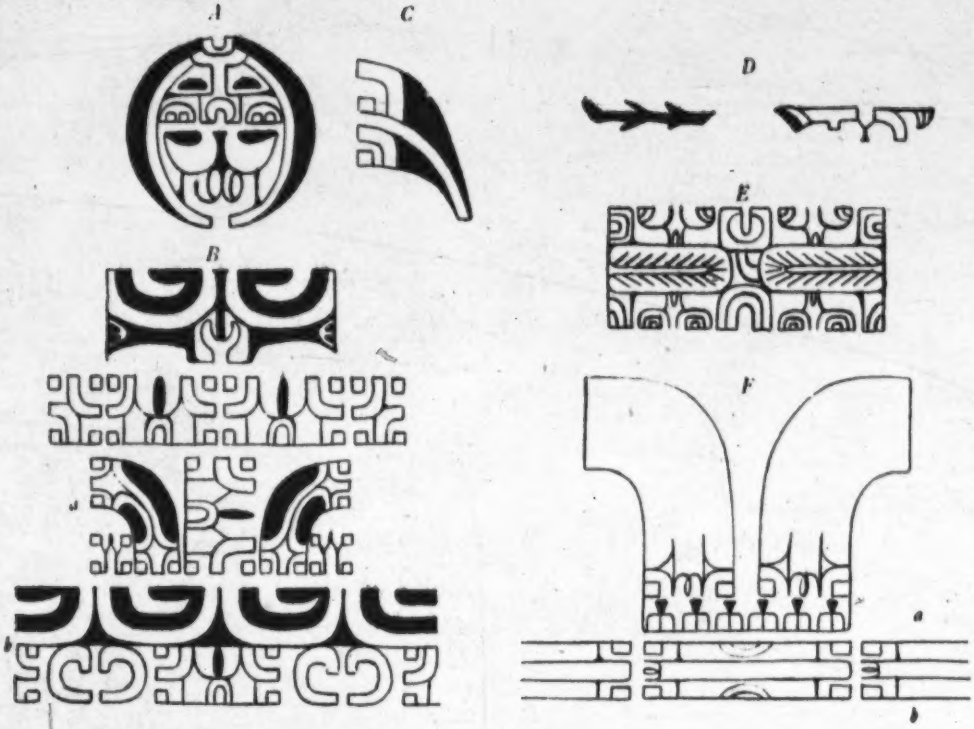

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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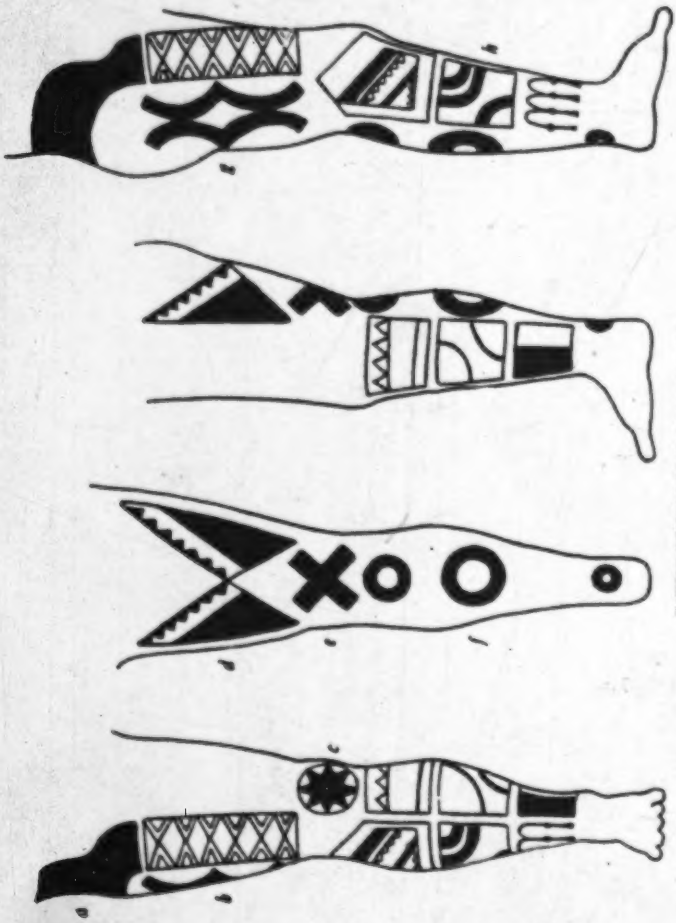

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

Bishop P. Bishop Museum

[End Plate 29]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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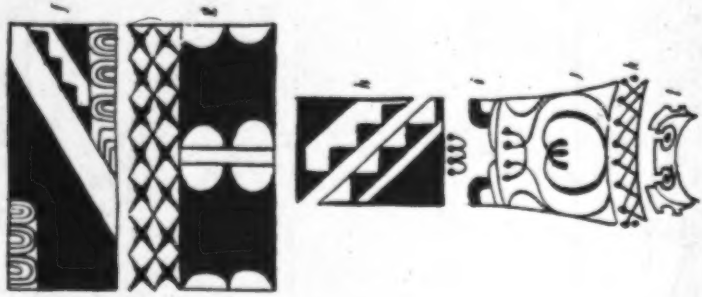

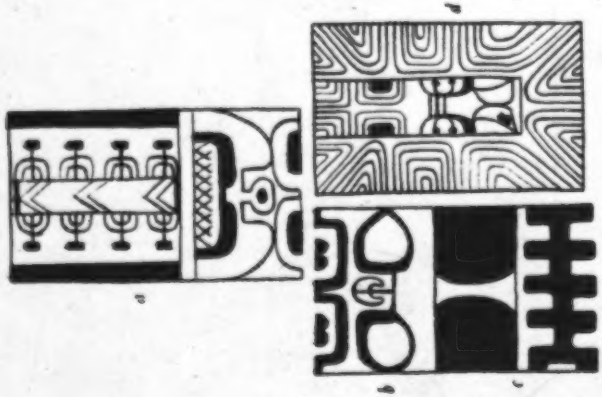

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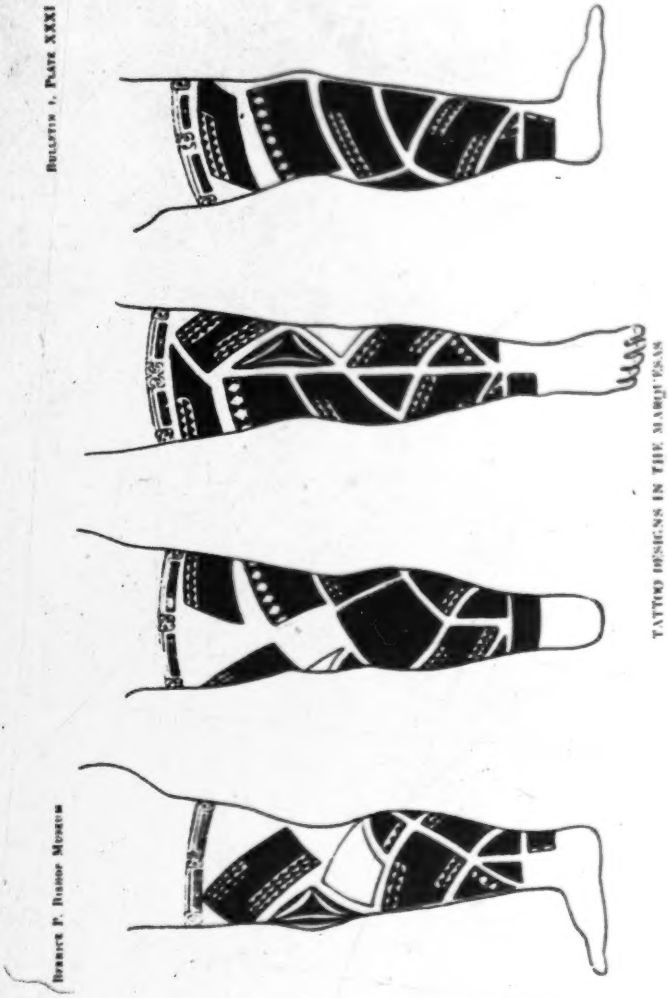
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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[End Plate 31]

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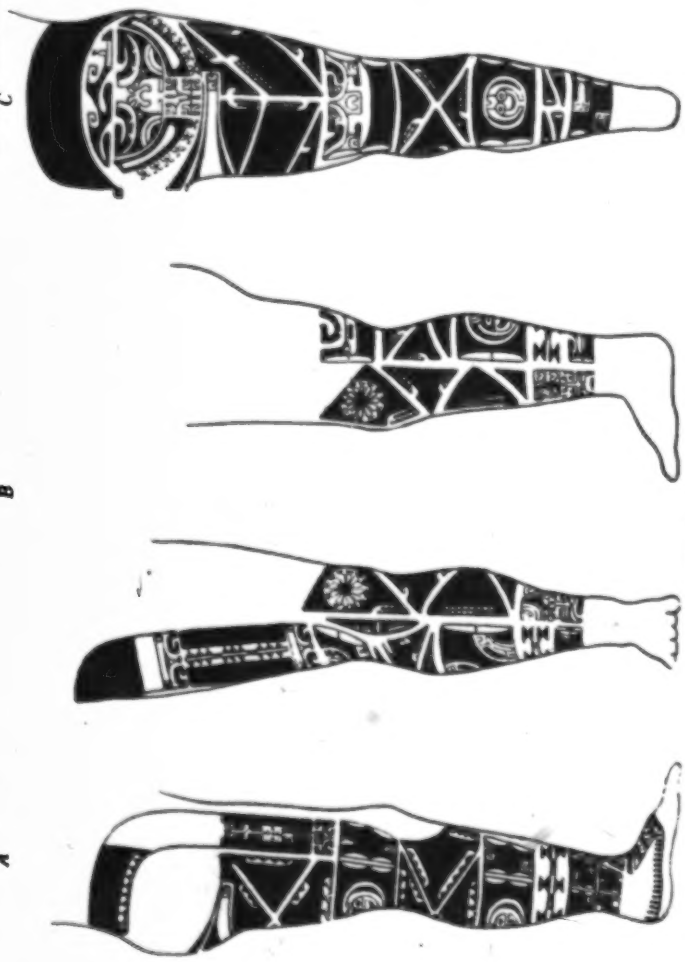

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 32]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 33]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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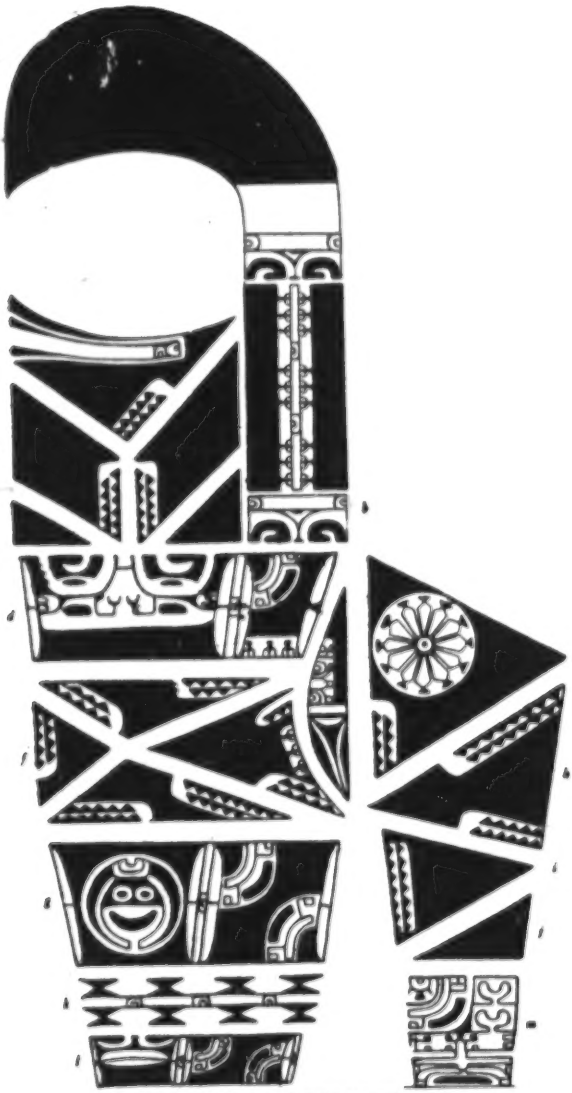

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 34]

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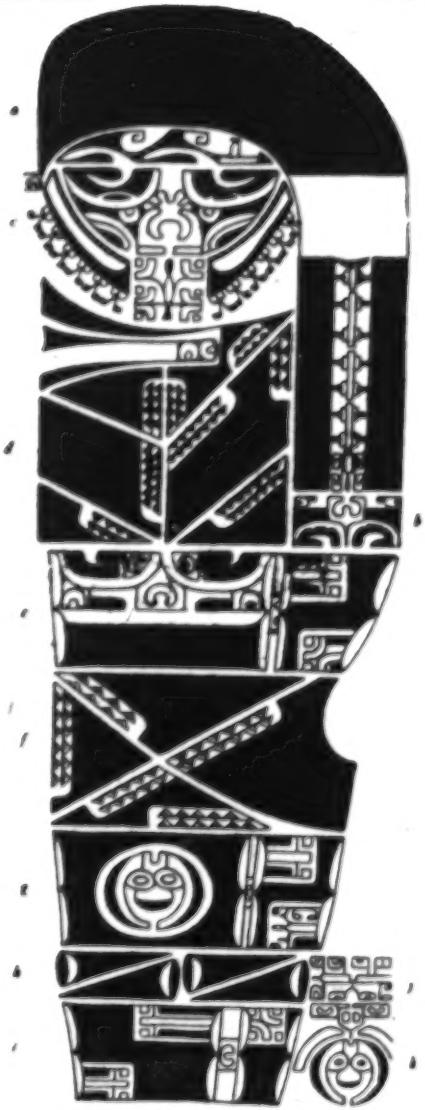

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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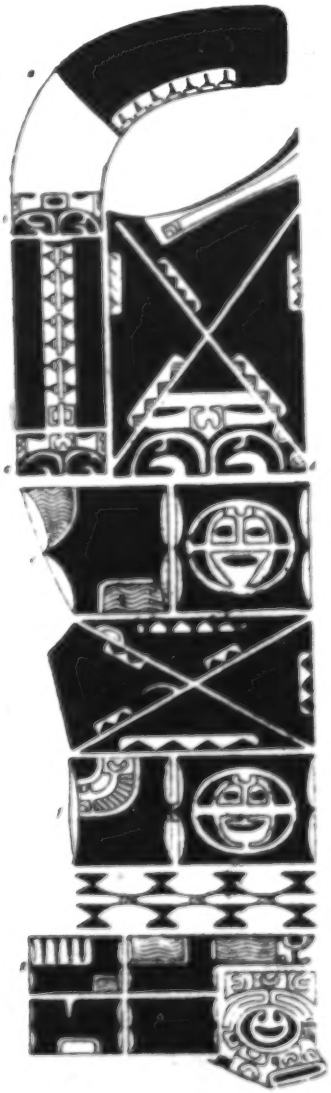

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 36]

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 37]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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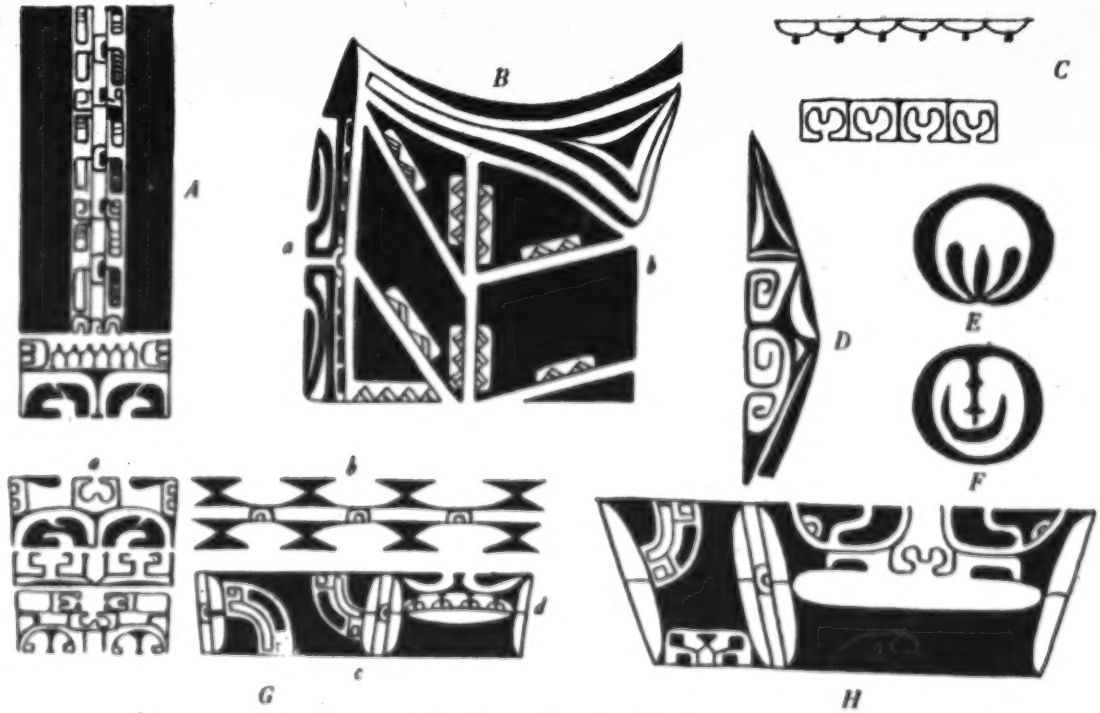

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 38

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Marquesas OX6

[For discussion of Marquesan decorative designs, see category 116, pp. 3-34, 101-3, and plates I-XVIII.]

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [467] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women 462 being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly- [53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; 386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic 467 of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[554] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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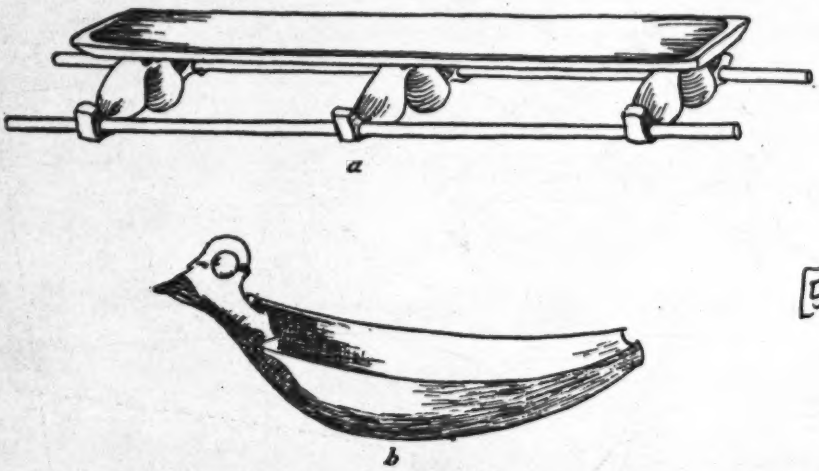
exactly the same form as those used for beating *popoi*. It rested on legs called *toko papa*, spreading from a central support lashed to the board. The form is shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 11, *a*). There was one pair of legs at each end of the board and another pair in the middle, so that the pairs of legs were at right angles to the body of the bier. The legs were carved with designs, and the feet with conventional human



[532]

FIGURE 11.—*a*. Portable bier (drawn from one pair of legs supplemented by description); *b*, bowl for carrying the head of a dead chief (After Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 48, No. 1).

figures. Poles for carrying the bier were lashed to the feet on either side. The bottom of the board was either carved or decorated with black or red ornamental sennit lashed over white bark cloth.

DISPOSAL OF BONES

The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up *(kokonatua)*, the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of *tapa*, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house. Melville (23, p. 225)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer
778 to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae,* but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u, ahu, feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani *(ke'i,* pierce; *ani,* sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana (ikoa,* name; *kenana,* man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

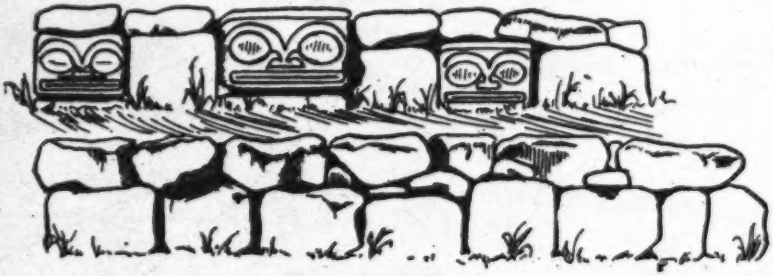
The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders *(kiva)* in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs *(ke'etu)* lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others
● [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532



[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

[826] Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

778 The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—
532 chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conventions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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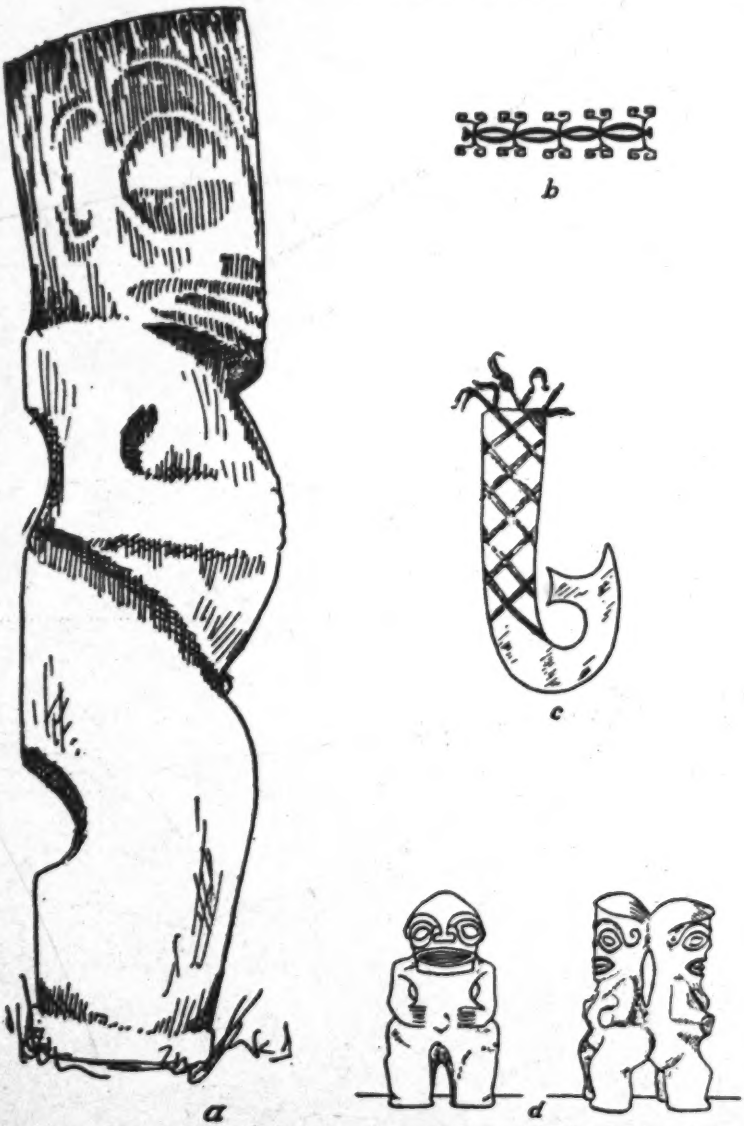

FIGURE 22.—Sacred objects: *a*, an image carved of wood (tiki); *b*, *tava* design; *c*, hook, called *tava*, for suspending human sacrifices; *d*, miniature stone images (tiki).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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est platform. In addition to these large permanent figures were miniature stone images (*tiki*), either single human figures or double figures (fig. 22, *d*) carved out of one piece, back to back. In order to insure success these were taken to the sacred place and there presented as votive offerings by those initiating some undertaking. By whom images were made, when, and with what rites is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were special carvers; images, like the house in the precincts, were probably made from time to time, as they were needed in rites. Images were girded with loin cloths. That these loin cloths for the gods were ceremonially made is indicated by the following translation from the manuscript of Dordillon (9): "The old *tuhuka* [probably ceremonial priest], who beat the *hami* [loin cloth] for Paiau, Tohotika, and Tamaputona [names of gods] might eat only in the evening." It was probably the loin cloth of the image that Stewart describes as being elevated while an invocation was pronounced (26, p. 275).

It is instructive to note the impressions of early visitors as to the appearance and arrangement of images in sacred places. Stewart (26, p. 267) describes figures as standing inside of the houses:

> The temples do not differ from the larger inhabited houses, except that they are always open in front. All we saw contained three images, one at each end opposite and facing each other, and one in the middle against the thatch behind.

The following description by Porter (24, p. 111) would indicate that sometimes the images stood in the open:

> In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoanut, and *toa* trees . . . and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among such a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the breadfruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model.

Such images as remain today, of course, stand on their platforms in the open and it is practically impossible to tell whether they had structures over them or not.

Garcia (14, p. 58) describes images of all sizes scattered about in a temple that he visited. In the middle of the place occupied by the images was an enormous stone figure roughly carved, about it a number of other figures, all of human form except one which represented a bird. (At Pua Ma'u there is an enormous stone image, apparently of a turtle.) About these were scattered the remains of offerings. Whether portable images

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51): 778 532

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used. 778

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places. [782]

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant- 782

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

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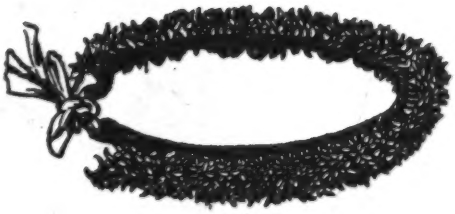
a



b

c

d

e

f

FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikona*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kahakai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*toiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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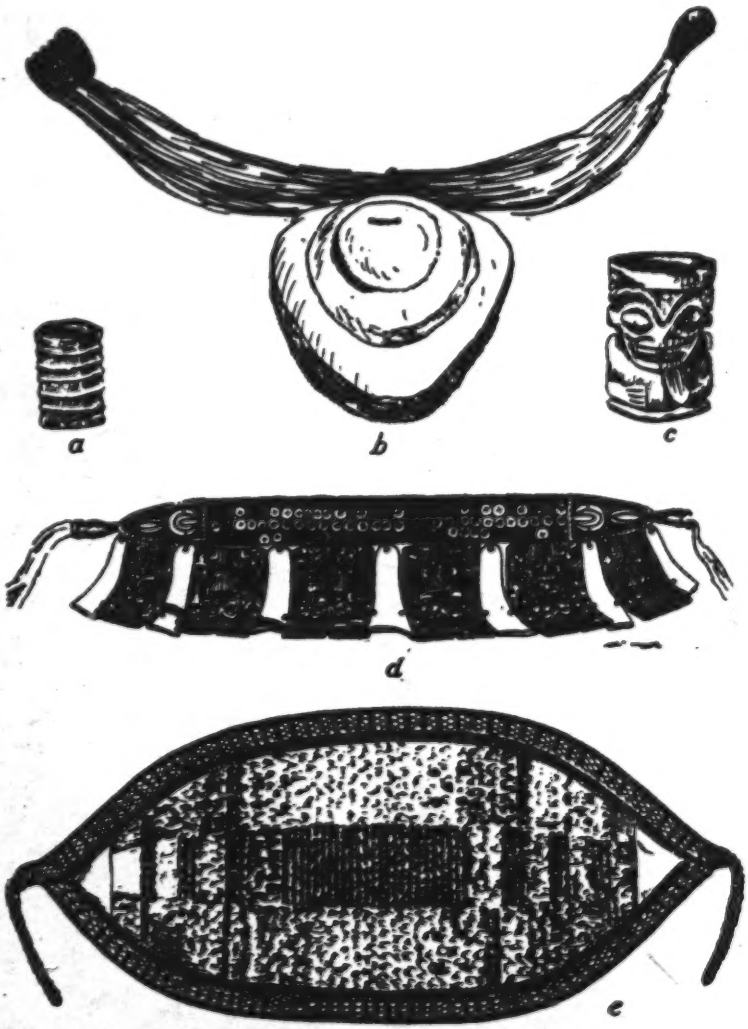

FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pa'e kee*); *e*, feather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pa'e ku'a*).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

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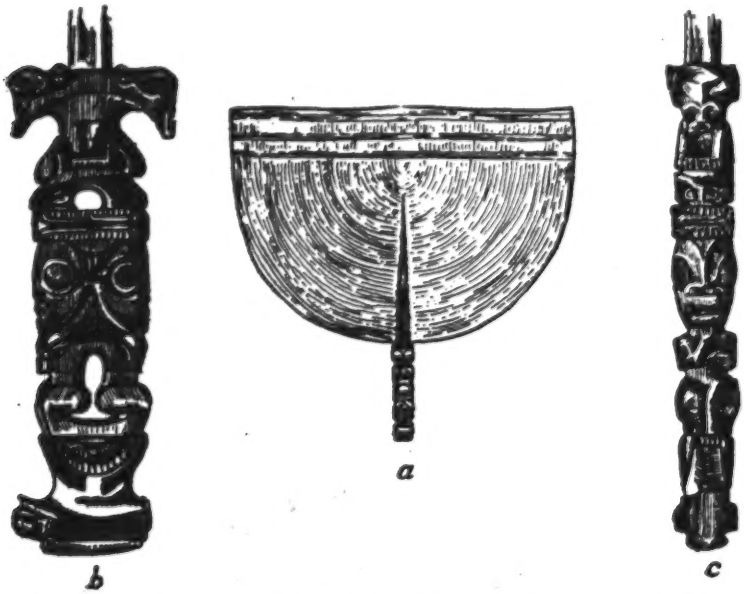

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *ta'avaha*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and
535 women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore
[302] yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o,* see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki,* according to this informant, was the custom called *moko,* which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko,* and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva.* For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

534 Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f.*) Small tiki
[532 figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing
321] together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 *A.* Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

346 *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

417 *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

291 *D.* Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

312 *E.* Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna uai* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

291 *B.* Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

304 *C.* Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand
532 designs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

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PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

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A. Basket for draining breadfruit.
B. *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
C. *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
D. *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

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PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

A. *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
B. *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
C. Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
D. The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
B. The leaves tied to form a bag.
C. The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
D. The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

A. Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
B. A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
C. A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
D. The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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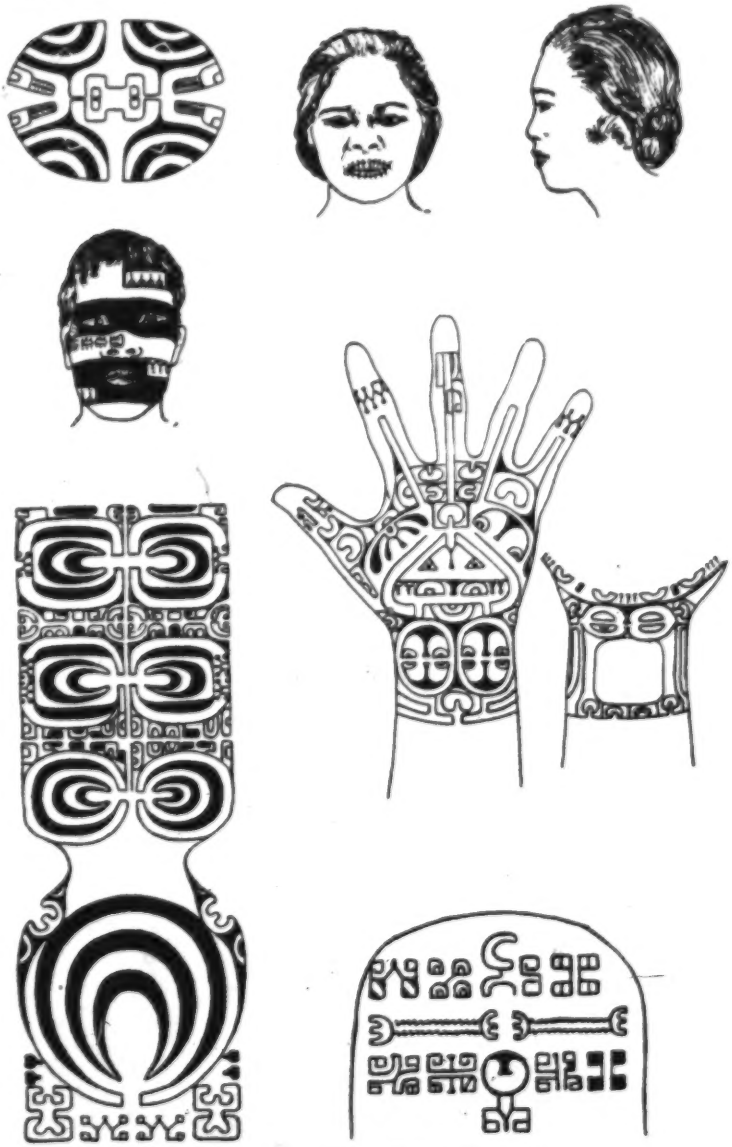

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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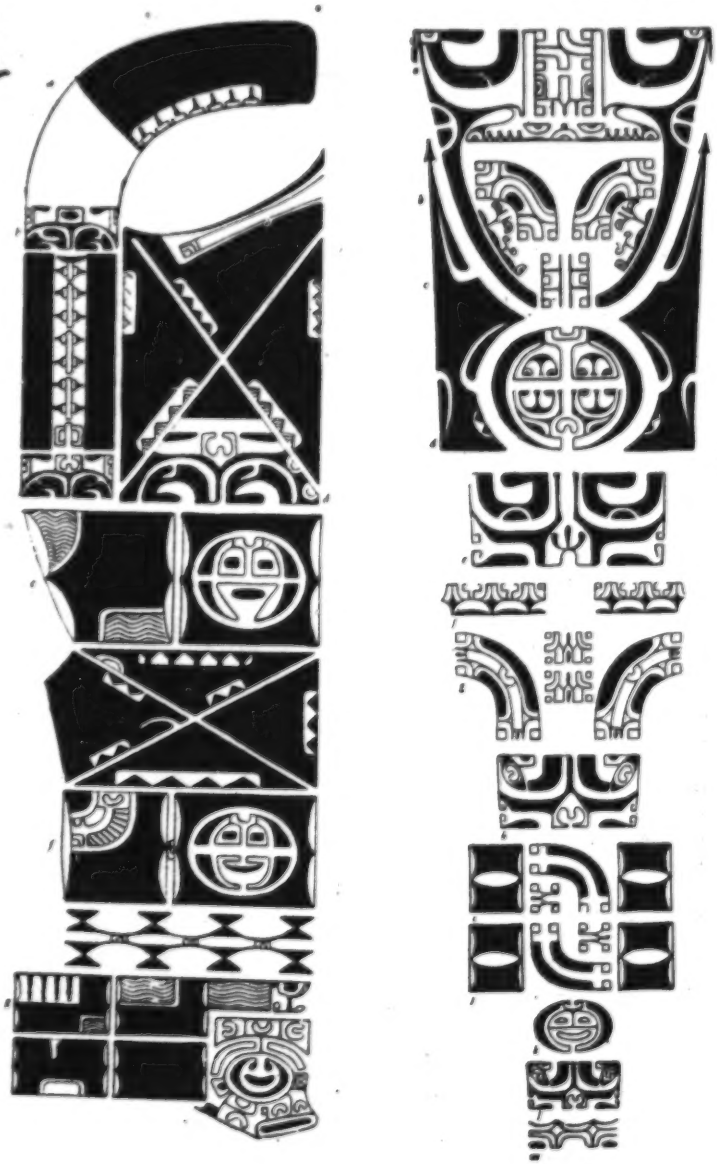

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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ISAAC PUHETETE, CALLED HAAPUANI OF ATUONA, HIVAOA, STANDING BESIDE THE GREAT STONE FIGURE OF TAKAII, AT PUAMAU.

[frontispiece]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country. 770 532

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods; 771

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *ke'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

346 the other front posts faced outward. A small figure on the end post of a mortu-
532 ary house also faced inward. It seems probable that this was the usual arrangement for end posts. The human figures were carved in full round, the convention employed being substantially the same as that used in the large idols of wood and stone. The heads were cylindrical, with flat faces upon which the highly conventionalized features were carved in low relief. They were finished at the top with a narrow horizontal band, above which a cylindrical neck considerably smaller in diameter than the head, supported the ridgepole or stringer. The ears, shaped like the chord of a circle, were shown as two thin flanges, projecting from either side of the head slightly behind its center. The forward surface of these flanges was carved with two scrolls of unequal length, the upper one being longer. The scrolls met at a point in line with the outer corner of the eye. In some figures a hole was pierced through the center of the lower scroll. A figure seen in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, differed considerably from these. The roof timber of this house had rested directly upon the head of the figure without any intervening band or neck. The head was narrow, and short vertically with a marked occipital projection. The face was directed upward at an angle of about 35 degrees, and the features, although much weathered, indicated a high nose and generally naturalistic treatment.

The heads of the figures in a building usually showed uniformity in treatment and size, but the proportions of the body varied considerably, not only between the end and front posts but even between individual front posts. In the end posts the bodies and legs were unnaturally elongated, the idea evidently being to have the figure cover as much of the post as possible. In the front posts (Pl. XLI, *B*) the bodies were long and the legs disproportionately short or even lacking. The bodies as a rule showed little attempt at modeling, and were formed by a few simple planes; the arms were usually at the sides with the hands resting on the stomach. Both the upper arm and forearms were disproportionately short, and showed no attempt at modeling. The space between the upper arm and body in most figures was pierced, while the forearm was carved in rather low relief upon the body. In one specimen the hand was raised to the mouth and the upper arm was shown in the usual vertical position while the forearm and hand were unnaturally elongated; the space between the forearm and chin was pierced. The legs were always shown in a semi-flexed position with the space between them pierced. The thigh was usually short and the lower leg disproportionately long and heavy, but in the specimen from Atu Ona, the legs are naturally proportioned and well modeled. The feet were rarely indicated. The sex was usually shown but conventionally and without exaggeration of the parts.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon. 346 532

Carvings on Posts

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group. 342 53

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, C). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving. [32

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

while two other holes, one on either side, were pierced through the angle formed by the top and sides about half-way between the breakwater and rear end of the deck. The upper lashing holes, which served for the attachment of the ends of the side planks, did not pierce the cavity of the bow piece. 396 501

The neck, or portion lying between the breakwater and the figurehead, was two to three times the length of the deck. Its upper surface was flat, and was the same width as the deck immediately in front of the breakwater, tapering gradually toward the forward end. Its lower surface was hollowed for about one-half its length, the outer end of the excavation being cut to leave a semicircular projection like that already mentioned in the description of the ends of canoe underbodies. Beyond the end of the excavation a heavy flange projected downward, its lower edge being flush with the bottom of the end of the underbody when the bow piece was in position. On the outer side this flange curved up smoothly to the base of the figurehead. The lower edges of the sides of the excavated portion fitted accurately to those of the underbody, and were pierced with lashing poles. Above the edge, however, the sides sloped inward, the flat upper surface of the neck projecting beyond them on either side in a longitudinal flange.

The angle which the neck formed with the body of the canoe seems to have varied considerably. In the specimen photographed the neck is practically parallel to the upper edge of the underbody, and the early accounts and pictures would seem to indicate that this was usual. According to informants, however, it curved upward sharply beyond the end of the underbody, and all the recent canoe models show this feature in more or less exaggerated form. In the double canoe shown by Christian (10, p. 180), the neck of the bow piece of one canoe is of the form already described and curves upward at only a slight angle, while the neck of the other canoe curves up much more abruptly. In the second specimen the upper surface of the neck does not project over the sides, but curves down into them smoothly, as in the normal stern pieces.

The form of the figurehead and its relation to the neck can best be described by comparing it to a long handled shovel laid back up, the neck corresponding to the handle and the figurehead to the blade. The base of the figurehead projected out sharply from the neck on either side, while the forward end was semicircular or was bluntly pointed. The upper surface was convex, the point of greatest thickness being at the middle of the rear end. It was carved into a single, large, flat face, chin forward. The convention was the usual one except that the broad mouth was crescent shaped, and the ears were represented by thin semicircular flanges which projected from either side of the head just beyond its juncture with the neck. [532]

The Stern Piece

Two forms of stern piece were employed in the Marquesan built up canoe. The one shown in the accompanying picture (Pl. XLII, *E*) is apparently the commoner type. For the sake of convenience in description this form may be divided into three parts—the body, deck and tail.

The body of the stern piece was that part which rested upon the underbody of the canoe. It formed a third to a half of the total length of the stern piece, supporting the deck and tapering off into the tail at the rear. The lower surface of the body was deeply hollowed, while the outer sides curved inward gradually meeting in a distinct ridge along the median line of the upper surface. The lower edges were cut to conform accurately to the upper edges of the stern of the underbody, and were pierced with holes for lashings. The rear end of the body terminated in a heavy, downward projecting flange which rested against the stern of the underbody and was identical in form and arrangement with the corresponding flange on the bow piece.

The deck, although hewn in a single piece with the body, had the appearance of simply resting upon it, its sides and rear edge projecting beyond the sides of the body. Its upper

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental 591 lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual 501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with 532 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *mio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [532]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

By far the most elaborate pipe seen was in the possession of Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. It is shaped like the bowl and fore-stem of an ordinary straight brier pipe, but has a tiki figure carved against the curve of the bowl in three-quarter round. (See Pl. XLIX, *D.*) The convention of this little figure is curious; the eyes are indicated by raised circles on either side of the head, and there is no distinct mouth or nose. A small beak-like projection at the bottom of the head, between the eyes, suggests that it may represent a bird. A hole has been drilled between the figure and the pipe bowl at about the level of the waist. This pipe is known to be very old and has been in the possession of a single family in Atu Ona for at least three generations. 276 532

BOWLS AND TRAYS

Stone bowls and trays are rare in the Marquesas, and the few specimens extant vary greatly in form and finish. The larger objects of this sort are usually quite crude. Some of the smaller bowls, on the other hand, show great skill in manufacture and are well finished and even decorated. 415 [324]

The largest object of this sort seen was a so-called tray which was built into the upper edge of a small platform in the *tohua* of Hutuhu'u, valley of Taipi-Vai, Nuku Hiva. It appeared to be a large fragment of a lava bubble which had been smoothed and slightly excavated on the inner surface, the outside being left rough. It was 3 feet, 6 inches long, with an average width of 2 feet, and an external depth of from 6 to 9 inches. Its form was likened by the natives to that of a canoe, a small natural projection at one end being pointed out as the prow, but the depression was really roughly rectangular. It is said that the bodies of victims who were to be eaten were laid upon this tray, but no other data could be obtained.

Another large bowl or tray of an altogether different form and use, was seen in the island of Tahu Ata. It apparently had been made from an oval water-worn bowlder, the outer surface left unworked. It was seen in the course of a visit so brief that exact measurements were impossible but the dimensions were approximately as follows: length 2 feet, 6 inches, width 20 inches, external depth 18 inches. The depression was circular, narrowing toward the bottom, and was about 14 inches in diameter and one foot deep. The rim was flat and rather carefully smoothed. Upon one end of the rim there was a cylindrical projection about 3 inches in diameter, and of the same height, which was said to be the base of a small tiki figure about one foot in height which was carved in one piece with the bowl. This little figure had been broken off and carried away many years ago. The bowl was built into the pavement of a large dwelling *paepae*, but informants were not certain that this was its original position. It

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to in-
171 dicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kaual in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

● 532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fish-
778 ermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

None of these fish figures were obtained by the expedition and they are rare in collections. Those seen were for the most part of cylindrical or flat oval form, poorly finished and having incised upon one end a rude representation of a fish's head. In one specimen the only feature indicated was the curve of the gill cover. A single very fine specimen in the collection of M. George La Garde of Tahiti has a flat base and high back which slopes upward almost to a point. It is highly polished all over, and bears upon one end a carved head of human or semi-human type. 532

The small human figures were of two types, single and double. They were used in healing the sick, and also as real votive offerings. They were made by special *tuhuna*, and were carried to the *me'ae* of the god invoked and there left by persons desiring success in any enterprise. (Handy, personal correspondence.) [778]

The single figures show more or less variation, but all appear to fall between the extremes represented by two specimens in the Bishop Museum's collections. Plate LV, *A* shows a short squat figure having a large head with a projecting jaw.

The features are like those of the heads of tiki headed *popoi* pounders of normal type except that the ears are represented as simple knobs. The head is set directly on the shoulders, and the bottom of the jaw is some distance below the level of the top of the shoulders. The arms are thin and unmodeled with short upper and long lower parts, and are shown flexed, with the hands resting upon either side of the body in front. The space between the upper arm and the body is pierced, while the lower arm is carved in high relief and the hand in low relief. The fingers are barely indicated. The back of the figure is concave with a well marked ridge across the shoulders. The breast slopes outward and downward from the head to the level of the hands, and the stomach, between the hands, is shown as a rounded protuberance. The legs are short and are shown in a flexed position, the upper edge of the thighs being parallel to the forearms. The thighs are thin and the buttocks project in the rear as a flange. The lower leg is very heavy, and is separated from the thigh by a horizontal groove which runs across the back and around to the middle of the outer side of either leg. The space between the legs is pierced nearly to the level of the knee. The lower leg tapers slightly toward the foot, which is represented by a thin flange, longest in front. In the middle of the side just above this flange, there is a small knob, probably representing the ankle bone. The sex of this figure is not indicated. A raised band, running from the back of the head to the middle of the shoulders, is pierced with a transverse hole which probably served for the attachment of a cord. The dimensions are: height, 7 inches; maximum width, 4 inches; shoulder width, 3 inches; length of head, 2½ inches; width of head, 2½ inches. The whole surface appears originally to have been polished, even the bottoms of the deepest cuts being rubbed smooth.

It is evident that the maker of this figure possessed remarkable technical skill, and its grotesque proportions can only be explained by the assumption that he was not attempting to represent an actual human being, but to reproduce an established convention. The majority of the small stone figures agree more closely with this specimen, especially in facial type, than with the one about to be described.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

● 532 Figure *B*, on the same plate is also highly conventionalized, but it appears less grotesque. It is of nearly the same height, but the figure is more slender and the proportions more nearly approach those of the human body.

The head is large and is set directly upon the body, but the mouth is smaller than in *A* and the nose is rather small and naturalistic, with a high bridge. The eyes are shown as long ovals having a raised rim and central ridge, and are connected with the nose by narrow bands. Above each eye there is a raised band whose inner end connects with the base of the nose while the outer end, behind the eye, thickens to form a small ear flange. The arms are carried in the same position as those of *A* and are unmodeled, but the proportions of upper arm and fore-arm are almost natural. The fingers are not indicated. The body is proportionally much longer than that of *A*, its sides are rounded, and the whole treatment is surprisingly naturalistic. The back of the body is nearly straight. Along the middle of the top of the shoulder there is a well marked ridge running from the head to the shoulder tip. From the tip of the shoulder a second ridge slopes downward and forward across the chest, its inner end curving upward abruptly toward the throat. This probably represents the line of the collar bone. A short distance below this line there are two small smoothly rounded protuberances which represent the breasts, while the navel is shown by a small circular pit placed midway between the hands. The sex, male, is indicated by a small conical knob. The short legs are flexed, but the thigh is rounded and the buttocks project to only a natural degree. The lower leg is thick and heavy, and the foot is large. The ankle bone projection is well marked. The back of the head was pierced for suspension by boring two holes, one downward from the top, and the other upward and forward from the bottom.

The convention of the double figure (Pl. LV, C) corresponds approximately to that of the single figures just described.

The two figures are placed back to back and joined at the buttocks and at the shoulders or backs of the heads. The form of the head differs somewhat from that of the other two figures described, and one figure has a hand to the mouth, a pose not uncommon in Marquesan art.

A curious object shown on Plate LV, *D*, which may have been a votive offering or have represented a deity, was found in an old *me'ae*.

This article is a roughly conical piece of cellular lava which appears water worn and shows no signs of working except at the upper end where it has been carved into two heads, set back to back and separated by a groove. The stone is so coarse that it is impossible to determine the convention of the carving. The lower end of the object is smoothly rounded, and but for its size and weight the whole might be taken for a very crude *pepoi* pounder. Natives could throw no light on its use.

Stone figures appear to be entirely lacking in Samoa and Tonga, but small figures are found throughout most of marginal Polynesia. They are numerous only in the Marquesas. Fish figures are found in Hawaii, the Marquesas and Society Islands, although there is little information as to their use and significance in Hawaii. Small human figures occur in Hawaii and the Society Islands, but are rare in these localities. The little kumara gods of New Zealand are well known and appear to be fairly common. The figures from the different localities seem to conform in every case to the local convention and have little in common.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(5) REPRESENTATIONS OF NATURAL OBJECTS

415 The Marquesans appear rarely to have carved representations of natural objects other than human beings upon their containers, although a statement of 532 Langsdorff that they carved upon their bowls "little figures of human faces, of fish and of birds" (38, p. 172) may indicate that this was done in former times. The representations of natural objects upon the containers examined may all be assigned to some one of three classes: representations of human beings, representations of animals or insects, floral designs. With the exception of the human figures carved upon one box, all such representations are highly conventionalized and are linked by intermediate forms to various purely decorative designs.

(6) REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS

The decorations on Plate LXIV, *A* may be divided into three classes: more or less naturalistic figures, which occur only upon the specimen mentioned in the preceding paragraph; angular-geometric figures; and figures carved according to the tiki convention.

The naturalistic figures (drawings No. 1) are crudely executed, resembling the drawings made by a child. The persons are represented with the legs apart and the arms akimbo. The body and limbs are shown as simple lines or bands. In one example the toes are indicated. The heads are disproportionately large and the features, when shown, are grotesque. Curiously enough the faces have little or no resemblance to those of figures of the tiki type.

Angular-geometric representations of human beings appear to have been employed exclusively in the form of narrow bands (drawing No. 2) The representations consist of an inverted triangle, representing the head, below which there is a cross line for the shoulders, with three vertical lines, representing the body and arms. No other features are indicated. Representations of this sort sometimes occur in the same bands with decorations *L*, *M* and *N*, shown on Plate LXII, and it is possible that those band decorations originated from representations of human figures.

Human figures carved in the round or in relief appear to have been almost never used upon containers; but flat figures, which stand to the true tikis in the relation of a line drawing to a bas-relief or statue, were extensively employed. They evince a strong tendency to modify the body by substituting decorative elements for its various parts, or to eliminate the body altogether. The convention used for depicting the features was essentially the same as that of the true tikis, and a suggestion of the relief form is usually retained in the modeling of the eyes within and above the rings. (Drawings No. 3.)

The eyes are shown by two rings joined at the inner ends and continued at the outer ends into horizontal bars which terminate in double spirals or scrolls, representing the ear. The

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bridge of the nose is usually indicated by a straight line, and the nostrils by semi-circles or semi-ovals. The mouth is shown as a simple oblong or narrow oval with a longitudinal central ridge, and in a few designs the teeth are indicated by short transverse grooves. There is usually a horizontal ridge across the eye ball, but in some figures the eye ball is smoothly rounded and in one specimen there is a distinct central disk, like a pupil. The most interesting feature in connection with the use of tiki figures is the gradual elimination of details. Not only is there a strong tendency to omit the body, but the features of the face are discarded one by one. The first to be lost is the mouth, followed, with equal frequency by the nose or ears. In a few carvings only the linked ovals of the eyes remain, and in some designs a single unmistakable tiki eye, with an attached ear, is used as a separate element.

415
532

(7) REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS OR INSECTS

Three motifs appear to be highly conventionalized representations of some animal or insect. (Pl. LXIV, *B*.) Two of these motifs each occur upon one specimen only, while the third, with many modifications and variations, plays an important part in bowl design.

The simpler of the rare motifs (drawing No. 1), found in only one specimen, consists of a broad straight groove ending in a circle or semi-circle and having along either edge a fringe of diagonal lines. The whole form suggests a centipede, but it can not even be said with certainty that a representation of a natural object is intended.

A second rare motif, also found upon one specimen only, has a long narrow body in the form of a pointed oval, at one extremity of which are placed forelegs and a head and at the other hind legs with a suggestion of a tail.

The body is decorated with a single longitudinal groove and has on either side a number of short transverse grooves, apparently representing a spine and ribs (drawing No. 2). Each pair of legs, with the head or tail, is treated practically as a separate unit, the form suggesting the crosses shown in Plate LXIII, *B*, 1. The space along either side of the body is filled in the original with unassociated designs carved at a lower level. The whole treatment is so conventional that identification is difficult, but it seems probable that a lizard is intended.

The third motif is comparatively common in the modern commercial work from Fatu Hiva and shows a more or less standard form, with many examples which have been modified in various ways. The standard figure and various modifications are shown on Plate LXIV, *B*, 3.

The standard figure consists of a long oval with which are connected three pairs of spirals, two being attached at either end and the third pair somewhere along the sides. There is usually a suggestion of a head at one or both ends.

A more or less standardized variation, which may have been originally a separate motif (Pl. LXIV, *B*, 4) has a shorter and broader oval body, with or without a head, from the upper end of which spring two broad curved bands, while to the lower end are connected two spirals or separate scrolls. This form grades imperceptibly into purely decorative designs with no suggestion of representation.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FLORAL DESIGNS

415 532 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

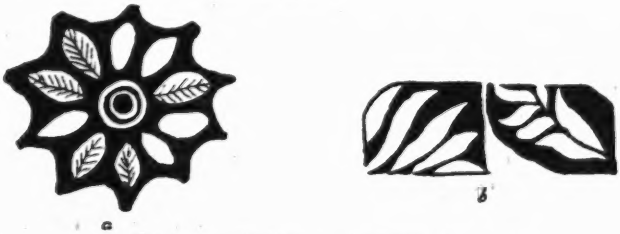

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 531 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs played a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *kaake* are rare, while *pokaa* and *cipueto* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 531 171 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chatham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[5] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Ruth Gessner (71). Only the most important points will be enumerated here.

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ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 526 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 481 526 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Hawaiian and Micronesian slings are much cruder in construction than the Marquesan slings, and have little in common with them. The Marquesan and Society slings, on the other hand, are practically identical, corresponding not only in form, but even in such minor details as the occasional use of fau bark for the release cord. It is rather curious that such close correspondence should be coupled with the use of prepared stones in the Marquesas and their absence in the Society Islands. 411 171

The information on Marquesan spears is too incomplete to justify extensive comparison, but it is suggestive that the practise of cutting or piercing the shafts of javelines so that the head would break off in the wound appears to have been limited to the Marquesas and New Zealand. The thrusting spear with long easily broken barbs appears to have no Polynesian parallel, but is rather suggestive of certain north Australian forms.

A comparison of Polynesian club forms is especially interesting. The Hawaiians seem to have made only secondary use of the club, and the Hawaiian examples for the most part are short bludgeon-like weapons of rather inferior workmanship. There are some indications that a longer bat-like type was also in use, but it seems to have been numerically unimportant. The Marquesans seem to have entirely lacked short clubs, both their types, the *uu* and paddle club, being heavy and of unwieldy length. The natives of the Society Islands used clubs of two types, one a short bludgeon, the other a long club with a sharp edged lozenge shaped head. Examples of the long club examined strongly resemble the spears of the Cook Islands which in turn, appear to be copies of metal prototypes. The Maoris used several types of club which seem to fall into two classes, long staves and short, sharp edged weapons, such as the mere. The Maori weapons are well known. In Samoa and Tonga we find a great variety of clubs, most of which are of types also found in Fiji. These weapons have been fully described by Churchill (69). As a whole they show little resemblance to the forms found in marginal Polynesia. Even the nuclear Polynesian paddle clubs bear much less resemblance to those of the Marquesas than the Marquesan ones show to some Melanesian weapons, notably those from the Solomon Islands.

No clubs at all resembling the Marquesan *uu* appear in other parts of Oceania, and it seems certain that it is a local development. If we ignore its decoration we find that the *uu* differs from the paddle club only in the thickening of the end and the lateral knobs. The handles of the two types are identical, and in both the head has a rounded outline, flat oval cross section, and sharp edges. It is evident that the *uu* as a whole represents a highly conventionalized face to which the knobs bear the relation of ears. As projecting ears are a common fea- 411 171 532

411 ture of Marquesan figures it is quite possible that the knobs might be added to
171 a paddle form on which a face had been carved with the idea of rendering the
human likeness more complete. The thickening of the end is more difficult to
532 account for, but this also may have arisen from the native artistic convention
which calls for wide curves over the eyes. It is but a slight step from the paddle
club to the *uu*. Evidence of the priority of the paddle club is offered by the use
of small replicas as chiefs' insignia.

411 The distribution of narrow-bladed staves is especially interesting. In Polynesia their use appears to have been limited to two localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand, with a related form in Easter Island. The Marquesan staves are as a rule longer than those from New Zealand, but the blade form is practically identical, the differences between the two types lying in the treatment of the upper end, or head, which in New Zealand was usually carved into a head with a projecting, pointed tongue, and in the Marquesas was finished with a pompom of human hair. In both, the shaft immediately below the head was covered with a woven sleeve. The Easter Island implements are clearly related to these staves, but differ from them in having a broader blade, no sleeve, and an upper end carved into two heads placed back to back. The Marquesan staves grade into the paddle clubs, although they always retain the characteristic decoration of the head. As paddle clubs appear to be lacking in both New Zealand and Easter Island it seems improbable that the stave was developed from this weapon. Certain Melanesian digging sticks now in the Field Museum are identical in blade form with the Maori and Marquesan staves, and there are even a few examples in which the upper ends are carved and decorated. A. B. Lewis of the Field Museum says that he has frequently seen digging sticks employed as staves by the older men in Melanesia, and it would appear not improbable that the staves of the Maori and Marquesans have been derived from some such tool. The fact that the Maori stave was an important weapon does not militate against this assumption, as even among the Maori digging sticks were sometimes used as weapons while many of the Melanesian examples are known to have been used interchangeably as tools and clubs. The Fijian chiefs' staves lack the flattened blade, just as do many of the Fijian digging sticks.

It is rather curious that large weapons edged with sharks' teeth appear to have been entirely lacking in the Marquesas, although at least two forms were in use in the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 297, p. 413).

Weapons resembling the Marquesan double pointed spike (*ake hewa*), were rather common in Hawaii, while a related form was important in the Society Islands. Their use in Samoa and Tonga seems doubtful, although the data from those islands is still too incomplete to allow of a definite statement.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

There are a number of Marquesan objects which probably had a religious or ceremonial significance. The most interesting of these is a tapa covered object hewn from a single piece of breadfruit wood (Pl. LXXXIV, *A*) which is listed in the Bishop Museum catalog as an idol. 778

The lower part or body is in the form of a thin flat tablet. The upper part, or head, juts out sharply from the body in front and protrudes slightly beyond it in the rear. The two sides of the face are slightly concave, meeting in a sharp longitudinal keel. The interior of the head has been roughly hollowed out from the rear, probably to reduce the weight of the object. Two short double pointed sticks of fau wood, only one of which is now in position, were fastened to the back of the head transversely. They were attached with sennit cords which passed through holes in the edges of the object. The body, and the front, top and sides of the head, are covered with ute tapa, which was evidently put on while moist. The back of the head does not seem to have been covered. The tapa is gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and is glued together on the back of the body so skillfully that the joining is hard to detect. The whole object, exclusive of the back of the head, is covered with designs painted in red and black. It is evident that the designs upon the front of the head are intended to represent two large eyes, while bands along the lower edge of the head and on the upper part of the body represent the upper and lower jaws of an open mouth. The spaces around the eyes and inside the mouth, and the front and back of the body, are filled with decorative designs most of which seem to be tattoo designs. The painting was evidently done free hand, and shows considerable skill.

The rough finish of the back of the head in this figure suggests that it was formerly attached to some object in such a way that this part was concealed, but the body of the figure is painted on both sides. Although we have no information as to the use of such figures, it seems possible that they were attached to the beams of houses in *me'ae*, the back of the head resting against the beam and the body hanging below it. Tapa covered bird effigies, painted red, were placed on the ridge pole of the tall pyramidal sacred house at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The use of effigies covered with painted tapa in the Marquesas brings to mind the similar Easter Island practice. The figures from the two localities have little more than the principle in common, but in view of the complete absence of such figures elsewhere in Polynesia even this is significant. They are not recorded from Micronesia, and even in Melanesia we find no close parallels, except in New Britain where the Baining are said to make huge tapa covered figures thirty feet high (Lewis). [171]

Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post-European. There is no definite information as to their use, but they may have been employed for the same purpose as the small stone figures. (See p. 345.) Plate LXXXIV, *B*, shows a modern wooden figure which is interesting chiefly as an example of the breaking down of the old artistic convention under European influence. The proportions of the body and legs, and the modeling of the legs, are much more naturalistic than in the old stone figures. The arms on the other hand, are smaller in proportion to the figure than those of the old statuettes. The head is more nearly in 778 592

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 proportion to the body and although the old convention is retained for the fea-
532 tures, the eyes are smaller and more elongated. It is interesting to note that many of the modern stone figures, which are purely commercial, show the same changes in convention. Those which do not exhibit this modified convention are crudely naturalistic, and no wooden specimen was seen in which the ancient convention has been accurately reproduced.

A curious double statuette, now in the possession of Mme. Mallius of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, is shown on Plate LXXXIV, *C*. It is made of *toa* wood, and has been stained black, apparently by the process used in coloring war clubs. This would indicate a considerable age, although the carving appears to have been done with metal tools. The lengthened leg and disproportionately shortened arm of the degenerate convention are present, but the faces are surprisingly naturalistic. The two figures, which are male and female, were originally joined together at the back, as in practically all Marquesan double figures.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[532] Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[764] Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with usual cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

T. Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Art

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Carving	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	Poor development, not used on houses, canoes or tools, a few utensils decorated with figures carved in round	Moderate development, applied to canoes and some utensils	Poor development, applied to canoes (rarely) and weapons	Poor development, weapons only
Inlay	Not used	Eyes of images only	Eyes of images and a few utensils	Rare or absent	Not used, carved designs on weapons filled with lime	Crude, weapons only
Painting	Practically absent	Applied to rafters, canoes and images	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only
Designs	Curvilinear or angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional faces or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Curvilinear, angular geometric designs rare; spiral predominant, use of conventional faces or figures as decorations; floral and animal forms rare	Angular geometric designs with a few floral; spiral absent; human or animal forms not used	Angular geometric or circles, no spirals; human and animal figures in tattoo; floral designs on tapa	Angular geometric or floral; spiral rare or lacking; human and animal figures (outline) on weapons	Angular geometric or floral; no spirals; figures rare or lacking
Treatment	Surface divided into spaces or sections which are treated separately, conventional superposition of designs	Surface divided into a few large sections or treated as a whole; superposition of designs common	Designs applied in stripes or over whole surface (tapa only); no design superposition	Curved surfaces divided into sections treated separately; tapa surface treated as whole; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately, no design superposition
Human figures	Conventionalized only	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized, very crude	Not used (one doubtful example)	Rare, no data on form

Conventions of Human Figures

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Leg	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed		
Arms	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on hips. Hand to mouth position not used	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth		
Hands	Five fingers of equal length, outer fingers connected by groove behind three inner	Three fingers of equal length	Five fingers when indicated	Five fingers or not indicated		
Body	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles	Simple treatment, rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles or simple treatment with rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles, fine treatment or simple treatment with rounded contours		
Mouth	Exaggerated, oval, protrusion of tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form, protruding tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form or oval (in naturalistic figures); protruding tongue, common in semi-naturalistic figures	Exaggerated, oval, protrusion of tongue, in naturalistic mouth		
Nose	Flat, nostril exaggerated	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in many cases	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in some cases	Higher than Marquesan conventional and more naturalistic, nostril exaggerated		

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

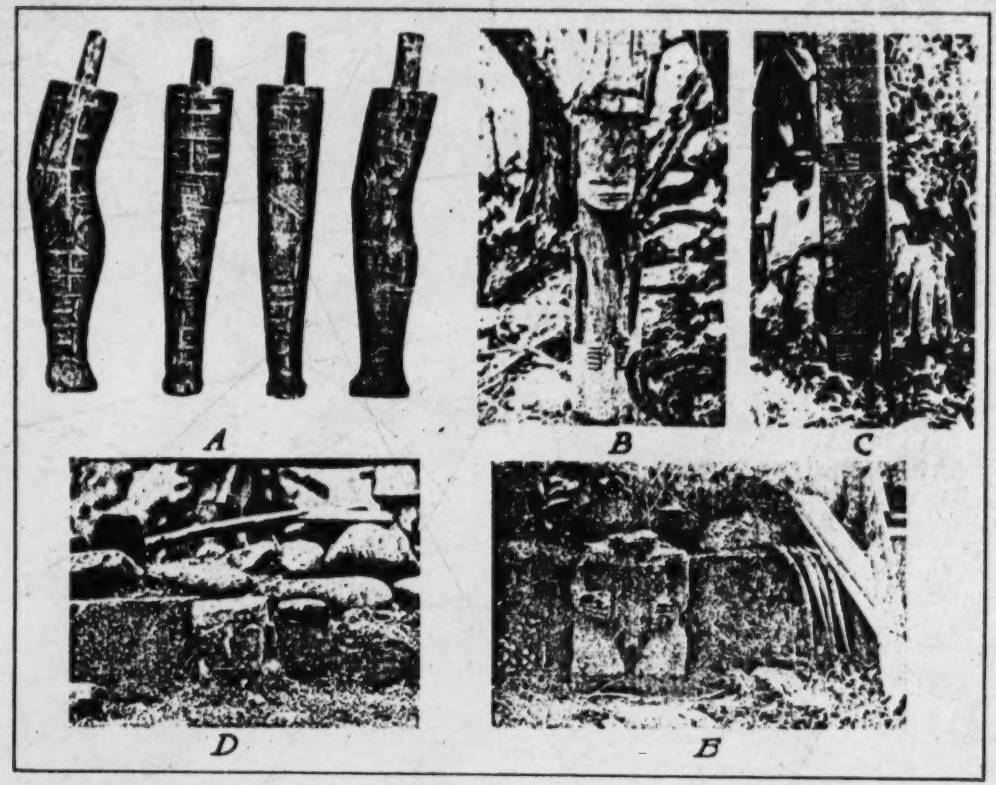
Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	.....	.....
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	.....	.....
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Fale o le Fe'e only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

Mortuary Practises

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil; in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practised
Birth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or insane; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	.....
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

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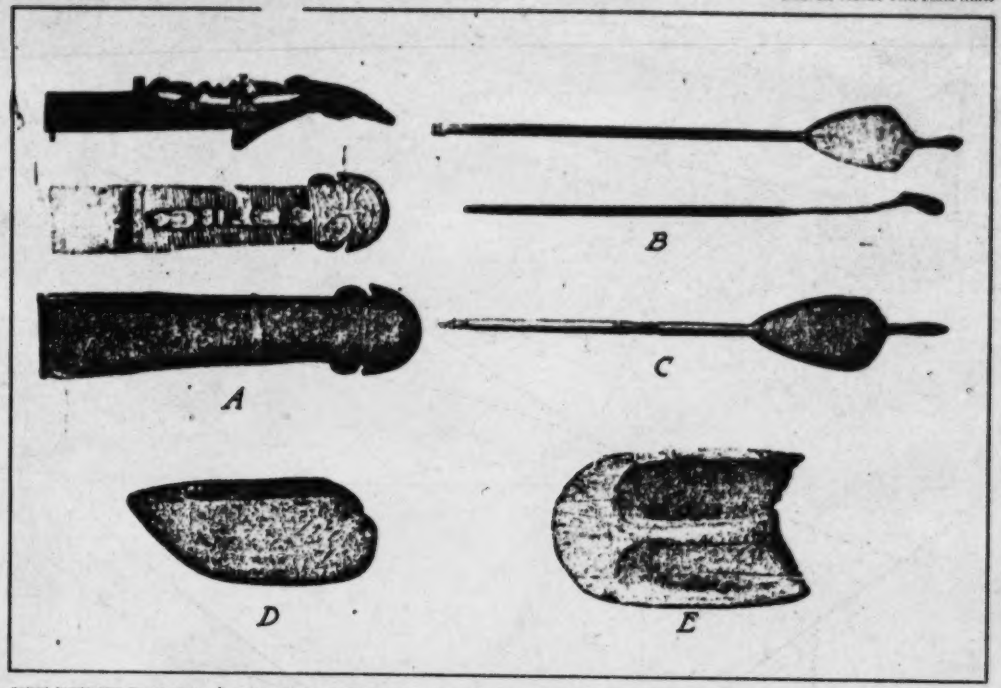
[end plate 27]



CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT: *A*, SIDE, TOP AND BOTTOM VIEWS OF BOW PIECE FROM OLD MODEL; *B*, REAR AND SIDE VIEWS OF ORDINARY PADDLE; *C*, MODERN CARVED PADDLE; *D* AND *E*, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS OF CANOE BAILER.

7: Lemon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[End plate 4]

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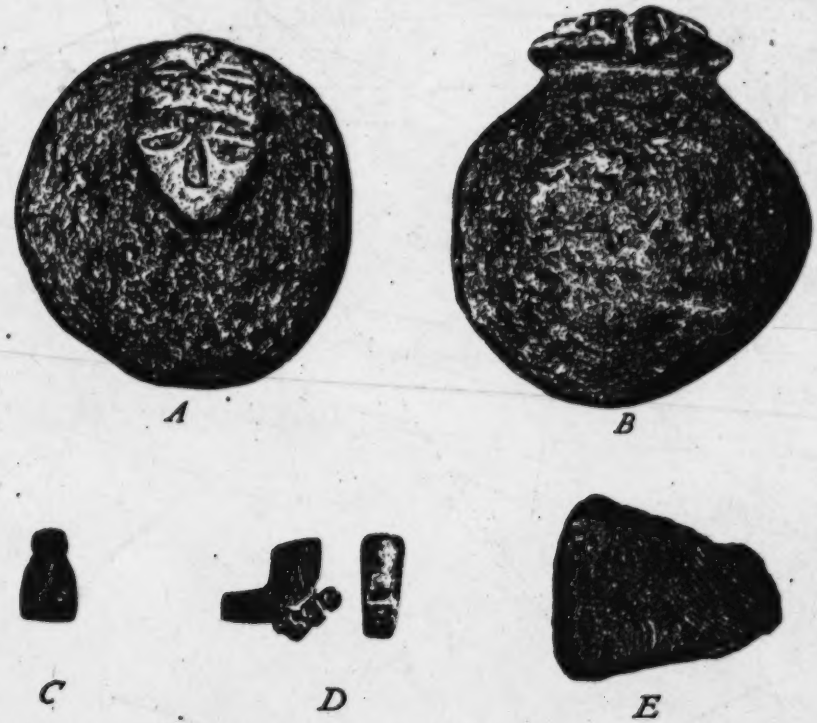

STONE ARTIFACTS AND UTENSILS: *A*, TOP VIEW; *B*, SIDE VIEW OF CARVED NET-SINKER (UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA); *C*, PIPE; *D*, EFFIGY PIPE, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *E*, FRAGMENT OF DECORATED BOWL.

[End plate 10]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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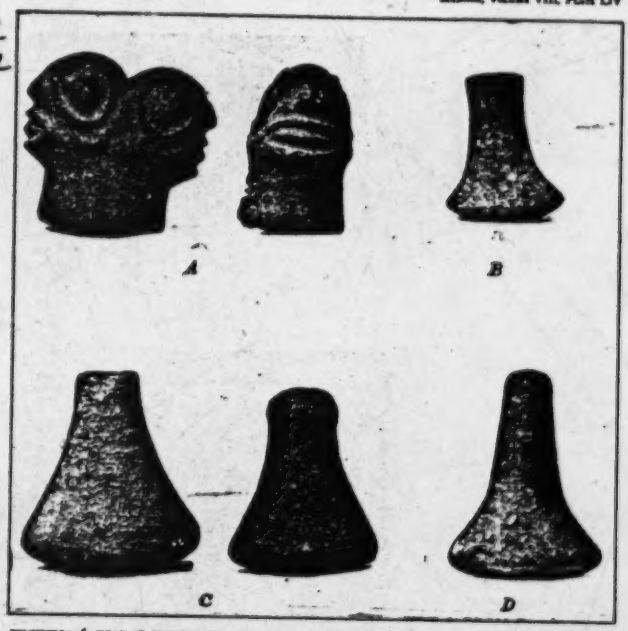
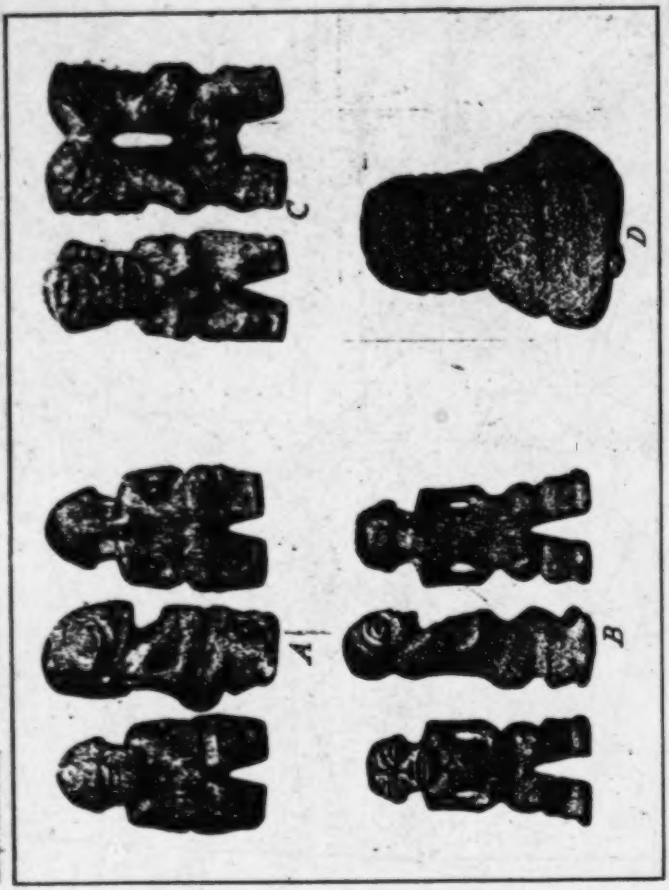


POUNDERS: *A*, HEAD OF POUNDER OF UNUSUAL TYPE, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *B*, CHILD'S POUNDER; *C*, POUNDER FOR INFANTS' FOOD; *D*, SALT POUNDER.

[end plate 15]



STONE CARVINGS: *A, B*, STONE FIGURES, FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *C*, NATURAL FIGURE, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *D*, OBJECT OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE, BEARS CARVED ON UPPER END.

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[end plate 16]

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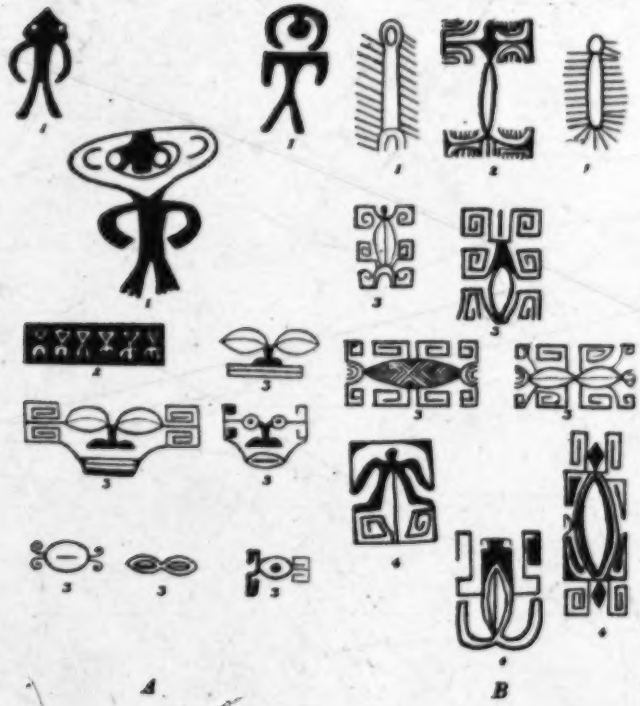

REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES: *A*, 1-3, HUMAN FIGURES; *B*, 1-4, ANIMAL FIGURES.

[end plate 25]

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STILTS: *A*, WOODEN STILTS; *B*, DECORATED SULU STILTS, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 29]

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION: *A*, TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS—(1) COCONUT CUP CONTAINING PIGMENT, (2) COMB OF HUMAN AND BIRD BONE, (3) BAMBOO BOX IN WHICH COMBS ARE KEPT; *B*, EAR PIERCERS OF BONE AND TORTOISE SHELL.

[end plate 36]

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HAIR ORNAMENTS: *A*, TUBES OF HUMAN BONE; *B*, CARVED TUBES OF HUMAN BONE.

[end plate 44]

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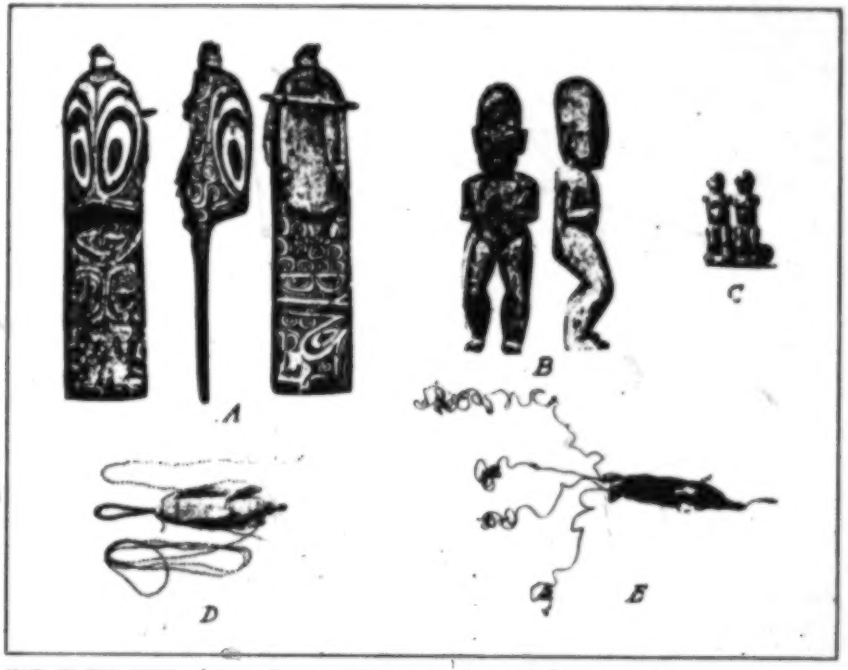

[end plate 45]

IMAGES AND STRING RECORDS: *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOMEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF TIKI WEHO (COURTESY OF MME. MALLION); *D*, GEOMETRICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GEORGE LA GARDE); *E*, STRING RECORD USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

house posts (Pl. III, *d*). A third design, found on a drum, is a series of concentric diamonds which also is a common house post design. Undoubtedly other forms of ornamental lashings were used but information concerning them is no longer available. 531x 284

CARVINGS IN THE ROUND AND IN HIGH RELIEF

The only figures carved in the round or in high relief by the Marquesans are representations of human beings. Large figures are carved in wood and stone; small figures in wood, stone, bone or ivory. Most of the large figures set up in the sacred places to represent gods are carved in the full round. Stone figures carved in the half-round or three-quarters round are set into the facing of stone walls of house platforms and sacred places; wooden figures carved in the full round are used as posts to support the roofs of dwellings. Small figures carved in human bone are used to ornament the handles of many coconut bowls and are used also as ear ornaments. Some ear ornaments are made of whale bone and whale tooth. Wooden staves surmounted by small human figures carved in the full round have been seen, and a number of objects such as fan handles, canoe paddles, war clubs and *popoi* pounders, display human figures carved in high relief. 531x 532 778

The convention employed for the figures is that of the tiki. In most of the carvings the head of the tiki is disproportionately large and has as its most prominent feature round or pointed oval spectacle eyes with a high ridge through the center terminating in the ears and the nose. Supra-orbital ridges are generally indicated and these likewise terminate in the ears which on the small figures are usually represented by two connected spirals turned toward each other. On a few specimens only single spirals are seen and on larger figures a projecting longitudinal flange replaces the spiral. The nose is shown in different lengths but is always broad and flat. The mouth is very large and is always open, showing the tongue. 531x 532

The bone ornaments on the handles of coconut bowls show only the upper half of the body. Below the characteristic head the arms are shown at the sides of the body with the hands resting on the stomach. In one tiki figure the left hand touches the chin and in another the right arm rests on the right shoulder. Some tikis have five fingers on each hand; others have only three or four. 531x

In the portrayal of the complete tiki figure the legs are shown in a semi-squat or flexed position. In figures carved in the full round, the feet are indicated but not the toes; two dolls which do show the toes were probably recently made. The figures are pierced between the legs so as to make them appear as naturalistic as possible. The sex is usually indicated 531x 532

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x531 but is not over emphasized. Many of the heads of *popoi* pounders are
532 carved in high relief into tiki faces placed back to back. Some of the handles of war clubs and of canoe paddles show tiki faces or complete tiki figures also carved in high relief. One war club has a series of three figures one above the other on two sides of the handle. In the upper figure the hands rest on the stomach, in the middle one the right hand is raised to the mouth and in the lower figure the left hand is similarly raised. The upper figure has four fingers on each hand, the second has five fingers on the upraised hand and four on the hand resting on the stomach, and the lower figure has three fingers on one hand and none indicated on the upraised hand. All three of these tikis represent the male sex. The series on the other side of the handle includes one male and two female figures; only the upper figure shows any fingers and these only on the left hand. One of the most beautiful pieces of carving in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection of Marquesan objects is a fan handle. Unfortunately two pieces have been broken off the lower end of the handle. There were originally three double tiki figures—that is, two series of three figures each placed back to back. The upper and lower figures are quite conventionalized and form a sort of hilt; the central figure, the largest of three, is very naturalistic in its convention.

CARVINGS IN LOW RELIEF

x531 Carvings in the round and in high relief form only a small part of Marquesan decorative art, much more common are the carvings in low relief on flat surfaces: the ordinary carvings on such objects as wooden bowls, canoes, and clubs.

Marquesan carving is particularly rich in the number of design elements employed. For convenience in presentation and for comparison Marquesan designs are described under the headings: angular geometric designs, curvilinear designs, elements common to angular and curvilinear forms, motifs composed of several elements, and naturalistic representations.

Angular Geometric Designs

Plain straight lines are used in a number of positions and to serve several purposes. They are employed alone as a distinct design element, and are also used to separate zones or to fill parts of a larger design. The lines are carved at right angles to the long axis of the object (Pl. II *a*), parallel to the long axis of the object, or in a diagonal position (Pl. II, *e*). There are a few examples of radiating lines (Pl. VI, *c*) and in quite a number of designs lines are found with one or both edges scolloped (Pl. III, *c*).

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X531 figures in various poses that may well have pictographic significance are
304 shown by Mrs. Handy (18, Pl. xv, *C*). 1/2

SUMMARY

X531 Marquesan designs may be grouped roughly into three classes: House post designs, which are predominantly angular geometric; bowl designs which are predominantly curvilinear; and tattoo designs.

Designs for house posts were extensively used on recent canoe models and were probably used on ancient canoes. The table of design elements (pp. 32-34) shows that bowl designs make use of the largest number of design elements and motifs. They even include most of the house post designs although in subordinate positions. The most important bowl designs not found on house posts are the hook scroll, curvilinear spirals, small tiki faces, floral designs, and representations of insects. The few angular spirals seen on house posts are not typical, but this design is important in bowl decoration. *Mata, kaake,* and pierced ovals are as characteristically bowl designs as tattoo designs. Bowl designs have been freely used in the decoration of canoe paddles, war clubs, treasure boxes, chisel handles, stilts and *pakea.*

X531 The designs of ornamental sennit lashings extensively used in the Mar-
171 quesas, Tonga, and Samoa are similar to those carved on Marquesan house posts. It seems probable that these designs were originally worked out in the sennit lashings and that in the Marquesas they were later copied in wood carving.

X531 The tiki figure has gone through an extensive process of conventionaliza-
532 tion, many stages of which are visible in the Marquesan carving. There is a gradual degeneration of design from the complete tiki figure carved in the full round, represented by the large wooden and stone idols and by a few wooden house posts, to tiki figures representing only part of the body, usually the upper half, as found on small bone ornaments. The next step is to omit the body entirely and show only the face which in turn is still further reduced, leaving out one facial feature after another until only the eyes or eyes with ears attached remain. It should not be inferred that the highly conventionalized forms are now used to the exclusion of the more complete tikis. The design is chosen to fit the object and the space to be decorated, but there are far more tiki faces than full tiki figures and more incomplete tiki faces than complete ones.

X531 The *mata* is closely related to the tiki face and may have been derived from it. *Mata* are much more in evidence on canoe models and canoe paddles than on war clubs and bowls; the opposite relation holds for tiki

1/2 [See B. Handy, this file.—Analyst]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

/51cont./

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesa OX6

the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi*). The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following ●533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu* (*puna*, coral or lime; *tohu*, to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u* (*vai*, water; *hahae*, to break; and *tupapa'u*, corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava*, or life breath of the spirit (*tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu*, was intoned (*fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane*, spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu* (*ha'ame'ie*, made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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CHANTING

533 Most of the chanting was done in groups, sometimes mixed, or sometimes entirely of one or the other sex—in other words, the native's chanting, like everything else he did, was communal. The only individual singing of which I know, aside from occasional solo parts by leaders of group singing, was the chanting of personal spells and that done by the ceremonial priest upon those occasions when he intoned the sacred chants alone. Stewart (*26*, p. 235) speaks of solos and duets in a way, however, which indicates that they were merely incidental in the choral singing.

To what extent part singing, or harmonization, as distinguished from singing in unison, was developed is uncertain. It is hoped that more information on this subject may be obtained in the future. I feel sure, however, that there was in intentional harmonization of a rudimentary type in one of the songs that was recorded. (See Chants.)

In the native system three voices are distinguished: *a'o*, deep; *vavena*, medium; and *mauna*, high. Registers between these are designated descriptively as *mauna o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice; and *mauna a'e*, very high. There were these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Every chant had its established pitch, which was determined by the mood. Thus the *pu'e*, or chant of the creation of the land, was intoned *i a'o oa*, in very deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* for the young maiden was sung in a high register. This furnishes one of many indications of artistic sensibility that are to be found in the native music.

Pitch was one of the three elements by means of which variety appropriate to the mood of the chant was attained. The other two elements were melody and rhythm. It is striking that among the songs, the melodies of which were recorded, the one that exhibits the most melodic range and expression is the *pipine*, a song tribute to a young girl, the whole spirit of which is light and graceful; while the chant which shows the most marked dynamic effect, combined with the least melodic expression—being intoned all on one note—is the *pehi*, composed and sung in honor of a young man, a song the very essence of which is its virility and directness. The creation chant already mentioned was intoned in a very deep bass entirely on two tones, but is characterized particularly by very strong, steady rhythm with sustained notes and pauses. Like all chanting and recitative, the rhythm is not fixed but accommodates itself to the words of the chant. Councilor Tilesius, who was with Krusenstern, described certain chants that he heard. Tilesius is quoted by Langsdorf (18, p. 164) as follows:

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The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

Garcia (14, pp. 64-65) testifies to the impressiveness of such chants in these words:

The most serious member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed or which he composes at the moment. It often consists in only two or three words repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or thee vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert, but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a fete of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The fact that the *pehi* was sung entirely on one note has already been mentioned. The greatest range that was found for any one song was a major fourth. The entervals of the native music cannot be recorded on the European scale, since we find not only whole and half but also a quarter and three-quarter tone intervals in some songs. The minor third seems to be a favorite interval. Characteristic of some songs is a long trailing descent of the voice at the end of the song. Further notes on the nature of melodies recorded and mode of singing will be found in the description of particular chants.[19]

The great choral chants were usually accompanied by drums, both large and small. Many were, however, sung with no drum beating. Hand clapping furnished a second element of accompaniment. Of this there were two kinds distinguished: *pu*, clapping with hollowed palms, giving a deep sound; and *papaki*, clapping with flattened palms. A sound called *poko*, more hollow and louder than that given by striking together the hollowed palms, was produced by holding the left arm crooked against the body and striking upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body with the right hand hollowed. One type of song, *komumu*, was accompanied always by the tapping of small sticks, and another (the *ru'u*) was sung sometimes to the playing of the flute. Many chants were sung with no accompaniment whatever.

[19] A translation of the text of these chants with a study of the melodies is in preparation.

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growth of the world; subsequent sections, which were appended to this, are made up of elements apposite to the matter in hand. Thus in the *pu'e* for the boy and girl from Pua Ma'u the later sections have to do with the birth of trees and other things that furnish the materials required for the practical and aesthetic use of the boy and girl. The *pu'e* from Atu Ona begins with the marriage of great root stocks (*to'o* and *aka*) at the foundation of things, later bringing in Atea and One-u'i. After this first part, relating to creation in its earlier stages, the mothers of various kinds of materials, such as wood, stone, or earth, used in house construction, are called upon to furnish their share toward the building of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea and ancestress of all men. 539

Toward the end of the Atu Ona *pu'e* various kinds of fish in the sea are mentioned as women (wives of Atea?.) As there seems no possible connection here with house building, I am inclined to think that this was a section used in connection with the fishing rites. My informant knew nothing about the significance of this part.

When used in connection with industry the *pu'e* was chanted by the ceremonial priest alone. In the family rites it appears to have been chanted by a priest or old man alone. But at the festivals it was intoned by old men (*tuhuna*) in a very deep voice, the chorus accompanying their singing with hand clapping. Four great drums (*pahu anaana*) and many small ones (*tutu*) accompanied the singers. The melody of the Atu Ona chant, which is subsequently to be published, is entirely on two notes, the interval between them being a tone and a quarter. There are changes of time in different sections, and the rhythm is irregular, accommodating itself to the words. The most marked characteristic of the melody is the way in which the last two notes ending each line are sustained. 539 533

A few excerpts from one of the *pu'e* are given below. The *pu'e na One-u'i* from Atu Ona begins in a deep bass in a very slow rhythm, accompanied by drums and hand clapping: 539

Tuia oa te to'o e
Were united long ago the root-stocks, ah!
Auea e, e to'o o te fenua
Ah, yes, they are root-stocks of the land.

So it proceeds with repetition of all but the last phrase of the first line, "root-stock (*to'o*) of the land," for which is substituted, "root (*aka*) of the land," "firmness (*mau*) of the land," "masters (*hei*) of the land," and "bond (*pona*) of the land."

The chant then proceeds with a more rapid rhythm:

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 852 [778] The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung [533] slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 539 852

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*. 539 764

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i*; the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u*; and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*). 539 765 [539]

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families 539

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539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

●533 539 There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows [516] on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

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reason: the *pu hakahou* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing. 539 576

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. 533 The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone 539 to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most 576 interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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[For information on Marquesan music and samples thereof, see category 116, pp. 5-51.]

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or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having 304x been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and 413 according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow.

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely 304x *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices [776] of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the [533 539] *opou:*

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[9] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[9] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the [533] operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the 752 patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual 778] healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view 304x
them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones [534]
(tutu) were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved
area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the
ka'ioi accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* [533]
or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript
Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was
sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's
acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done [262]
(10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must 304x
be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty- 177
five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose
designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and
upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving
practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The
practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced
as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and
Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata,
Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in
the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the
northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna*
of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing
that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now
living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed
upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in
the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the pro-
hibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in
the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs
from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern.
Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is
done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen
from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full
suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far
as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on
different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally
covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for
the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721
according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202] trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701
appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [534]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tenuvu* (*ka'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [291] [565]

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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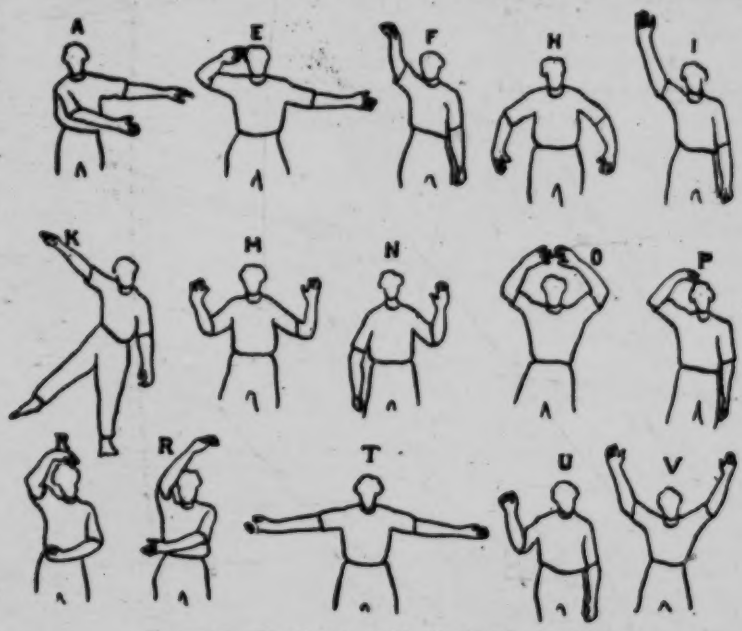

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

[534]

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Both men and women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *tokotoko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

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Very large drums (*pahu anaana, hoho te pepe*) were used on the dance area at the great festivals, being placed on the ground-level of the paved space next to a platform on which the beaters stood. It is said that the base sometimes rested on a pile of brush, which gave the great instrument a deeper sound. Smaller drums (*tutu*), beaten on the floor of the dance area, accompanied the great ones, the large ones being beaten in a slow rhythm, the small ones more rapidly. Melville describes (23, p. 198) the way in which one drummer would relieve the other without allowing the rhythm to be interrupted. The accompaniment of the drum consisted not only in the beating (*pahu patu*) of the head, but in tapping or slapping the sides (*pahu titii*) of the body. *Umi* or *pahu peiei* or *teve* (8) were drums smaller than the *tutu*, used also to accompany chants. 534

MOUTH FLUTE

The bamboo mouth flute was called *ki* on Hiva Oa and *pu hakahau* on Ua Pou. Such flutes had from three to five holes. One with five holes was obtained from Ua Pou—but it was said that no more than four holes were ever used in playing. The end of the bamboo that was inserted in the mouth was left closed by the natural joint of the stem. Just beyond this joint a sliver about an inch and a half long was cut, being left attached to the bamboo pipe at its extremity. Under this end, where the sliver was attached, a human hair was inserted so that the sliver was elevated very slightly. The lips being placed beyond this point of attachment, the sliver served as a vibrating reed producing the tone of the instrument when the breath was caused to pass it very gently. The tone of the *pu hakahau* is very soft and subdued. It was a man's instrument. Its use with the songs called *eu'u* is described in connection with these songs. (See Honorific Chants.) A mouth flute of the same type (see fig. 29, *b*), with three holes, was called *vivo* on Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) gives as other names of mouth flutes *ivitahi, i'a pianamai, i'a pi veuveu.*

NOSE FLUTE

The nose flute (*ki kohe puru, pu ihu*) was made of a larger bamboo than the mouth flute and emitted a less plaintive tone. The bamboo was closed at one end as is described above, and near this end was burned a hole. The flute being held projecting to one side, one nostril was placed over this hole while the other was closed with a finger of the hand that supported the flute at its lower end. The fingers of the other hand played on the several holes that were burned in the pipe near the farther extremity. Both men and women played on this instrument, but it was

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534 particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk 534 through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night 832

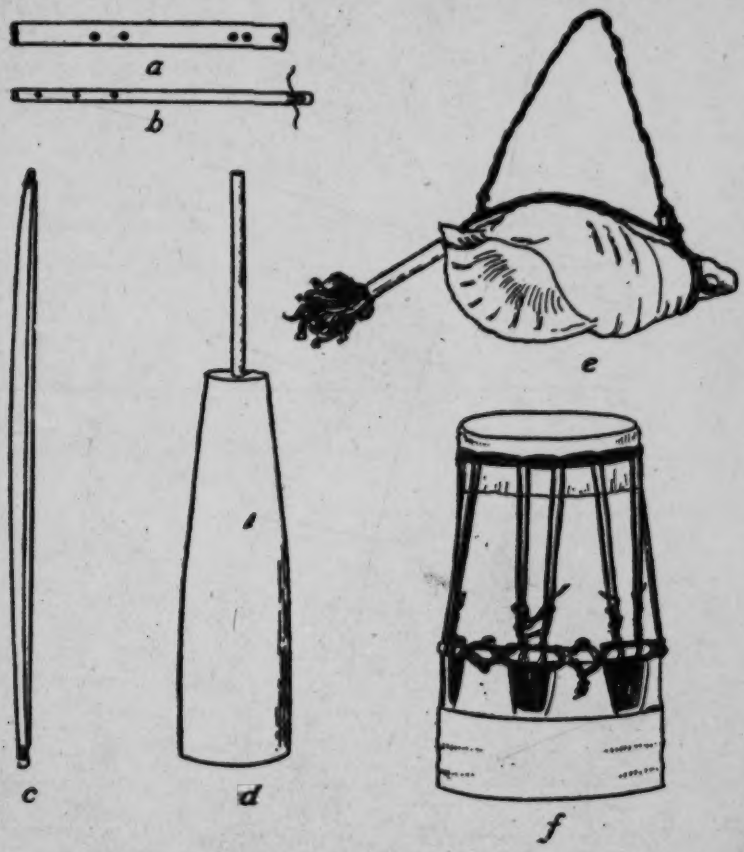

FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were "talked to" in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander's most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

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OTHER SMALL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The xylophone (*pahu kouhau*) used on Nuku Hiva consisted of two small sticks, serving as supports, to which were attached ten cross pieces of *fau* wood of different *lengths*. Two small sticks held in the hands served for tapping the cross pieces. How or when the xylophone was played was not ascertained. The ten cross pieces would indicate a range of ten notes or intervals (not necessarily whole tones, of course—four notes is the greatest range of any chant recorded. Garcia (p. 188) speaks of "a kind of harmonica . . . composed of two or three pieces of dry wood, which they place across their knees and which they strike rhythmically with a little stick." 534

A native jew's harp (*tita'a kohe*), which appears to be indigenous, was made with a flat piece of bamboo in one end of which a slit had been cut. Over this slit a sliver of bamboo was held with the fingers as the instrument was being played, held pressed against the lips with one hand while the fingers of the other strummed the sliver.

The conch shell (*putona*) served as a trumpet for the chiefs and priests. With it the chief summoned his warriors and his workers, announced his arrival in a canoe, the birth of a male heir, or the like. The priests made use of the conch at the temple in the same way. Strings of red and of white bark cloth and of sennit cord were attached to the trumpets to carry them, and human hair decorated them. The mouthpiece consisted of a candlenut through which a hole had been made, glued with breadfruit sap on the hole or on the apex of the shell; or a longer mouthpiece of bamboo was attached with sennit cords. It is said that the conch shell (Putona) was the wife of the shark (Mano). These trumpets were *tapu*. (See fig. 29, *e*.) According to Marchand (22, p. 138) nearly the same sound as that produced by the conch shell was obtained in another instrument described as a piece of bamboo to which was fastened another smaller piece of bamboo at an acute angle.

Another type of trumpet was made of a hollowed piece of wood about two feet long and eight inches in diameter narrowing to a small hole at one end, to which was attached a large bamboo a foot or more long that served as a mouth piece. This trumpet was used in canoes. (See fig. 29, *d*.)

The musical bow (*utete*) was played by women. It was made of *mi'o* wood and was from a yard to a yard and a half long. It had only one small cord of plaited sennit, which was attached to the extremities of the bow through holes—the spring of the bow held the string taut. One end of the instrument was held in the mouth, the other end, extending out to the side, being held by the left hand. The string was plucked with the right hand. (See fig. 29, *c*.)

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reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*. [534]

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*. [202]

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation. 539 [521]

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song. 539 576 [533]

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

539 576 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

539 534 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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533 or *mauna a'e*, very high, or *i a'o oa*, very low. Every form of chant had its established voice or register. Thus *pu'e* chant was intoned by the chorus of old men of the tribe in deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* was in a high register. In other words, the mood of the chant appears to have determined both the voice in which it was sung and the nature of the melody and rhythm. This furnishes one of many indications made evident by the study of the ancient culture of this people of their high artistic sensibility.

Singing was accompanied by vocal ejaculations, by clapping of several kinds, and by instruments. Many chants were, however, sung with no accompaniment. Accompaniment by vocal ejaculations is illustrated in the type of song called *tape'a* (p. 37). There were three ways of clapping the hands, each of which produced a different effect. Clapping with the palms hollowed and at right angle to each other was called *pu*. This produced a hollow sound, evidently suggestive to the native ear of the sound of the conch shell trumpet (*pu*). A lighter, flatter sound, contrasting with this, was produced by clapping the hands flattened and held parallel to each other, a mode of accompanient referred to onomatopoetically as *papaki*. A third type of hand clapping, called *pitike*, was sometimes used to mark time. This consisted in striking the palm of the left hand with the fingers of the right. Lastly there was the accompaniment called *poko*, to produce which the left arm was held crooked against the body and the hollowed palm of the right hand struck upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body. This produced a sound deeper and louder than the *pu*.

534 The instruments most commonly used for accompaniment were drums made of a hollowed cylinder of wood with shark's skin stretched across the top. Although drums were of all sizes, there seem to have been two general classes: the *pahu anaana*, which were very large, some of them as much as six feet in height; and the small drums called *tutu*. There was also a very small drum called *umi*, used to accompany singing. In accompanying some chants drums of all types were employed; the great drums following the chanting with a slow ryhthm, the small drums faster. The type of love song called *ru'u*, which is typical of the northern Marquesan Islands, was accompanied by bamboo mouth flutes (*pu hakahau*), which give a very subdued, gentle note. Another type of song, the *komumu*, was accompanied by tapping one upon the other, small resonant sticks held in either hand of each singer. I do not know whether any of the other musical instruments of the natives—the nose flute, the xylophone, musical bow, bamboo Jew's harp, and trumpets made of shell and wood—served to accompany singing.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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X533 that were tapu and those that were not. Those learning tapu songs were under numerous restrictions; they were confined to their work, and all sorts of pleasures of common everyday life were denied them; and these prohibitions had to be strictly regarded, for delinquency on the part of a single member of the chorus was capable of destroying the efficacy of the whole work. In addition to the actual deprivations, there must have been at such times a sense of "living under a cloud"; being tapu must have carried with it for the members of the chorus, especially if they were in their youthful and ardent years, a strong feeling of what may be characterized as emotional and mental burden, a sense of oppression. But we may imagine a very different atmosphere when a chorus of youths and maids, unburdened by restrictions, gathered to learn or to sing a recreational song; when the mood of the singers was that of the "lover and his lass" for whom "life was but a flower," and the song must have gone, as in old England, "With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino."

The recreational chants, specimens of which are presented in this paper, are the *ru'u, nani,* and *tape'a.* In addition to these there are several other types that were much used in the old days. No informant was found who could or would sing any except those here presented, but examples of the verse of the *uta* song will be published in a collection of Marquesan lore.[7] There were *uta tapu,* and common *uta.* The *uta tapu* [764] were distinctly religious chants with erotic words, which, handed down as family heirlooms, were sung at funeral feasts as tokens of affection for, to give pleasure to, and doubtless also to stimulate, the spirits of the departed. But common *uta* were mere love songs in which any boy or girl, or for that matter, any older man or woman, might express passion for one of the opposite sex. Words of such songs are very easily obtained; and it is beyond question that there is many a native who could sing them if caught in the right mood. Natural shyness and constraint would make it difficult for a native to sing one of these before any foreigner; and anyone who at all understands the Polynesian nature, or for that matter youthful and temperatmental human nature anywhere else in the world, must realize that it would hardly be possible for a Marquesan to sit down with a prodding ethnologist and in cold blood produce a sample of the type of song that is but the spontaneous expression in music and poetry of an impassioned soul.

X533 534 Another type of recreational song that was very popular in the old days was the *komumu,* or *mumu.* The peculiar feature of this chant was its accompaniment. Each singer in the body of men and women who performed the *komumu* held in the left hand a stick of soft, resonant wood.

[7] Handy, E. S. Craighill, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since.

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son.

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 257, New York, 1876.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a

1804. May. disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 342
sembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352]
swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353]
several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the en- [343]
trance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648
with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

283 The cords of the large fish net (upena) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ka'oea* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

[824] Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber. This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the [227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as [534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]: 534 [192]

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temann, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio;* and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used. [322] [324]

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few [531] drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated [531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums [531] seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin, 264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at regular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, [231] threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, 534 and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D.*) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B.*) [825]

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued. [825]

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *aua* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C.*) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum. [284]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 Triton trumpets were highly prized and were used in war and in religious ceremonies. Old specimens are still quite commonly to be found in *me'ae*. According to Handy the Triton trumpet was called *putona*, and the shell itself *tehine na te mano*, "wife of the shark." The maternal uncle of the first child born in a chiefly family announced the event by a blast on a trumpet of this kind.

FLUTES

The Marquesans used both mouth flutes and nose flutes.

The nose flute, called by the natives of Hiva Oa *pukohoheu*, is made from a single joint of bamboo ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter and 15 to 20 inches long. The upper end of the flute is closed by the septum of the joint, while the lower end is open. The blow hole is in the side of the instrument, immediately below the septum, and the stops in most flutes are placed in the lower half of the tube, in line with the blow hole. (See Pl. LXXIII, *G*.) In historic times the holes appear to have been made by burning with a hot iron. The usual number of stops is two, but some instruments have three and a flute found by Handy in Ua Pou (Pl. LXXIII, *F*) has four stops, two of which are placed a short distance below the blow hole; the other two in the usual position. The lower end of this flute is roughly cut, suggesting that it was originally longer.

[531] In ancient times nose flutes were sometimes decorated with burned designs made with a stone or bone point heated in the fire.

A peculiar nose flute in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXXIII, *E*) attributed to the Marquesas, is made from a joint of bamboo 22⅜ inches long and 1⅝ inches in diameter and is closed at both ends.

Along one side of the flute are five holes, each about ¼ of an inch in diameter. The top hole is close to the septa of the joint while the others are placed at equal intervals. In line with the central hole two others are pierced at equal intervals in the circumference of the tube. The flute is decorated with burned designs of decidedly non-Marquesan character so that its Marquesan origin seems doubtful. It is probably Tongan.

Nose flutes are now obsolete in the Marquesas, and very few persons can play them properly.

In playing, the instrument is held with the edge of the closed end resting against the septum of the nose and the blow hole below and a little distance away from the right nostril. The body of the flute inclines downward and to the right and most of the knack in playing the instrument lies in holding it at the correct angle. The upper end is supported in the left hand, the left nostril being closed by the thumb. The stops are manipulated with the fingers of the right hand. In the Ua Pou specimen the two upper stops must have been played with the left hand. Several of the flutes seen had one of the stops plugged with a wad of coconut fiber, and it is said that a beginner would learn to play well upon one stop before attempting to use more.

The ordinary mouth flute (*puakahau*) (Pl. LXXIII, *D*) is still used throughout the Marquesas. One informant believed that it was not an aboriginal instrument, but if foreign it must have been introduced at an early date.

The mouth flute is made from a long joint of bamboo, rarely over three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The upper end is closed by the septum of the joint. The sound is produced

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

534 [192]

Puihu. Nose flute. (D.)
Puetua. Nose flute. (D.)
Ivi tahi. Flute. (D.)
Ia pianami, ia pieeuveu. Flute. (D.)
Ki hohe puru. Nose flute. (H.)
Ki. Flute. (H.)
Vivo (Nuku Hiva dialect). Flute with three holes.

JEW'S HARPS

Bamboo's Jew's harps are still used in the Marquesas by boys and young men.

The main part of the harp consists of a strip of bamboo six to eight inches long and about one inch wide. It is split from a large joint, so that it is only slightly curved. A deep narrow notch is cut in the center of one end of this strip; a thin flat strip of bamboo, slightly wider than the notch, serves as a vibrator. This vibrator is not attached to the wider strip, but is laid on its concave surface, covering the notch and protruding two or three inches beyond the end of the wider strip. The instrument is held in the left hand, with the convex side of the wide strip against the mouth. The player blows through the notch, meanwhile striking the projecting end of the narrow strip rapidly with the right hand. Jew's harps seem to have been used only as toys.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The only aboriginal stringed instrument now used in the Marquesas is the musical bow called *utete*. (See Pl. LXXII, *E*). At the present time it is practically obsolete. It was seen only once in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The body of the modern bow is made of fau wood, and is flat on the outer, and convex on the inner surface. An average specimen is three feet six inches long, with a central width of one inch, tapering to ¾ of an inch at the ends. The string is usually made of slender iron wire, but a very thin cord, twisted from the fibers of the leaf sheath of the coconut palm, is still occasionally used. One end of the cord is twisted around the bow, while its opposite end, which is knotted, is caught in a narrow slot in the wood. To increase the tension, small stones or little pieces of wood, like bridges, are placed under one or both ends of the string. In playing the instrument one end is held in the teeth while the body of the bow projects almost horizontally to the left. The bow is supported by the left hand and the string tapped rapidly with a slender baton made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet. Handy was informed that the bow was made of *uio* and that the string was plucked with the fingers of the right hand.

The musical bow was primarily a woman's toy, but is played by persons of both sexes at the present time. The note is quite faint, being almost inaudible twenty feet away, but being held in the teeth, sounds quite loud to the player.

Dordillon defines the word *kikoua* as a "kind of shell lyre" and *e pukaua kikoua* as a "lyre." This would seem to indicate the former existence in the Marquesas of stringed instruments other than the musical bow, but no examples of these have survived, and no information in regard to them was obtained.

STICKS FOR BEATING TIME

At dances the men sometimes beat time with two short sticks. One of the sticks is held in the palm of the left hand and tapped with the other, held in the right hand.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

XYLOPHONE

According to Handy, the natives of Nuku Hiva used an instrument called *paku kou hau* which consisted of ten flat pieces of hau wood resting upon two slender transverse sticks. It was beaten with two sticks held in the hands. This instrument was evidently a primitive xylophone and, if aboriginal, is of considerable interest. 534

COMPARISON

Two quite distinct types of large drum were used in Polynesia. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, the Society and Cook islands, the drums were tubular, with a skin head, and stood on end; most of them were provided with a pierced base cut in one piece with the body. They were beaten with the hand. In Samoa and Tonga, on the other hand, the large drums were canoe shaped, closed at the ends, but with a long opening on one side. They were laid on the side, and were beaten with short clubs. In New Zealand, where one might expect to find the tubular, skin headed drum, the drum was of western Polynesian type. The great wooden gongs of New Zealand appear to have no Polynesian parallel The large tubular drum is unknown in Melanesia, although the principle of this drum is used in small hand instruments. The long slotted drum on the other hand is almost universal. It seems possible, therefore, that the use of the long slotted drum in Samoa and Tonga is due to Fijian influence. 534 171

Wooden trumpets appear to have been used in only two Polynesian localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand. The instruments from these regions have little more than the principle in common, however, the Maori examples being much more elaborate. The wooden trumpet does not seem to have been used in Micronesia, and its Melanesian occurrence is limited to a single locality; the interior of northern New Guinea on the Sepik River.

Shell trumpets were used everywhere in Polynesia. In Hawaii the trumpet was made from a species of Cassis, in the Marquesas of both the Cassis and Triton, and in the Society Islands and New Zealand from the Triton. A separate mouth piece was used in the Marquesas, the Society Islands and New Zealand. In Melanesia trumpets made from the Triton shell are almost universal, and a species of Cassis is used in a few localities, but separate mouth pieces appear to be unknown.

The nose flute appears to have been used everywhere in Polynesia except Samoa. Mouth flutes, on the other hand, are found everywhere except in Hawaii, although Krämer believes their presence in Samoa to be due to Fijian or Tongan influence. Cook noted a tunable nose flute in the Society Islands. In Melanesia the nose flute is found in Fiji and in one or two other localities, but

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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it is not common. Mouth flutes are rare in Melanesia, but a type with two holes was used in New Caledonia.

Whistles were used in the Marquesas and in New Zealand. They do not seem to have been used elsewhere in Polynesia.

A Jew's harp practically identical with that found in the Marquesas was used in Hawaii, while a crude form of this instrument also is found in New Zealand. It does not seem to have been used in Western Polynesia. In Melanesia the Jew's harp is important only in the Solomon Islands, but the instrument used there differs so radically from the Marquesan, both in form and method of playing, that relationship seems improbable.

The occurrence of the musical bow in Polynesia seems to have been limited to the Marquesas and Hawaii. The Hawaiian instrument, *ukeke* (Emerson, 72, p. 147), had three strings, and it is possible that the Marquesan "lyres" bore some relation to it. In Melanesia a single stringed musical bow, which was tapped with a stick as in the Marquesas, was used in New Caledonia. A two-stringed bow, quite different in principle from the Hawaiian *ukeke*, was used in the Solomon Islands.

A joint of bamboo slotted along one side, laid on the ground and beaten with two sticks, was used as a musical instrument in Tonga, the Cook Islands and the Society Islands, but was not used in Hawaii or the Marquesas and is naturally lacking in New Zealand. In Melanesia it seems to have been limited to the south coast of New Guinea.

The use of a series of joints of bamboo which were held vertically and beaten upon the ground seems to have been limited, in Polynesia, to Samoa and Tonga. A curious drum made from several joints of bamboo lashed together, the heads covered with matting, seems to have been limited to Samoa. In Polynesia pan pipes of bamboo were limited to Tonga.

Although the distinction between the marginal and western divisions of Polynesian culture is less clearly marked by musical instruments than by houses or stone artifacts, it is possible to distinguish a few features. The large cylindrical drum with a skin head is an element of the eastern or marginal culture; the slotted drum is distinctively western. The reversal of this rule in New Zealand does not seem enough to invalidate the general conclusion. The Jew's harp also appears to be an element of the marginal culture. The wooden trumpet and whistle are limited to New Zealand and the Marquesas. In view of the absence of the nose flute in Samoa it seems possible that this also was originally a feature of the marginal culture and that its presence in Tonga is due to the strong Fijian influence. The slotted bamboo, on the other hand, and the series of joints of bamboo thumped on the ground, appear to be features of the western culture.

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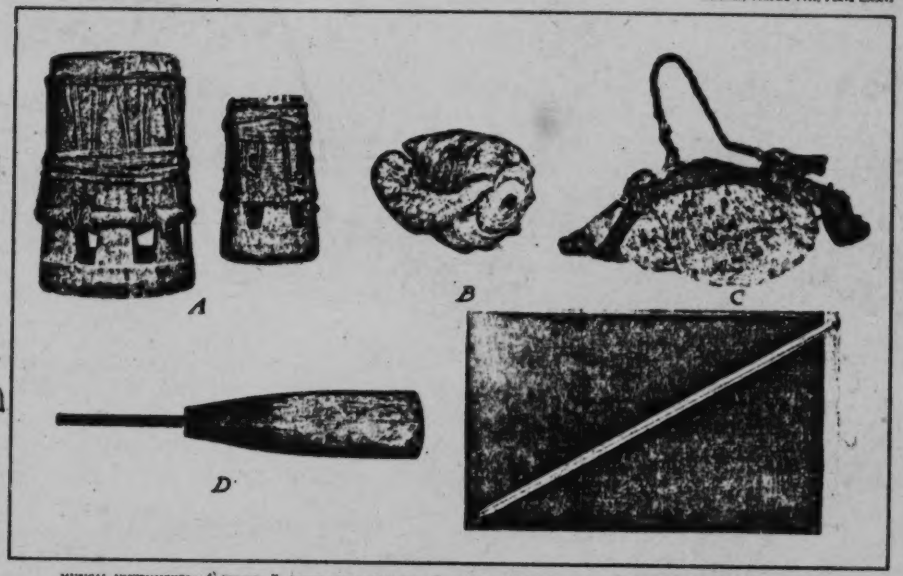
Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shaped, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tonable	Important, no tonable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Present
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slotted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, DRUMS; *B*, CASSIS SHELL TRUMPET; *C*, CONCH SHELL TRUMPET; *D*, WOODEN TRUMPET; *E*, MUSICAL BOW.

[end plate 33]

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Yi Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 Oxb Marquesas Oxb

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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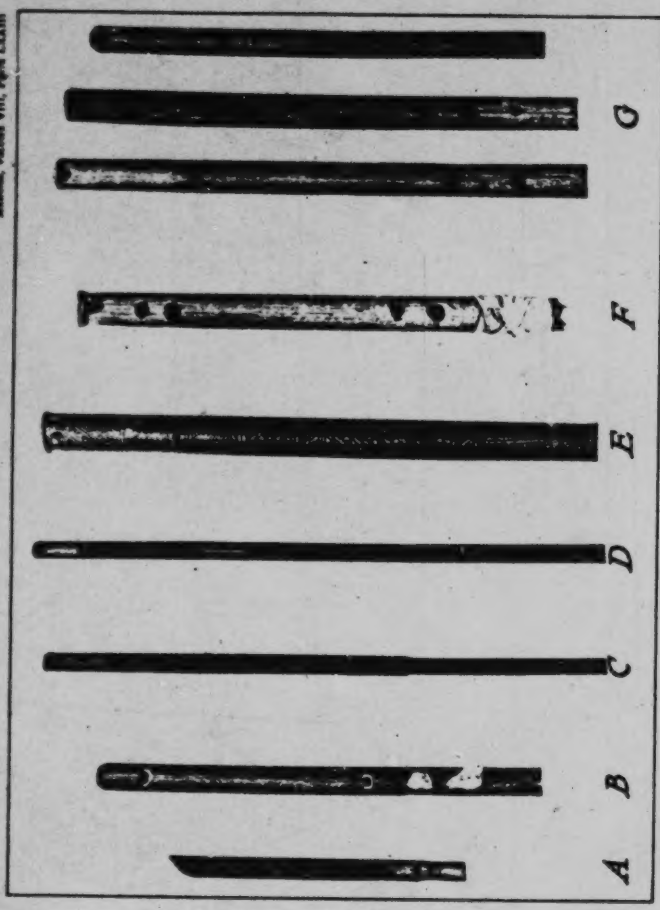

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, WHISTLE; *B*, WHISTLE FLUTE; *C*, TUNABLE MOUTH FLUTE; *D*, MOUTH FLUTE (PUAKAHAU) ORDINARY FORM; *E*, DECORATED NOSE FLUTE; *F*, NOSE FLUTE, UNUSUAL FORM (LOCATION DOUBTFUL); *G*, NOSE FLUTES, ORDINARY FORM.

[end plate 34]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

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After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

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> . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka.* (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

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The performers in the part we witnessed, were a young chief eighteen or twenty years old at one end of the arena, and two boys of eight or ten at the corners of the other. The music, if such it can be called, was that of four drums on each side of the inner pavement, and the voices and loud clapping of hands of about one hundred and fifty singers, seated on the upper platform with the chiefs and warriors. . . . .

The drums stand upright on the ground before the performer, and are beaten with the hand only, in rapid strokes of the fingers joined together, while the ball rests on the edge. . . . .

The dance commenced by a slow beating on the drums, following by graceful movements of the hands, arms, and feet of the dancers in a similar time, but increasing quickly with the rapidity of the beat, to a display of great activity. The singers joined in upon the first motions of the dancers, these last also taking a part, sometimes in solos, and sometimes in duet, followed by responses from the orchestra or grand choruses by the whole. . . . .

The dance ceased at the end of twenty or thirty minutes, and a company of young females, forty or fifty in number, seated on an adjoining and elevated platform, began singing, in the dull and monotonous repetitions of the same intonations of voice characterizing all their songs, accompanied by a loud and simultaneous clapping of the hands, brought together in a manner to produce a very peculiar sound. An inquiry into the meaning of this, made us acquainted with the occasion of the present celebration.

The learning of a new set of songs had been enjoined some months previous on these girls, and they were placed under certain restrictions of the tabu till it should be accomplished. This had now been done, and the dance was held in commemoration of it. It was only of a common kind, and not of sufficient interest to attract the great multitude that often assemble, as we are told, at some of the more distinguished.

The most common and most popular dance appears to have been that which was called *haka pahaka*. According to Dordillon (8) this was done by men only, and this statement is confirmed by modern informants. The characteristic feature of this dance was that it was performed by the dancer on one foot, the other foot and both arms being extended. One informant describes seeing a performance of the *haka pahaka*, which was danced by four men and two women. The women were inside a circle formed by the men. This description would suggest that the raised and extended foot rested on the leg of the man next, as in some of the dances of Micronesia, but whether this was done in the Marquesas or not I did not ascertain. All other informants have led me to believe that individuals danced alone on one foot in the way described—in other words that it was always a solo dance.

At Pua Ma'u the natives said that in this dance one man would challenge another, each trying to catch his opponent by the head as he danced about on one leg. The favorite shift was that of dodging under the arm of one's opponent. If a dancer could catch the head of his opponent and upset him the other man was defeated. The inhabitants of Pua Ma'u say that this dance was brought to this bay from the island

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535 of Ua Pou. The people of Ua Pou speak of it as a dance in which the chief particularly showed off his splendor at festivals. On the feast place of Hakahau is a large column of basalt, about five feet high and square on top, upon which the chief used to mount to perform the *haka pahaka*, with arms extended and one leg raised sideways while all his people admired him.

The *haka pahaka* accompanied various songs, having no particular musical accompaniment of its own. One informant stated that it was danced with the long feather ornaments called *kihi* (see Personal Adornment) on the fingers, but other information makes me think he was in error. A Nuku Hiva man described the *pahaka* as being performed by a group of men dancing on one foot around a number of women who stood inside, while drums, hand-clapping (*papaki*), clapping the hand against the cavity formed by holding the elbow against the side of the body (*hako*), and the singing of the chant called *uta*, furnished the accompaniment. The women in the middle are said to have danced with their arms raised in the air and with hands quivering. Different groups of accompanists beat the drums, clapped, made the *hoko*, and sang. The informant who gave the account said that this dance was also called specifically the *hu'a*.

On Ua Pou the *hu'a* was described by an old woman who had seen the dance in her youth. It was done by two men, each of whom wore feather or beard ornaments (*kihi*) on all four fingers of each hand. One man was seated, while the other stood with arms extended, one foot resting on the other's knee.

The *haka koke*, or *hakakokekoke*, was a very active dance done by both men and women, the main feature of which seems to have been the crossing of the feet in the dance (*koke* means to cross the feet). One motion of the dance was described to me as consisting in standing on one foot with arms extended and leaning over half sideways and half backwards until the long feathers of the headdress of the dancer touched the ground. This was the test of an accomplished dancer.

The dance described by Marchand (22, p. 137) in which men carried on an accompaniment by clapping one hand on the opposite crooked elbow (*hoko*), and clapping the hands one against the other while "a single dancer executes some movement with the legs, crossing one over the other without changing his place" was apparently the *haka kokekoke*.

The *haka manumanu* (*manu*, bird) was performed by young girls at the *ko'ina tuhi ue* (see Festivals: Tattooing). The girls are described as standing stationary and making motions with the arms and hands imitative of birds flying. For this dance the feather ornaments called

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kihi were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.) 535

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu, tutaehaveneu,* [192] dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites.

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called "*Ka'oha nui*," which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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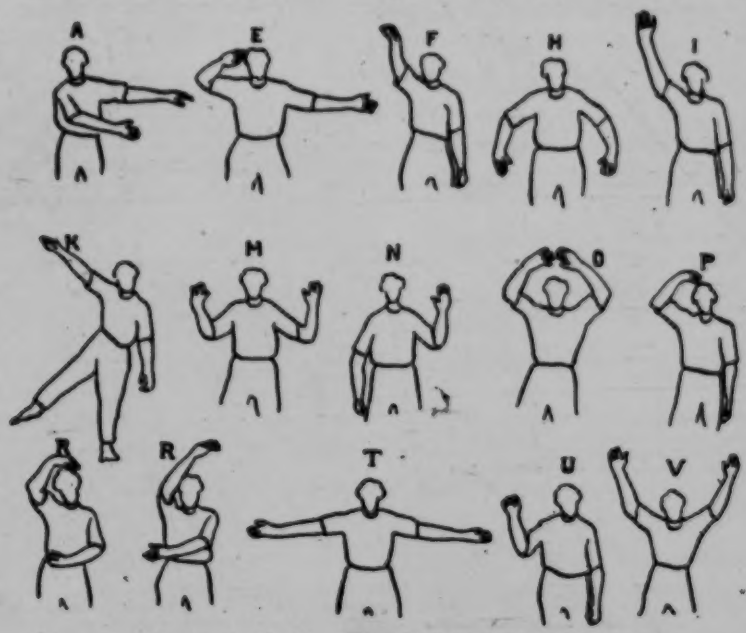

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

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introductory drumming one man among the dancers cries out in a high rapid monotone the announcement of the dance. With the last word of this announcement the dancers begin. In some *tapriata*, there is a repetition of this cry at different points through the dance. Caillot (3, pls. XLVII, XLIX, L, LI, LII) gives pictures of *tapriata* in the Marquesas.

HOKI TROUPES

Hoki were visiting parties of singers and dancers who went from valley to valley and sometimes from island to island, giving their performances, and seeking gifts in return. According to native informants both on Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, this custom, strongly suggesting the *arioi* of Tahiti, was not ancient but grew up in both sections of the group after French occupation. It seems that the custom could not have been introduced from Tahiti, for all activities of the *arioi* on that island ceased years before French occupation in the Marquesas. A *hoki* party in the Marquesas would be made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, or young people, but included also married people. I am by no means convinced, however, that the *hoki* was not a revival of an ancient custom of this kind, coming as the result of the cessation of native warfare after the French control had established itself, and of the consequent safety of such parties in going from valley to valley. The description of *hoki* troupes in the legends of Ono and Tupa, both certainly ancient, is very strong evidence that the institution was an ancient one in the Marquesas. In times which preceded the protohistoric period, during which wars of revenge were running riot throughout the islands, it is probable that the people of the group or sections of the group were more unified, and that traveling dancing troupes resembling the *arioi* of Tahiti would have been able to go about in safety.

Hoki was actually the name of the type of song that was composed and sung by these troupes and is said to be the ancient term for *rari*. (See Chants.) On Hiva Oa it is said that the *hoki* originated as a means of supporting parties visiting in a valley at the time of a festival. There seems to have been no particular season or time when these troupes went about. The people who constituted the party were called *po'i hoki*—any group of men and women, numbering usually about forty, could organize themselves into a *hoki*. A song (*hoki*) was composed for them. The song was laudatory and was arranged so that the names of different persons could be inserted in it when it was sung in their honor. Some *hoki* were made up solely of names arranged and sung rhythmically. When the *hoki* troupe had composed, practiced, and learned their song they would start off for another island or another valley. Both men and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o,* see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki,* according to this informant, was the custom called *moko,* which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko,* and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva.* For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f.*) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with love-making and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but
• [535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere-
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, [114]
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [757]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of ● 537 fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

538 In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. II, *F*), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna,* still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama,* came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna,* Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana.* It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana.* (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

538 796 Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e,* were known as *ko'ina vavana, ko'ina pu'e.* For the rite two special houses

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were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

536 869

When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e, tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e, faia'u* or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

346 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called
●538 *ahu* (pile or mound).
869
823 The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

346 The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with
538 which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been
869 made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuma*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ho'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. 831 The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This
is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him.[1] The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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854 753 [262] For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. [755] If a child became ill and the parents thought the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves [824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. [539] The stories collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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THE CREATION CHANTS

The Pu'e

539 The chants will be discussed in the order in which they were recited in the rites described above. The most important were the *pu'e* and the *vavana*. Every tribe had its own rendition of these sacred chants. First in the rites in which both were chanted came the *pu'e no One u'i*. *Pu'e* means to grow, *one*, means sand, *u'i* signifies dark color. *One* has many other epithets besides *u'i*, as *One-tapu* (sacred *One*), *One-toto*, (blood-red *One*). According to my informants in Pua Ma'u the teaching of this was restricted to boys. One part of it—the first section—however, is labeled specifically, "for a girl," and other parts are marked, "for boy and girl." It recounted the impregnation of One-u'i (said by my informants to mean red-earth or dark-sand) by Atea, the subsequent growth of ancient lands, and the growth of trees. In the second section, recited for a boy only, Atea is urged to impregnate One-u'i and thereby to cause the birth of a number of kinds of trees the wood of which was associated with masculine activities—for example, casuarina, *temanu*, and the sacred banyan, the first being used for weapons, the second for war and fishing canoes, and the bark of the last named for the sacred loin cloth of the male first-born. The third section of the *pu'e no One-u'i* was recited for a girl child. In it Atea is called upon to impregnate One-u'i to bring about the birth of certain kinds of growing things used for beautifying women—the pandanus, seeds of which were used for necklaces, the *tia'e* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*), and various other mountain bushes and plants. After this the names of the mothers of various other kinds of trees are mentioned. (Compare with this the genealogy of trees, under Genealogy.)

Another and longer *pu'e no One-u'i* was secured from an Atu Ona informant, Ha-apuane (Pl. II, *A*), who had learned it from his wife's uncle, a *tuhuna o'ono*. The conceptions upon which this chant is based are just the same as those of the Pua Ma'u chant, but the form and content is quite different. This chant was for the consecration of a new house, rather than for a boy or girl. The comparison of the two makes it evident that the first section of these chants represents a constant element that was recited for all occasions, while the latter part was varied according to the purpose of the recitation.

Pu'e were recited for many purposes other than the consecration of a child—for example, in connection with adoption, the building and consecration of new houses or canoes, fishing expeditions, and such like. The first section, which was constant, recounts the basic stages of the

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growth of the world; subsequent sections, which were appended to this, are made up of elements apposite to the matter in hand. Thus in the *pu'e* for the boy and girl from Pua Ma'u the later sections have to do with the birth of trees and other things that furnish the materials required for the practical and aesthetic use of the boy and girl. The *pu'e* from Atu Ona begins with the marriage of great root stocks (*to'o* and *aka*) at the foundation of things, later bringing in Atea and One-u'i. After this first part, relating to creation in its earlier stages, the mothers of various kinds of materials, such as wood, stone, or earth, used in house construction, are called upon to furnish their share toward the building of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea and ancestress of all men. 539

Toward the end of the Atu Ona *pu'e* various kinds of fish in the sea are mentioned as women (wives of Atea?.) As there seems no possible connection here with house building, I am inclined to think that this was a section used in connection with the fishing rites. My informant knew nothing about the significance of this part.

When used in connection with industry the *pu'e* was chanted by the ceremonial priest alone. In the family rites it appears to have been chanted by a priest or old man alone. But at the festivals it was intoned by old men (*tuhuna*) in a very deep voice, the chorus accompanying their singing with hand clapping. Four great drums (*pahu anaana*) and many small ones (*tutu*) accompanied the singers. The melody of the Atu Ona chant, which is subsequently to be published, is entirely on two notes, the interval between them being a tone and a quarter. There are changes of time in different sections, and the rhythm is irregular, accommodating itself to the words. The most marked characteristic of the melody is the way in which the last two notes ending each line are sustained. 539 533

A few excerpts from one of the *pu'e* are given below. The *pu'e na One-u'i* from Atu Ona begins in a deep bass in a very slow rhythm, accompanied by drums and hand clapping: 539

Tuia -oa te to'o e
Were united long ago the root-stocks, ah!
Auea e, e to'o o te fenua
Ah, yes, they are root-stocks of the land.

So it proceeds with repetition of all but the last phrase of the first line, "root-stock (*to'o*) of the land," for which is substituted, "root (*aka*) of the land," "firmness (*mau*) of the land," "masters (*hei*) of the land," and "bond (*pona*) of the land."

The chant then proceeds with a more rapid rhythm:

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Tuia te fatu nananana
United (mated) the attachments, quickly—quickly!

Tumu o te fenua
Source of the land.

O te ui Atea
Is the question [of] Atea [Atea asks],

"One-ui, e!
One-ui (Dark-Sand), oh!

Pehea te to'o o te fenua?"
How the root-stocks (slow growth) of the land?

Peau One-ui,
Says One-ui,

"Ena e i a'o
There — down below

Fenua me ahi take
Country with fire bottom

Aina mea o nuku
Land thing is very deep

Fenua me neke iho, e
Country with out-growing-this way, ah!

Aina me neke ae"
Land with spreading-that way.

(Translation)

United were the attachments
In the earth's foundation.
Atea asks,
"O One-ui (Dark-sand, or Red-soil),
After what manner was the growth of the root-stocks
of the land?"
One-ui replies,
"There is down below,
A region with a firey bottom
A land very deep down,
A country spreading this way and that."

Afterwards follow many verses made up of references to growth of the land repeated with many meaningless rhythmical phrases, such as:

He to'o, he to'o, hakahauhau
The growing, the growing, (to cause to rise)

E to'o ti One-ui, hakahauhau
It is the growing of One-ui. . . . . .

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. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Hakahauhau, ino[20] te to'o a One-ui, hakahauhau
. . . . . (?) the growing of One-ui, ...

After almost interminable repetition on this theme comes the account of the sending of messengers to the personification of materials to be used in a new house:

Keee tahito Tapana nei, e ui
Came as a messenger in ancient times Tapana this way, is question

Ui e'a oa, ui e'a poto
Question there long, question there short

"I tikina mai au ia oe,
Have come up here I to you,

Te tama o Hopu,
The child of (mother of soil)

Ehee taua i tai
To go we two towards the sea

Moia oe mea hoahoa fa'e o Atanua"
In order that you thing earth leveling the platform house of Atanua.

(Translation)

Anciently Tapana came this way as a messenger,
Questoned long and questioned short,
"I have come up hither to you,
The child of Hopu, Mother-of-soil,
Let us go down shoreward together,
So that you may fill and level the platform of Atanua's house."

Then recur the repeated rhythmical phrases, combined with references to the growth (*to'o*), before the next material is summoned in another verse. (See Housebuilding.)

On Ua Pou the *pu'e* was called *koua'ehi*. The *tuhuna* who chanted it held a flower or branch of the coconut tree (*koua'ehi*) in his hand as he chanted (*tapatapa*). The chant was used for the same purposes as in Hiva Oa—namely, for consecrating children, new houses, canoes, and so on.

Next after the chanting of the *pu'e* for the boy at Pua Ma'u, followed several other sacred chants which had to do with the erection

[20] *Ino* is probably *i uno e*, on top of.

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539 of the boy's sacred staging, the making of his adz and of the canoe that was to be made with adz.

The Tona-Pou Chant

The first of these chants was called simply *tona pou*, which when translated seems to mean simply "his post." This chant was for the sacred house elevated on a staging (*fata'a, tona pou*) for the boy. The object of the chant is evidently to free the structure from evil influences and to bring the good influences potent to aid in the rite. What connection the chant may have with the post outside the house, on which the spirits of ancient priests came to rest, is not apparent. I infer that the *fata'a* consecrated at this rite was that which would in future serve the boy as his *tapu* eating house and store house. (See The Family.)

The chant following this was called *tona pou no Pohu*. In the first part of it the forehead, eyes, mouth, and other features of the youth are mentioned—with what significance I was unable to ascertain. The rest of the chant has to do with house furnishings and the altar with its decoration. A short chant called *oho-au no ihi* follows, recounting the catching of certain fish, doubtless those used in connection with the rite.

539 396 Lastly comes a longer and most interesting chant, called *oho-au no Motuaiki* (work-house of Motuhaiki). Motuhaiki was an ancient master canoe builder. The first part of this chant describes the making of the rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun when he desired to have more time to finish his work. Then Motuhaiki and Hope'outo'i, another canoe maker and patron of carpentry, are referred to in connection with the making of the new adz for the boy, the piece of stone from which the adz was made being a chip off the block (*fatu*) described above, which is also mentioned. The chant describes the stages of making the adz head and lashing it to its handle. Then it proceeds to the successive stages of the manufacture of the canoe and its parts. This section of the chant was undoubtedly that which followed the recitation of the *pu'e* when that chant was used in connection with canoe making.

539 After this part, which has reference to canoe making, there follow others having to do with the making of a loin cloth, robe, headdress, and necklace for the boy (evidently those worn ceremonially in connection with the rite); then a section descriptive of the building of a temporary shelter (*oho-au*) for the boy to sleep in, the erection of fau poles (*koufau*) as a sign of the *tapu;* the erection of a shrine; and lastly, the preparation of food, the eating of which completed the boy's rite.

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The Vavana Chant

These sacred chants were intoned by the men in the boy's sacred house in the afternoon. In the night after a feast the men went into the *fa'e papa* and continued with the women, chanting the *vavana*. The *vavana* was intoned in a slow rhythm accompanied by clapping of the hands. The words recapitulate the conception, birth, growth, and so on of the child, linking these with the mythical birth of the gods from the level above (*papa una*) and the level below (*papa a'o*). (See Genealogy.) In subsequent sections the chants refers to the making of ornaments, weapons,, and utensils for the child, to his canoe, to his sacred house, and to various practices such as bathing, making cloth, etc., connected with it, and so on, connecting all with mythological references to gods and ancient lands. In parts various gods are summoned to assist in the rite. The chant is very long, containing more then ten thousand words. There is much repetition of phrases—some of them meaningless, somewhat like refrains, as described in the *pu'e*. Throughout there is a mingling of narrative referring to incidents connected with the child, mythological references, and these meaningless phrases. A few excerpts from the Pua Ma'u *vavana* follow.

The *vavana* begins:

E hau e, i e'a e; e take to papa una,
(Meaningless) is bottom of level above

E hau e, i e'a e; e tohu'i to papa a'o.
(Meaningless) is overturning of level below.

(Translation)

Above is the bottom of the level above;
Below, the turning movement of the level below.

The next verse continues:

U to'o a, u tuia
Are held —, are mated

U vavana mai to u take
Are held fast to this time of me depths
in memory

U pipi'i, u momoa
Are approaching, are sleeping together,

They take hold, are mated
Conception firm-held in my depths
They approach, they sleep together.

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539 And so on, mentioning the stages of impregnation, conception, gestation, labor, delivery, and so on, of the female and child.

The reference to the level above and the level below is repeated. Then:

E take fanau tama, e
Oh basic depths bearing child, ah!

O Atea mai, to u tama
Is Atea come, of me child,

O Tane mai, he teina
Is Tane come, the younger brother,

Is Tonofiti, o Moepo
Is Tonofiti, is Moepo.

(Translation)

O child-bearing depths!
Atea comes—my child,
Tane, the younger, comes forth
And Tonofiti, Moepo, etc.

And so on, with the names of the other "original gods" who emerged from between the level above and the level below.

In the Lawson manuscript is a very free translation of a *vavana* chant. This, so far as detail goes, is patently untrustworthy, but it is evident that it is an actual translation of a genuine *vavana* from another valley on Hiva Oa. It is of interest because it shows that this *vavana* was composed on the same general plan as was that discussed above. Lawson's translation is just close enough to the literal to prove that the content of the chant was practical the same.

What is called *Te Vanana na Tana-oa*, which Fornander published in his Polynesian Race (II, vol. I, pp. 214, ff.), I feel to be certainly a fictitious fabrication of a European mind. I suppose it to have come to Fornander from Lawson, who, it appears, must have known (through correspondence, no doubt) of Fornander's ideas regarding the Hawaiian Kanaloa as a "fallen angel." This so-called *vanana* is built around the idea of Atea as a "God of Light" and Tanaoa as a "Prince of Darkness" who was cast out. The chant is as follows:

Born is his (Atea's) first son, his princely son.
O the great prince, oh, the sacred superior,
O the princely son, first born of divine power!

O the son, equal with the father and with Ono ("Spirit")
Joined are they three in the same power,
The Father, Ono, and the Son.

These English lines are a literal translation of the Marquesan lines which accompany them. It is obvious to one acquainted with the idiom

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vavana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way. 539

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-au no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation. 539 789

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference. 539 852

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 852

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*. 539 764

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i*; the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u*; and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*). 539 765 [539]

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families 539

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537 from generation to generation, the names being changed to apply upon different occasions. They were chanted at the time of the death of a relative and at the memorial festivals. Immediately after a death, when relatives were coming to the house to pay their respects, each would chant his *uta*. These sacred *uta* were sung by choruses at the memorial festivals, the singers being seated and accompanying their chanting with hand clapping, but with no body motion. It was very unfortunate that I was unable to find anyone who knew the melody of an *uta*, although texts of this type of song were more easily obtained than any other. Great festivals spoken of as *uta nui* were apparently the same as the memorial feasts. At such feasts the *uta* were accompanied by three small drums (*umi or putu*), three great drums (*pahu me'ae*), and three *pahu pepe'e* (?).

537 556 The composition and singing of the simpler laudatory *uta* was described as follows by an informant at Atu Ona. *Uta* and *rari* were prepared and sung together on these occasions. According to this informant the *uta* was in honor of old people and the *rari* in honor of young girls. When it had been decided to have a combined *ko'ina rari* and *ko'ina uta*, the maternal uncles of the girl for whom the *rari* was to be composed sought out youths and had them to build a house (*oho-au*) in which the song would be rehearsed. This house was made near the dwelling of the girl and was a small shed open in front. The youths who collected the materials and erected the house were fed by the family for whom they worked. This was their only payment. Work could be done on the house only at night. The *oho-au rari* was not *tapu*. The *tuhuna* who was employed to compose and teach the *uta* and *rari* did his work of composing at home and used the *oho-au* merely for rehearsing his choruses, the *uta* being taught to a group of old men and women, and the *rari* to a group of youths and maids. Doubtless it was the same group of male *ka'ioi* who erected the *oho-au* that sang in the chorus. Both the *rari* and the *uta* were in honor of the girl. When the songs had been well learned in the *oho-au* a feast was celebrated on the tribal feast place, the feast being to "show the *oho-au* (sacred house) of the girl," that is, exhibit the house and songs that had been prepared in her honor. A long time was necessary for the preparation of food for the feast. All comers had to bring their contributions. First the genealogy or genealogies of the family or families who were honoring their daughters were chanted; next the *uta* were sung by the old people; and lastly, the *rari* were intoned by the groups of youths and maidens. There was no dancing. The festival ended with a feast. Such a feast was celebrated in honor of a girl at some time after her adolescence, but was not directly connected with this event in her life.

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The Nato Chant

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The *nato* was a type of song composed by *tuhuna nato* upon the occasion of great festivals. Informants differ as to whether or not this chant was *tapu*. The fact that it was used at such sacred festivals as the *ko'ina tupapa'u* and that it was sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) would indicate that it was sacred. On the other hand the words and content of the example obtained in no way suggest any sacred significance. It is said that the first *nato*, after which all subsequent ones have been modeled, was composed in the valley of Vevau long ago by a great *tuhuna* named Taitihu. *Nato*, of which a number would be sung at a single fête, were learned in advance by the choir of old men (*tuhuna*) who intoned them, and were sung at the opening of the festival. The examples I have simply recounts a story evidently based on incidents that occurred in connection with some festival. Drums accompanied the chant, and the old men clapped as they sang. The melody is unusual in that there are three changes in tempo in different parts of the chant. The whole chant was intoned on only two notes except for quavers and the last line. A quaver preceding a descent to the note next below is characteristic of the melody. The last line was sung or cried in a very high voice with a sudden trailing descent on the final syllable of each of the last three words.

War Chants

The *ha'iha'i-heana* was the sacred chant that was intoned by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifice was offered at the tribal temple. The chant couples mythical reference with details of the securing and sacrificing of the human victim.

According to Père Pierre (4) two chants called *puko toua* and *pa'e vii toua* were sung before war. What was the nature of these is unknown. A chant called *kouaka*, sung at the sacred place as a part of the pre-war rites, is described in connection with war. (See War.) It does not appear that warriors sang or chanted as they entered battle.

HONORIFIC CHANTS

The Rari and Ru'u Chants

Almost the only type of genuine Marquesan song that is sung today by the natives is that known in the southern section of the group as the *rari* and *nani*, in the northern as *ru'u*. These were sung for amusement by young men and women together. They were composed by *tuhuna* in preparation for feasts and festivals, working in a special house built for the purpose; and, like other chants, they were taught to the singers

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539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

533 539 There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows [516] on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

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reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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539 A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

539 576 The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bring-
[201] ing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing. 539 576

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. 533 The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone 539 to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most 576 interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

539 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the
576 *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ino ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

539 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung
534 at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

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ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer. 539

Chants as Spells

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its reciter *mauta'a*, was said to have been used also in connection with the operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals. 539 787 [225]

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue*, to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tataoho*. (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau*. Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u, eia u, eia u, o Kena.
Here am I, here am I, here I, Kena.

Ai oa, te tau toiki!
Ah, the boys!

A kau! Amai i una o na vaka nei.
Swim! Come on to the canoe.

Miscellaneous Chants

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

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537 789 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vahahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

536 578 The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*na hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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most of these are generic terms and not merely names of single songs or chants, since Dordillon translates them usually as "kinds of chants." 539

The list is as follows:

Avaavaua, hakaoho, hariki, behevaihi, hetau, hinatu, hioo, hiperue, ihituki, katuuu, kihiouoho, kioe, mahau or mahau'u, mahitete or mahiatete, mahomaho, makemake, maku or ma'u, mauaheretie, nuhe, ori, otu, pikitahi, pona'u, pa'o'e, papakitahi, papo, puhe kava, parirau, paro, patipati, patupatu, pehete, pipiko, potu, puatahii toua, punaiana, putuaka, puko, hono, pututahi, ririraurau, taatita, taho, tahotahoki, tahoki, tahotahoko, tiritauteva, titiei, tuihope, tukihoe.

GENEALOGIES

All the genealogies that are available today are written. I believe no living native knows by heart more than a small number of the later names of his genealogy. In this report only one selected genealogy is given—one that appears to be the best and most trustworthy of those obtained. Others will be published subsequently, after they have been more carefully studied, and compared with others that it is hoped will be forthcoming. In the example given here, it will be seen that Atea and Atanua appear some distance down in the list. Genealogies usually start with these names, these two being regarded as, respectively, progenitor and progenitress of the native people. Modern natives, in explaining the matter, say that Atea and Atanua are like Adam and Eve. That statement is not correct, however, for Atea and Atanua were distinctly deities rather than human beings, and there is nothing to indicate that they are conceived of as having ever inhabited the islands as beings in human form. The genealogy given may be divided into sections as follows: (1) concepts of creation (Nos. 1-53, (2) personified concepts or deities (?) (Nos. 54-60), (3) ancient lands (Nos. 61-63), (4) gods (Nos. 64-108), (5) men (Nos. 109-144). Nos. 75-115 represent a period of legendary heroes and gods. 539 173

CHANTING OF GENEALOGIES

The most important use of genealogies was in some of the family rites. At marriage festivals and at funerary festivals the genealogy was chanted from the beginning. Family genealogies, either in part or from beginning to end, were chanted in the rites of adoption and in connection with the ceremonial chanting of the *vovana* and *pu'e* by family groups. At certain other rites, such as that which initiated the first-born into his

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* Examples of most of the chants described above were obtained in the native dialect, and the melodies of a few were recorded. The following are subsequently to be published: native texts with translation and melody—*pu'e, whabi, nato, papa, rori, ru'u, tapa'a, pipine, putu,* and *pehi;* native texts with translation—*tona-pou, ohe-au no Motuhaihi, vovana, ti'e mata, fanfaoea, aumoha, hakaoho, mamara tupapa'u, puna toka, uai hakor, tupapa'u, tai, ha'anu, fiufiu, uta, haihai hauna, puke toua, pa'e vii toua, hauaha, viti, pu'u haka, mauta'a, ta'a, ue, hautapa, tuhaho, u'i, hapa.*

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

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The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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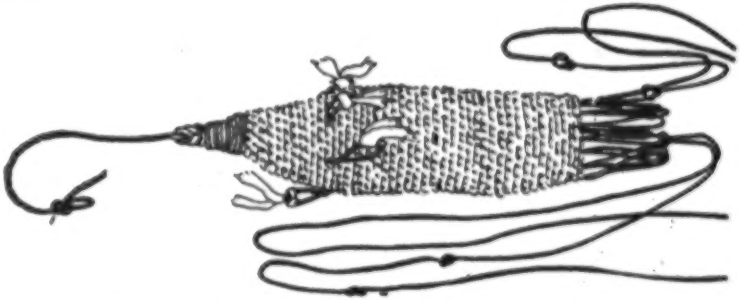

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

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An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

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MALE

Akaoa (Long Root)
Akahuhu
Tetinitiniotetoo (The Myridas of Roots)
Teafeafeotetoo (The Great Length of the Roots)
Tetoopuntia
Aitetomataetekoie
Aiteotikoe memaoane
Ouia
Tepukupuku (The Swelling)
Teuhitua (The Back Covering)
Mani
Tehakahua (The Beginning, the Turning-about)
Teninuninu
Tetake (The Foundation)
Enata iuna
Tetake
Enata iuna
Titake
Tetie
Tekomanu
Temu
Tehau

Piimaimeitahi
Tepapau
Tepapahuia ete tau vave
Tepapatieikua
Fifiti
Mapii
Tuiuta
Tuitetohoa
Tupuhauhau
Tuitai
Haamauaito
Tetaipupuna (The Sea-sweet-like-sugar-cane)
Teakuhua
Tefanafanatea
Uakekeu
Tohaki
(Tetaki)
Fetoki
Tepapauna (The Level Above)
Vatea (Clear Space)
Tepo (The Night)
Kuupenu
Teata (The Reflection)
Teao (The Breath)
Tenuhi

FEMALE

Akapoto (Short Root)
Akaane
Temanomanootetoo (The Countless Number of Roots)
Tepiimaiotetoo (The Upward Climbing of the Roots)
Tetookokeani (The Useless Root)
Tetuhiotokuietekoie
Titootetoo te Akateaka ihato
Toikia
Tetonatona (The Very Agreeable)
Teuhiao (The Front-covering)
Hapeu
Tehakafenua (The Land-making)
Kekeeinau
Ahitake (The Fire-Bottom)
Makaio
Haanaenuu
Hakahotu
Huoi
Tekomanu
Tepaona
Hia
Moeioto
Moeivaho
Anaekea
Anapiimai
Papaioona
Tepapahau
Tepapakeeaki
Tekuamoehau
Takina
Tuatuaea
Heiei
Ito
Hakaoa
Tepaekuaotane
Ito
Tetaifeiai (The Sea-sweet-like-*fei'ai*)

Teakupapa
Tepapaiuna
Tepapaiao
Hinatumaomaó

Hinahakatohuaani
Tepapaao (The Level Beneath)
Atanua
Mahito
Teme'ama (The Moon)
Nanaii
Animea
Uutau

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MALE	FEMALE
539 Voke	Hanivaa
Vevau [a land]	Havaii [a land]
173 Fiti [a land]	Tonatapu [a land]
Fititapu [a land]	Tehau [a land]
Teua (The Rain)	Tetai (The Sea)
Tepai (The Wetness)	Kaukau (The Washing)
Paiainu (The Drinking Wetness)	Uavai (Water hole)
Tepu (The Conch Shell)	Koata (Venus Shell)
Tefaa (The Pandanus)	Hoohena (Strong Running)
Tetiu (The North Wind)	Temetani (The Wind)
Tefatu I (The Master, The Rock)	Toupii
Tefatu II	Teea
Tefatu III	Teoi
Tefatu IV	Hukia
Tefatu V	Hinataumiha
Tiki [legendary character]	Kahuone (Pile of Sand)
Tikitapu	Hinaua
Aneane	Tumukee
U	Aniani
Tanaoa [legendary character, a god]	Mutuei
Kootumu	Fatuaho
Tehito	Maanau
Hoi	Uehine
Hoitupu	Hoihoe
Hoikua	Hoimea
Hoimapekau	Na Hoiamua etanaoa
Tepua	Papaheani
Iakau	Teuaheetoitoi
Koopana	Ouhutukatokato
Havini	Matativo
Hoitanaoa	Teatuotu
Hoiavaiki	Nukuepa
Matauapuna	Toitata
Punauunui	Meheua
Punahohonu	Ahuoho
Punafaakua	Tumuii
Punavetea	Fitiei
Punavete	Akamei
Punatea	Tapuainui
Punatefae	Tepuhimeoto
Tupahee	Naonao
Tupavaka	Huihena
Tupahaataniitepu	Paanuimea
Tupatanitetee	Hotie
Temaituitu	Temaitutee
Maituataanaifenua	
Punatope	Oata
Punatutu	Haiko
Tupaoaiafai	Puhumomo
Naku [legendary character, a first settler]	Uiaei
Hotu	Moiakau
Oko [legendary character]	Inuvaa

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MALE	FEMALE
Moota [legendary character, a tribal name]	Niniano [Legendary character]
Tiu [legendary character, a tribe]	Mofitu
Fekei	Maoninua
Tuoa	Hotaei
Mohuta [A tribal name on Hiva Oa]	Vaiatanuu
Meae	Atua
Kahumano	Tanihua
Ahunia	Tiufaa
Tatini	Teepana
Toumata	Tehueo
Nohea	Kaukau
Timoka	Tapuahu
Tuakina	Papeoho
Tepiu	Piinoa
Tiufeaa	Tuhiua
Motootoofenua	Puutini
Teaninuinei	Tiutaha
Konaehitini	Takeoho
Taupo [A subtribe in Vevau]	Teheva
Tepaapaa	Maotai
Kopaaninatea	Hivapu
Fatukua	Titopu
Kuaiteoho [A subtribe in Vevau]	Honuani
Puatautau	Honutoia
Fatukua	Naeaefitu
Hamihiao	Tiamate
Ututete	Tipeeipuoho
Tekohuotaupo	Natapuotiu
Feuapoenui	Piuiatohetika
Piuhenua	Tuhitaiuta
Vahitete	Temeiu
Tohuputona	Tauahokaani
Ioane [Now living]	Emere [died 1921]

GENEALOGY OF NATURE

The descent of various growing things, and other elements of nature, from Atea is shown in the following list. As is shown here, each stone, plant or animal, had its particular mother, and was fathered by Atea (Vatea).

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Te'a (Rock)
	Heteuatoto	Te'etu (Red tufa)
	Huumania	Tiva (Beach boulder)
	Uuhoa	Ehi (Coconut)
	Momea	Mei (Breadfruit)
	Pihaei	Ihi (Chestnut)
	Paemo	Fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
	Uamamaenoa	Tohe (Bamboo)
	Maetoitoi	Tuaivi (Mountain)

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FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Metie (Grass)
	Tuotuoo	Kakâho (Reed)
	Tiitiinehu	Tahuna (The seabeach)
	Hopu	Heepo (*Epo:* Soil?)
	Tiipahauoo	Ama (Candlenut)
	Henua	Huatei (?)
	Hinatetepu	Pua (*Carissa grandis*)
		Tiae (*Gardenia tahitiensis*)
	Hinaooifatu	Hefaa (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)
	Veavea	Tatiu (Cucumis)
	Tohiue	Faahoa (Pineapple)
	Tetuhitetano	Mae
	Uinae	Moho (an unidentified plant)
	Teputuohei	Tava
	Tiimaa	Puaa (Pig)
		Vahane (*Corypha umbraculifera*)
		Tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)
		Tavaiti
		Enetae
		Hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*)
		Eva (*Cerebra manghas*)
		Topini (*o kopiti*, a kind of tree)
		Tokuu (Indian lilac)
		Toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*)

GENEALOGY OF MOONS

This list shows the descent of the moons (months) from Atea, by different mothers.

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Upuoo	Takuua (August)
		Mahina (September)
		Avea (October)
		Oaoumanu (November)
	Pukeoo (a star)	Ehua (December)
		Ve'o (January)
		Uaoa (February)
		Mehau (March)
	Tekuteku	Pohe (April)
		Makaiki (May)
		Napea (June)
		Tuhuamatakeo (July)

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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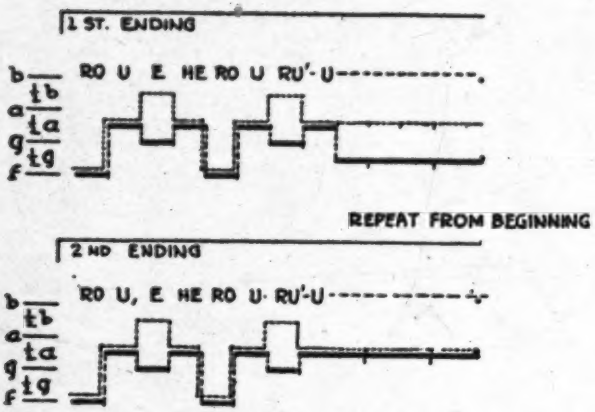

[539]

U tohu'i tu u pitara,
Mei Ra'i Roa, Ra'i kutikuti,
Ra'i kuti ahi ri'i,
Ra'i tere ro u ru'u.
Paho'e hori[3] oe,
Horihori ru'u!
U tohu'i Ra'i Roa,
E herua rotimi,
Ro u e he, ro u ru'u,
Ro u e he, ro u ru'u.

Overturned is my coconut shell,[1]
From Rangi Roa,[2] the lovely,
Of the brilliant glowing sky,
Thence flies my song.
Oh my loving maiden,
A kiss for my song!
Turned right over is Rangi Roa,
Rangi Roa, your land,
My land, my song,
My land, my song!

The Ru'u Tohu'i is a recreational chant. A group of men in a semi-squatting position, with chins resting on the hands sang in a meditative manner, while the girls seated between the two lines of men also sang and at the same time accompanied with graceful pantomimic movement. Rhythmic gesture is most suggestive in the obviously regular musical design of this lyric chant. Of the selections recorded in this paper it seems the most regular in movement, being composed largely of a single interval in symmetrical recurrence. In translating "coconut shell" as "canoe" may it not give a pretty significance to this regular, rhythmic impulse?

The introduction of a second voice (indicated by dotted line) adds variety and particular interest, giving some impression of primitive harmony in ancient Polynesia. Note the sustained interval of a second at the close of the first ending. The same dissonance was often sung as the ending of the first stanza and refrain of the Nani o Kae. The *ru'u* were sometimes

[1] One informant said this meant, figuratively, the singer's canoe; another insisted that it meant his hat.
[2] An island of the Tuamotu Archipelago.
[3] *Hori* (or *honi*) means both to rub noses and to kiss.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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O'o na'i mau Hina i te a'a po'ea o Kae mei Vai No'i,	Hina commanded the youths of Kae from Vai No'i,
"A mau to ima i te toete,	"Take hold of my brother-in-law,
Mau-ari'i-o-Tetua. Ia tihe au	Mau-ari'i-o-Tetua. When you arrive
I mata Fenua pu, a ke'ahi to vae,	At Mata Fenua promontory, kick,
E Kae, i te a'a motu Tafifi Ku'a,	Oh Kae, the islet Tafifi Ku'a,
Etia e hua mai te u'u o te i'a Eia'o."	So that the head of the fish Eia'o may turn back."
A ve'o. A te ha'a i Ta'a Oa.	He was harpooned. There was fury at Taa Oa.
I pohe i te tiare to u e!	My flower is dead!
He tiare to u nu'u.	The flower of my song.

REFRAIN (*Mounu*)

A tapopohe ni'i tu u i'a, o Te-tunua-nui,	My fish Te-tunua-nui was killed,
A ve'o, e na u nu'u nu'u, vavahi te'e a.	Harpooned, cut up raw.
I motu ta'a hamani faahou,	Strips of bamboo split off sharp,
Tu u kohe vetaveta hou nu'u!	My bamboo blade!
Nave mai te tipi, a o'oti oe!	Bring the knife. Cut it up!
A kai e, na u nu'u!	Eat!
Tuku he'e, na u nu'u!	Pass it round!

X533 The Nani o Kae, a recreational chant, expresses the same general mode as the *ru'u*. Usually the *nani* were sung in honor of a young woman to whom the words of the chant indirectly referred. In this particular "*nani*" the poetical subject is obviously legendary. (See p. 22.) Note that the same intervals (minor third, major second, minor second) of the very regular *ru'u* (p. 32) appear here in more diversity of melodic and rhythmic idea. The three-quarter beat is prominent. The three-quarter step is used in the refrain. While not always marked as such, the refrain is usual in Marquesan singing.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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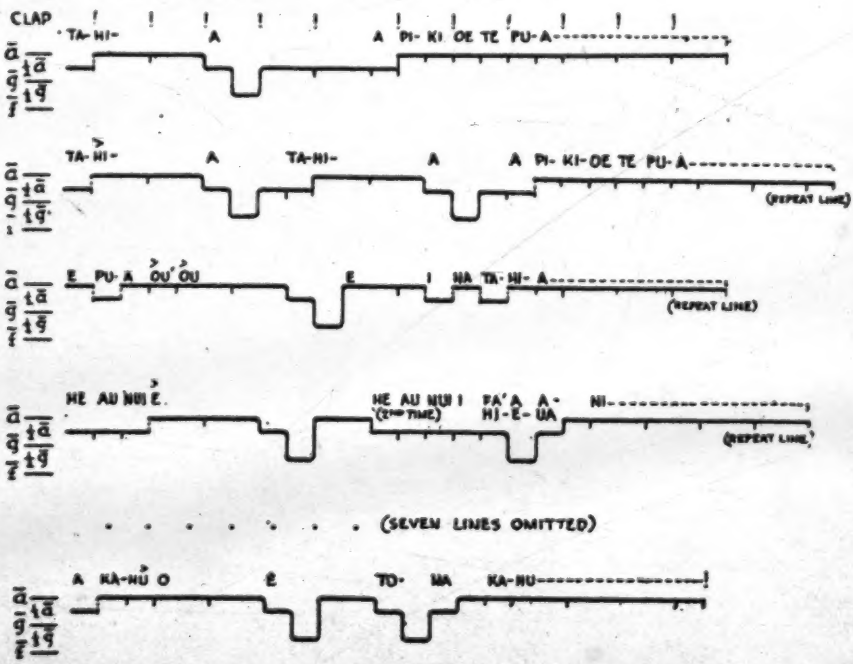
E mema'u oti au e.	Ardent is my love.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
E mema'u te hu'i	Strong is the desire
O teiare enehua e.	Of the wreath of sweet smelling fern.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
Ina tu'u mafatu au i haatua'ave	A madness is in my heart.
I te tihe i pua tini kohu nu'u.	To come to my flower, the child of the countless mists.
E ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.
Ua ne oe na i te hu'i o Keania e.	You are the prize of the flower of Ke'i Ani.
Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o hei Nikuhi.	A fragrant wreath is Nikuhe, the lover Nikuhi.

X533 This *tape'a* is the most poetical and also the most intense of the recreational chants, and the melodic idea is the most simple. It followed the singing of the *nani*. Only the women sang, the men accompanying them with rousing vocal ejaculations and vigorous gestures, giving variety and erotic intensity to the limited tonal variation. The refrain, *"Ko'o hei Nikuhe, ko'o Nikuhi"* in line 2, recurs in lines 5, 8, 10 in interesting melodic variation.

MELODIC FIGURE 4: PIPINE O TAHIA

Tempo: 72 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.



2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Tahia, a piki oe te pua,	Oh Tahia, climb the pua tree,
Tahia, Tahia, a piki oe te pua.	Tahia, oh Tahia, up the flowering tree.
E pua ou'ou e i na tahia,	Pass a long pole to the girls,
E pua ou'ou e i na Tahia.	A flower picking pole for the young ladies.
He au nui e, he au niu i Fa'a Ani,	Here is a great leaf, the great leaf of Faa Ani,
He au nui e, he au nui i Hieua.	A great leaf to hold the flowers at Hieua.
Eo mai e, o mau-ou-a, a mai!	Calling one another, let's pick the flowers, come!
Eo mai e, o mau-pi'i, a mai!	Answering back and forth, we two climbing, oh come!
A pei e, a hehe'e, a mai!	Ready? Let's go. Come along!
A pei e, e hehe'e, a mai!	All ready. Come along!
A pau taua i te vai hohopu,	Come along for the bath in the stream,
A pau taua i te vai hohopu,	We two, for the fresh-water dip,
E vai hopu ana no Tahia.	A refreshing bath for Tahia.
A kahu oe to na kahu!	Put on your dresses!

This charming lyric was chanted in honor of Tahia, the daughter of Peteraro, by young girls who had been trained by the *tuhuna*. The first line was sung by a woman leader, then the rest of the song flowed on through the girls' voices in the same graceful manner, a truly feminine expression of the Marquesan maiden, for whom the song was composed. The singers sat in rows, bodies swaying in rhythmic movement, while clapping with flat palms (*papaki*), and with hollow hands (*pu*). This chant seems the most artistic bit recorded. The beauty of the design is self-evident. A decided feeling of grace and balance is expressed through the symmetrical recurrence of the slurred motif. Two other variations of this melodic figure occur in the *pope* (melodic fig. 5) and in the *nato* (melodic fig. 9).

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Uhia o Feani e te kohu e i,	A covering of mist shrouds mount Feani,[1] 533X
O te tatai o Matia e te ao e i,	The cloud is a waist cloth for Matia, 539
E tapu e i tena kohu e i,	Sacred is the cloud,
E auahi ia no te a'iki.	A wreath of smoke for the chief.
Uhia o Teheia te kohu e i,	A covering of mist shrouds Teheia,
O te tatai o A'o Tona e te ao u,	The cloud is the waist cloth of A'o Tona,
E tapu e i tena kohu e i,	Sacred is the cloud,
E auahi ia no te a'iki e i,	A wreath of smoke for the chief,
E auahi ei no te pe'ea e i.	A wreath of smoke for the handsome youth.
I te ou'oho te pi'ipi'i, ta ai'ai e i,	Here, with her hair handsomely done up,
O to ia ui e i, o Vi'ipohutu hoi e i, te pope!	Is his mother, Viipohutu—it is her song!

The beauty of the poetical thought in the Pope of Tuvai, sung in honor of the first born son, has a strong appeal. The ascending melodic trend of each line seems an appropriate expression for the cloud wreath of the young chief. 533X

Grace, balance and strength expressed in steady, rhythmic impulse appear throughout the design of this well-defined melody. The drop of the voice at the close, a feature also of the *putu* (melodic fig. 6), and the *pehi* (melodic fig. 7), is characteristic of singing in other parts of Polynesia.

[1] Mt. Feani, now called Temetiu, the highest peak on Hivaoa, rises above the valley of Atuona on the west side. In the early morning it is often seen with a filmy cloud, like "a wreath of smoke" clinging to the upper stretches of its precipitous rock walls.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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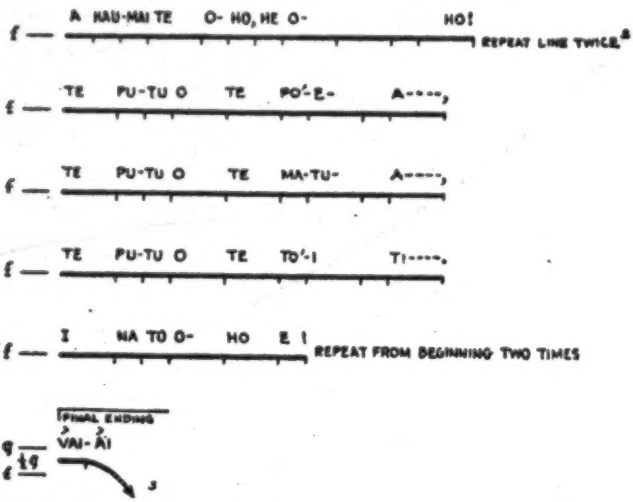
533X



[2] First time sung by the old men in deep bass; second time, by the middle aged men in medium voice; third time, by the young men in higher voice.
[3] Sung in trailing voice with diminishing tone on exhalation of breath.

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Pa'a'oa-titi'a tu'u tama,	Clapping-stone-porpoise is my child,
Mei te moana,	From the sea,
E'i nui.	A great whale's-tooth is he.
Ta u te po'ea mei Fa'a Ani.	The handsome youths from Fa'a Ani[1] disembark.
E Na'iki e!	Oh you Na'iki![2]
O ai te putu nei?	Who are these *putu* singers?
E Te'a'ai, e Te'a'ai.	They are Te'aai.
O ai te ta'ita'i?	Who compose the accompanying suite?
O Puhe-putona te putu nei	This *putu* is Singing-conch-shell's.
O Puhe-putona te ta'ita'i	This suite is Singing-conch-shell's.
Ma una o na mou oho,	Upon the heads,
E mou oho no te motua,	The heads of the uncles,[4]
Motua o Kahu-ei-nui,	The uncle Whale's-tooth-robe,
Anoa Va'a-putona.	Or Conch-shell-canoe,
A haumai te oho, he oho!	Bow the head!
Te putu o te po'ea,	The song of the handsome youth,
Te putu o te matua,	The song of the fine fellow,
Te putu o te to'iti.	The song of the child.
I' na to oho e!	Onto the head, ah!
Avai ai.	Leave it just so!

This strong monotone chant sung by the men only, in honor of a young man, is naturally pronounced in masculine qualities. A marked diversity of rhythm is emphasized by vigorous clapping, *papaki* (p. 12), and *pitike* (p. 12)—and drumming. The men stood as they sang in a semi-circular

[1] The place near the shore where canoes were kept at Atuona.
[2] The Atuona tribe.
[3] A sub-tribe of the Naiki.
[4] Refers to the ceremonial carrying of a sacred child on the heads of uncles.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

He kava ka'i e,	The kava is cut.
He kava ko'e atu!	Kava without end (unlimited)!
Ua pi Tahu Ata,	Tahu Ata[1] is full of it,
Pi pu Ve'ekaha,	Entirely full is Ve'ekaha,[2]
I toe i Eke'etu!	There is plenty more at Eke'etu![3]
O to kava,	It is your kava,
E Ha'atu, kehu e.	Oh Ha'atu, handsome fellow.
I kika i te moa!	The fowl is carved![4]
Te pehi tapu haka'iki!	It is the sacred *pehi* of the chief!

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The vigor of the *putu* continues and increases in the rousing *pehi* or drinking song, really the refrain of the *putu*. The crier, standing in the midst of the singers begins by chanting in monotone in very high voice, dropping gradually on the last syllable of his introductory phrase. The leader and singers then take up the chant without clapping or drums. Intensity of emotion is easily read in the diversity of irregular rhythms and vocal expressions, such as dramatic pauses and sharp releases. After the singing of the rousing *putu* the unusual inflection in the opening interval of the kava song is not surprising. Note that this interval is a major third augmented by a quarter step, other quarter steps occur throughout this song. (Compare *nani* p. 35, and *pope*, p. 40.) 533X

[1] The island, Tahuata.

[2] The name of a kava plantation in the valley of Motopu, on Tahuata.

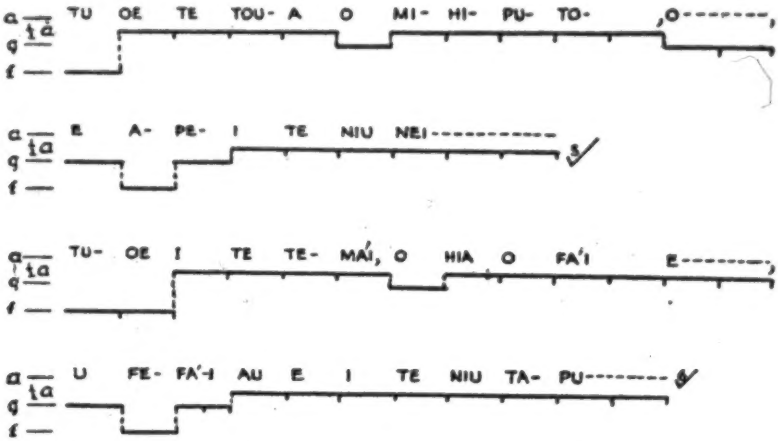
[3] The name of a feast-place at Atuona, Hivaoa.

[4] When kava was drunk, a bit of flesh of some kind, slightly singed in the flames of a fire, was eaten immediately after the draught was taken. According to the natives, this was essential to experiencing the full narcotic effect.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

MELODIC FIGURE 8: UHAKI

X533 **Tempo: 192 beats a minute. ——, 1 beat; —, ½ beat.**



[a] As slow trill, *i* is sung with increasing rapidity as long as the breath lasts.
[g] As slow trill, *u* is sung with increasing rapidity as long as the breath lasts.

VERSE

[534]

Tu oe te toua o Mihi-putona, o,	Wage the war of Mihi-putona,
E apei te niu nei.	Prepare the sling-shot.—
Tu oe i te tema'i, o hia o fa'i, e,	Make war,.....(?).....,
U fefa'i au e i te niu tapu.....	I fight with the sacred sling-stone.....
Etc.	*Etc.*

This *uhaki,* a religious chant, is a mourning song for a dead warrior. (See melodic figure 8.) Intoned by both men and women, and accompanied by small drums, it is characterized by the wail typical of singing in other parts of Polynesia. The final vowel in lines 2 and 4 is prolonged in a sort of slow trill in constant acceleration, producing a rapid recurrence of shake or break in the voice.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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The verse continues with varied description of the sea until Part II is reached. 533X 539

PART II

Fiti mai a Hoa-ani, te pe'iu,	Came up this way Hoa-ani, the chiefess,
Maohi a'e to ima	Seized with her hand
I te hi'i paepae e.	The slabs on the platform.
A tahi hi'i, a topa.	At the first slab she fell.
U'a te tani, aue i!	She uttered an angry cry, *aue!* –
Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!	Easy, [sing] easy!

This verse is repeated in the same form nine times, the only change being that the number of the slab is changed each time, running from one to ten. The chant then goes on to Part III.

PART III

A vai ana ta u tama,	Leaving my child,
Vai eka, vai teipo, e-i!	Easy [sing] easy!
Te tama he'e a enata.	The child who walks like a man.
Vai eka, *etc.*	

The verse goes on at some length with obscure reference to some traditional events.

PART IV

E Matuku, o ia te ta'ita'i, a piki e,	Oh Matuku, here is the saltiness when you climb up,
Pakahoho, pakahoho!	Dead the color, dull! (?)

These words sung in a very high voice, were inserted whenever the singers wanted to stop for a rest. The translation of the lines is uncertain, and, obviously the meaning is obscure. It is probably a proverbial saying, which seems not to be clearly understood even by the natives. 533X

In general the *nato* were tapu chants. Although the words of this Nato of Hoa-ani do not seem of a religious nature, this was the type of intonation composed by the *tuhuna* for great sacred festivals. It was sung only by the old men and accompanied by clapping and drumming. In its four distinct parts it is the most elaborate of the chants recorded, revealing many elements of structural merit. The poetical idea is similar in Part I and Part III, the refrain in alternate lines, adding grace to the dignified monotone. Here is the third variation of the slurred motif. (Compare *pipine*, p. 38, and *pope*, p. 40.) The contraction of refrain phrase recurs in lines 4 and 6 in Part I. Part II bears an interesting folk element in its nine repetitions. Line 5 of this part contains an anticipation of the refrain motif in the following line. Part IV, in strong contrasting mood used as an interlude *ad libitum*, adds decided variety and dramatic feeling. Is it forcing the term to call this a primitive three-part form?

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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PART I

Tuia oa te to'o e,
  Auea e, te to'o o te fenua.
Tuia oa te to'o e,
  Auea e, e aka to te fenua.
Etc.

They were mated, long ago, the root-stocks,
  Ah! The root-stocks of the land.
They were mated, long ago, the root-stocks,
  Ah! The roots of the land.
Etc.

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PART II

Tuia te fatu—nananana!
Tumu o te fenua e.
O te ui Atea, "One U'i e,
Pehea te to'o te fenua?"
Pe'au One U'i, "Ena e i a'o,
Fenua me ahi take
Aina mea o Nuku
Fenua me neke iho, e,
Fenua me neke a'e."

Mated, the founder—quickly, quickly!
The source of the land.
Atea[1] asks, "Oh, One U'i,[2]
How was it, the growth of the land?"
One U'i replied, "There, far below,
Is a land with a fiery bottom,
The country of Nuku,
With land spreading this way,
And land spreading that."

The *pu'e* was the religious chant most frequently used and very tapu. It was intoned by the tribal priest or by a group of old men in very deep bass. The chorus was accompanied by a number of big drums, small drums and clapping. It presents another musical idea in three d: :t parts. (Compare the *nato,* p. 47.) The third part is a repetition of the first in slow impressive movement. The middle part, in contrasting mood, is chanted in rapid recitative. This chant, by nature of its fundamental purpose and expression of creation is the most impressive of all the chants. The melodic idea is majestic in its simplicity. The strength of the major second pervades the movement. Impressive pauses and sustained tones at the ends of the phrases, give a feeling of unlimited power and expansiveness. Such chanting, combined with the dynamic effects of the drumming and clapping, produced an intentionally powerful spell. 533X

[1] A god, whose name may be translated "Widespread-whiteness."
[2] A goddess, whose name may be translated "Dark Sand," or "Red Earth."

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

194 *eYó, eYú, iYá, iYé, iYó, iYú*: in other words, when any other vowel except *i* follows *e* and bears the stress; or when any other vowel follows *i* and bears the stress. A *w* occurs in *ówa, ówe, owí, úwa, uwá, úwe, Uwé, úwi, uwí, uwó*: in other words, with *o* bearing stress before *a* and *e*, and with *o* before *i* when the latter is stressed; and with *u* stressed or unstressed with all other vowels. *ŏ* stressed, followed by *i* forms *ŏy*. A *W* occurs in *oWó, oWé, ŏWi, úWo*.

To sum up: When *a* is stressed, it forms a near-dipthong with all other vowels by predominating and making of the second vowel a mere shading of sound; *e* stressed does the same thing with *i*. *E* stressed with all vowels except *i*, and *i* stressed with all vowels except another *i* modify the following vowel with a distinct *y* sound. When the second vowel is stressed, its modification by the preceding *e* is much less noticeable, as indicated by the *Y*. *O* and *u* stressed and unstressed, which modify the vowels *a, e,* and *i* with a *w* or *W* sound; and *u* similarly modifies a following *o*. In this inclusion of a *w* sound, however, the extent of modification does not seem to follow in the orderly fashion of the *e*'s and *i*'s the stressing of the first or second vowel.

LEGEND OF MAHUIKE RECORDED PHONETICALLY

539 713 The short legend of Mahuike was recited at Atuona, Hivaoa, by Haapuani, who was born in that valley. It was recorded phonetically, exactly as heard, using the conventions described above. A free translation of this legend and the phonetic record are as follows:

Fire in the Marquesas originally came from Mahuike. It is said that formerly there was no fire here, Mahuike having it all. Maui was the great-grandson of Mahuike. In those times the people became disgusted with eating things raw. A rumor spread among them that the food that Mahuike ate in his country was very fine in comparison with what was eaten raw here. How different it was with the chief Mahuike! There was a wise man (*tuhuna*) here who bethought him of the native stories that were told of the delicious food that Mahuike enjoyed. The wise man conceived an idea. The story had it that Mahuike's food was particularly good. Some one asked in what way it was better. "We have breadfruit, banana, breadfruit-paste just like what they have." "This is the difference," said the wise man, "Mahuike's food is prepared with fire." Then the people said to Maui, "What a fine thing it would be if you would go to your great-grandfather Mahuike and get fire for us." Maui was told what to say:

O Mahuike!
Give me some fire. (Chanted).

When Maui approached his great-grandfather with these words, the old man asked, "Who told you Mahuike had fire?" "Why," said Maui. "A report came to us that your food was good, and not indigestible like ours, because you had fire". Mahuike said, "Give me your fire-lighter so that I may give you some fire". "Here it is," said Maui, and unwrapped it from the tail of his loin cloth. Mahuike ignited it from the sole of his foot and gave it back to Maui, saying, "There is some fire for you, my great-grandson". Maui set off along the road. He rubbed the end of the fire-lighter on the ground and put out the fire, then returned to Mahuike, approaching him with the same words as before. The old man demanded, "What put out your fire?" Maui

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told him that as he was passing along the road he had looked at the fire-lighter and found that the fire was out. So Mahuike gave Maui fire from his knee. (The same episode is repeated, Maui departing, putting out the fire, and returning. When he received fire from Mahuike's chest, he was told that there was no more). After Maui had put out the fire that had been given by Mahuike from his chest, he returned. Mahuike was asleep but his gods warned him that his head was in danger. Maui demanded fire from his great-grandfather's head. Mahuike refused, saying that the head was tapu. Maui threatened the old man, but he still refused. There were hot words, then they came together in a clinch. Back and forth they struggled, striving with might and main to overthrow each other, until at last Mahúike exclaimed, "Your strength is like that of a madman, my grandson!" They came together again and again; they fought and fought. Maui's gods said to him, "Do not give in, lest you fail to get the fire." Then Mahuike's strength suddenly gave way, and his head struck upon a rock with such force that the fire flew in all directions from it, entering all the trees and all the rocks. When Maui returned to his people, they demanded, "Where is the fire?" "It is scattered all over the land," replied Maui, and then explained to them how they could get it from the wood of trees by rubbing two pieces together. He demonstrated it to them, bringing the spark from the fire-sticks by long rubbing, and putting the spark in dry tinder—"then did grow the flame of the fire."

mahUwī'kĕ

(Note: Accented syllables are pronounced with a slight rising inflexion.)

na mahUwíkĕ te túmu o te áhi i te fĕnāwa enāta.
From Mahuike the origin of the fire in the land native.

u pe'a'U hó'i te pó'i kahī'yu, á'ó'ē he(y)áhi mamā'wa átu,
Did say indeed the people anciently not the fire before away,

o mahUwíkĕ. oCHī'ya i pe'óU te nél ha'akekál,
of Mahuike. When did say the here legend,

o maúwi he pĕ'ka no mahUwíkĕ, he táma na te mo'upúna o
is Maui the great-grandson of Mahuiki, the child of the grandchild of

mahUwíkĕ. oWhī'ya i húwa móU po Uwa kú' húwa mata-
Mahuike. When in those some days was disgusted those peo-

élnāna i te kálīī'na i te meYa tī'e. Uwa pa te' óno
ple with the eating at the things raw. Did hear the rumor

iyo húwa mataélnana, o hī'iyā'nĕ té a kál iyo mahUwī'kĕ,
among these people was good the there food at Mahuike,

he kál ná'ē ná'ē ōko, ná te mēYa i kól tī'ī'ya ta tatóU
the food nice very. Because of the thing did eat raw that of us

nél, no él'a i pīYáU ta tatóU nél. a'iya owī'ya e meYa
here, because of that is bad of us here. It is this it is that is thing

he īī'tahi iyo húwa haka'iki, o mahUwī'kĕ. iyo húwa pó'i
different another at this chief, is Mahuike. Among the people

titáhi enāta tuhúna. ua víwo ī'ya no té a táU pona tēkáU
another man wise. Did think he of the that [sign of plural] words

a te mataélnana i pe'óU nél no te kál nā'ē ná'ē iyo
of the people did speak here of the food nice at

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mahUwíkĕ. a táhi a ʃáhi húwa tuhū'na, e meYa tówitō'wi,
Mahuike. Of once (then) did think this wise man, is thing true,

i nā'ĕ nā'ĕ āl ta iya hál, é na mĕ te ápaU. u pe'áU
was nice thus of him food, is there with the taste. Did say

húwa mataélnana me húwa tuhuna. e(Y)ō'ha tĕ nél apáU i
these people with this wise man, "Is what the here taste was

nā'ĕ nā'ĕ āl ta atoU hál. o húwa meYa anélCHo' te hál.
nice thus of their good? Is this thing certainly the food.

he mél ta tatóU atī'i ta atóU; e mel'ka ta tatóU atī'i
the bread-fruit of us like of them; is banana of us like

ta átoU; he má ta tatóU atī'i ta atóU. i pĕhéYa
of them; the bread-fruit paste of us like of them. Was this

tiya ta tatóU, i pĕheYa tiya ta atóU. u pe'óU húwa
way of us, was that way of them." Did say this

tuhúna, o ta mahUwī'ke i túnu tiYa mĕ te páE óhi, no él'Ya
wise man, "Is of Mahuike to cooked having with the prepare fire, because of that

uwa vī'a te mél, uwa vī'a te má. ma él'a iya hál i
was cooked the bread-fruit, was cooked the bread-fruit paste. Because of that when eat at

húwa táU hál i túnu ftya mĕ te páE(Y)áhi. a táhi atóU
these foods were cooked with the prepared fire." Then they

a pe'áU iya maúwi. meYa nā'ĕ nā'ĕ amál ō'uĕ i titáhi meYa
did say to Maui, "Thing nice. Come you to another thing

áhi na tatóU iyo to pĕtĕ'o, o mahUwíkĕ. iya tíkĕ óWĕ
fire for us at your great-grandfather's, is Mahuike. When arrive you

iyo mahuwíkĕ, a pe'óU ówĕ [chanted],
at Mahuike, say you,

mahuwī'.....ikĕ'.....i'ī'.....ikĕ! i háno mál yáU i te á.....ahi.
'Mahuike! Give to me the fire.'"

a táhi a pe'áU mahuwíkĕ, i óno ówĕ i yál i te áhi a
Then did say Mahuike, "Did hear you of whom of the fire of

mahuwíkĕ nél? i óno pu anélCho(W)aU na te méYa
Mahuike here?" "Did hear only certainly I because of the thing

uwa tíhYĕ te óno iyo matóU, a hī'iyā'nĕ o te hál iyo
was arrived the report to us, was good of the food at

mahuwíkĕ. ā'ō'ĕ e húkaka ma óto o te kópu. i vivo ai(y)áU
Mahuike. Not is go wrong by in of the stomach. Did think there I

éna mĕ te áhi iyo óWĕ i nā'ĕ nā'ĕ āl ta otóU (W)ō'a.
there with the fire at you was nice thus of you victuals."

a tahi a pe'áU mahUwī'kĕ, éna me tá oWĕ nánu
Then did say Mahuike, "There with of you fire-lighter

meYa tá'u átu i titáhi meYa áhi na óWĕ, e tú ú pĕ'ka.
thing give away to another thing fire for you, oh of me great-grandson."

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a táhi a vĕvĕ'tĕ maúwi i te nánu mél óto o toW'ya fl'i fl'i
Then did open Maui to the fire-lighter from in of his tail

hówi. Uwa tá'u i te ima o mahuwikĕ. Uwa tó'o mahuwikĕ i
loincloth. Did give to the hand of Mahuike. Did take Mahuike to

húwa nánu a te pĕ'ka. Uwa tú'u i una o te tápu vdE, u
this fire-lighter of the great-grandson. Did put to on of the sole foot, did

ho'ána te áhi i (Y)una o te nánu a te péka. Uwa tu'u
get the fire to on of the lighter of the great-grandson. Did give

mahuwikĕ i te i'ima o maúwi. u pe'áU, éna te áhi, e
Mahuike to the hands of Maui. Did say, "There is the fire, oh

tu u pĕ'ka. U táha maúwi i te a' anúwi. u piyówi i una
of me great-grandson." Did go Maui to the road. Did rub to on

he épo, úwa hĕ'a te áhi. Uwa húwa maúwi iyo mahUwikĕ. Uwa
the ground, did put out the fire. Did come Maui to Mahuike. Did

ite mahuwikĕ iya maúwi, u pe'áU, élya owĕ uwa hĕ'wa?
see Mahuike to Maui, did say, "Here you have come back?"

mahuwi....ikĕ' ...i'i....ikĕ! i hano mál yóU i te á....ahi.
"Mahuike! Give to me the fire."

[Repeated.] *U pe'aU mahuwikĕ, eyóha te hĕ'a o ta ówĕ áhi*
Did say Mahuike, "Is what the extinguish of your fire

i tá'u atu nél áU. u pe'áU maúwi, tu u táha tina
to give away here I." Did say Maui, "Of me having gone

i te á'anúwi, u tĕ'áhi áU i te nánu uwa hĕ'a te áhi mél
to the road, did look I to the lighter was out the fire from

úna. Uwa tó'o mahUwikĕ i te nánu, uwa tú'u i úna o te
on." Did take Mahuike to the lighter, did put to on of the

mé'o. Uwa á'a te áhi i úna o húwa nánu a mahuwikĕ.
knee. Did light the fire to on of this lighter of Mahuike.

Uwa tó'o maúwi i te nánu áhi mĕ te táha. me húwa meYa
Did take Maui to the lighter fire and the go. And this thing

u tinál i te nánu i nó h(W)e épo. Uwa hĕ'a te nánu.
did extinguish to the lighter to of the ground. Did put out the lighter.

Uwa húwa hahaúwa maúwi iyo mahUwikĕ. Uwa ite mahuwikĕ,
Did come again Maui to Mahuike. Did see Mahuike.

eiya hahaúwa maúwi, á'á'ĕ he éyo o mahUwikĕ i pe'áU mál.
here again Maui, not the voice of Mahuike did say here.

te tata tina o maúwi i páta o te fá'ĕ. u vevĕ'o hahaúwa
The neared having of Maui did stand in front of the house. Did call again

maúwi. [As above.] *Uwa tá'u mahUwikĕ i te áhi mél te*
Maui. Did give Mahuike to the fire from the

úna á'ma. u pe'áU i te pu'ha, Uwa ówu te áhi, e tú u pĕ'ka.
chest. Did say to the great-grandson, "Was finished the fire, oh of me great-grandson.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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á'ó'ř átu he áhi i tówě. a táha! Uwa táha maúwi mě te
Not away the fire enough. Go!" Did go Maui with the

hě'ta. Uwa vívo maúwi, e táhi áhi i tówě átu, o te áhi
laugh. Did think Maui, one fire more, is the fire

i te óho o mahUwíkě. i te a'anúwi u tinál i hévva i no
at the head of Mahuike. On the road did extinguish to this to on

he épo. te hí'a tř'na o to iya nánu u húwa hakaúwa
the dirt. The put-out having been of his lighter did come again

iyo mahUwíkě. a háno átu e ana, u pa'aníya i te hiyomř'we
to Mahuike. Was searching, was fallen asleep to the sleep

mahUwíkě. [Maui calls as above.] *a tahi o háhuwa te tóu*
Mahuike. Then did begin to chant the

atúwa o mahUwíkě.
gods of Mahuike.

o te ahi mél heya?
Is the fire from where?

o te ahi mél te óho.
Is the fire from the head.

o te oho o mahUwíkě.
Is the head of Mahuike.

e ahi tapu te iya
Is fire sacred the that

o te upoko o mahUwíkě
Is the head of Mahuike.

i ha towě i.
— — —— —

te ono tíma o mahUwíkě u kahúwa hakaúwa maúwi i te
The heard having of Mahuike did to sing begin again Maui to the

áhi mél úna o toWíya óho. Uwa mahUwíkě me te př'kě, mě
fire from on of his head. Did rise Mahuike with the anger, with

te há'a há'a, me te věvř'i. u pe'áU mahUwíkě, eYaha to
the rage, with the choler. Did say Mahuike, "Is what of

owě hiya, e tú u př'ka? u tu'u atú na e yáU n'áhi páOtu
you want, oh of me great-grandson? Did give away there to be me the fire all

o te áhi. Chéya ta owě e ími nél e tu u př'ka? o te
of the fire. Where of you is seek here, oh of me great-grandson? Is the

áhi i tówě nél o tú u póko te iya, á'ó'ř
fire remaining here of me head that, not

e i'o iya ř'wě tu u áhi. iya hina ř'we. á'ó'é
is come to you of me fire. Then fall you. Not,

e i'o tu u ahi, a tahi a fěfál mahUwíkě me maúwi. u mál
is come of me fire." Then did combat Mahuike with Maui. Did come

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fëfál, u mál, u mál fëfál. a táhi a hina mahUwikë
combat, did come combat, did come combat. Then did fall Mahuike

i a'o. u pe'áU mahUwikë, túta të ï'i, e tu u pë'ka.
to down. Did say Mahuike," Mad your strength oh of me great-grandson."

Uwa tá'u maúwi. u ha'a tópa mahUwikë i to Wiya
Did take Maui. Did cause to fall Mahuike to his

áO. Uwa tópa te áO o mahUwikë. u fëfál hakaúwa aúwa. me húwa
face. Did fall the face of Mahuike. Did combat again these two. With this

hána, u mál fëfál fëfál. a táhi a pë'áU te táU atúwa iya
work, did come fight fight. Then did say the gods to

maúwi, umó'i owë e tú'u ówa te ko'ána te áhi iya ówë.
Maui, "Do not you give up lest the get the fire to you."

a táhi a ha'a páO te ï'i o mahUikë. Uwa tá i te upóko
Then did cause end to the strength of Mahuike. Did strike on the head

o mahUwikë i úna o te kë'a. u hï'i tavava te úpoko o
of Mahuike to on of the rock. Did break-to-pieces the head of

mahUwikë. a táhi a hiki te áhi méI oto mál o húwa úpoko
Mahuike. Then did go up the fire from in here of this head

o mahUwike. uwa ë'é titahi áhi i oto o te táU akáU,
of Mahuike. Did go another fire to in of the trees,

uwa ë'é titáhi i óto o te kë'a. PáOtu te táU áhi a
did go another to in of the rocks. All the fires of

mahUwikë i te tavava ma te táU fenú'wa. a táhi a
Mahuike to the breaking among the lands. Then did

pe'áU te atúwa iya maúwi, kéYu óko ówë i tihë néI
say the gods to Maui, "Play strong you to arrive here

i te áhi imi a mahUwikë. a táhi a húwa maúwi iyo to(w)iya
to the fire seek of Mahuike." Then did come Maui to his

huwá'a. u pë'áU huwa tuhú'na, I'cheya to ówë áhi? éna te
relatives. Did say this wise man, "Where your fire?" "There the

táU (W)áhi a mahUwikë u tavava ma na fenúwa páOtu.
fires of Mahuike did break over the lands all."

a táhi a pe'aU maúwi i toWiya huwá'a, a tó'o te
Then did say Maui to his relatives, "Take the

akáU, a fëfáti ma vavéna, a ha'a mówë te hópë owa i úna
wood, break in the middle, lay flat the half long to on

o te ëpo. o te hópë póto no te ï'ima. a áhi titáhi akáU
of the ground. Is the half short for the hands. Rub one wood

ma úna o titahi. u pe'áU te táU huw'a'a, a táhi a
on of the other." Did say the relatives, "Then

pëhë'ya? pe'áU maúwi, a táhi a ko'éna te áhi. o te oIVa
how?" Said Maui, "Then get the fire." Of the long-

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 773 *tína o te áki, a táhi a ko'ána tá tátóU páE áhi. Uwa*
ness of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

áki húwa pé'i. te ouwa tína o te áki uwa ú'a te áhi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te kóU náti. u mahá'o húwa mataéInana o mou'uri.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Maui.

u pe'éU huwa tuhúna, ouíya néI te ápáU i ná'ĕ ná'ĕ
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

áI te ó'a a mahUwíkĕ. a táhi a ha'a péI péI átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te áhi i úna o húwa kóU náti; uwa tú'u mĕ te keIkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

mó'o, a táhi a hé'i te ú'a o te áhi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with "*ka'ó-o-o-oha, nú-u-uwi-y-é-e-e-e-e* (*ka'oha nui e*)" with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and
171 were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but
324 the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate
[539] that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled
[531] to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow. 304x 413

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ha'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou*: 304x [776] [533 534]

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[8] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[8] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called *tuputu*, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting *tuhuna* were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the *tuhuna o'ono* lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono* and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoho*) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 inches high, were made of hard-packed earth at either end of the course. It was on these that the spears were glanced. There were two sides (*keke*) of five men each. Each man had his own lance. All gathered at one *uma* and alternately threw their lances. The man whose spear went farthest on the first throw was called *keua*, the winner of the second was *fakia*, of the third *maiero*, of the fourth *fitu e vau*, and of the fifth and last throw *uarike*. After the first throw, the contestants went along the course, recovered their lances, and then threw the second round from the *uma* at the other end of the course—and so on throughout, changing ends at each throw. The side that won the majority of throws won the game and received applause of the spectators. It is said that skilled players could throw a lance more than two hundred yards.

There were two ways of throwing the lance. Sometimes it was merely held in the hand and glanced on the mound with a sideways motion of the arm. But frequently a cord was used, much greater distance being attained by throwing in this way. A cord (*aho*) four or five feet long was doubled and the ends were tied together. The knot was placed against the shaft of the lance midway between its ends, the doubled cord being then passed around the shaft and back over itself next the knot, (forming a loop around the shaft) and carried up along the shaft toward the forward end, so that as long as it was held taut the shaft was held in the loop. One finger was inserted in the doubled cord, while the rest of the fingers grasped the shaft. When the lance was thrown, the cord served to swing the reed forward until the shaft was released by the cord's being drawn up from the knot.

SHAM BATTLES

541 *Kaokao, pehihua,* or *kahuka* was a sham battle, in which opposing sides of men from different valleys threw chestnuts (*ihi*), young coconuts (*ehi*), young breadfruit (*mei*), candlenuts (*ama*), and even small stones (*kiva*), at each other. The opposing sides stood about fifty paces apart and had alternate turns at throwing. Each man had three chances at hitting any member of the opposing side, and only one man threw at a time. Men were severely wounded and sometimes killed in the game. The game continued until one side was so depleted by casualties that it had to give in. All the while they played, those who were being thrown at leapt and danced about, taunting the thrower and crying "*kaokao*" when a speeding missile would miss its mark. It is said that women sometimes played the game with oranges or limes.

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, [839]
as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [492]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 589 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883 515
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents.[4] Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 597

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [557] [128]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565 184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tono-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named* after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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* A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii. 551 [424]

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names. [547]

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond. [826]

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father. 547 551

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 421

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *e inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils. [72]

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw: [551] [714]

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oé?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [197]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/66 cont./ 585 833

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. 159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 832

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named[4] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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[4] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

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701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the
347 usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this
[552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

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always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papua)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. [552] Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments
301 made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces
302 and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E.*)
[552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave*, *tove'o*, or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely paradoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[6] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[6] Dordillon, I. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

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Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

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The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

which had been worn out or damaged. The names of the Pua Ma'u canoes were Vaimakamaka, the largest and most important, Vaioto, Taipehe and Meaupiau.

The canoe normally consisted of nine parts, the underbody, bow piece, stern piece, two side planks, and four strips used to cover the side seams. Certain other parts were occasionally added. Each of the large sections was usually hewn from a single piece of wood, while the strips were made of bamboo.

The underbody of one large canoe and part of a second underbody, which had been made in two pieces, were seen in the valley of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva. The history of these objects had apparently been forgotten by the Hakaui natives, but according to Atu Ona informants one of the underbodies belonged to a canoe called Mo'ote which was made in that valley by a *tuhuna* named Kaneautia. This canoe was sent to the chief of Hakaui by a chief of Atu Ona in exchange for *enamoa*, a yellow paint or dye used for anointing the body, prepared in Nuku Hiva by a secret process. The debris of a great temanu tree from which this canoe is said to have been made is still to be seen in Atu Ona.

Hakaui informants said that the two underbodies had belonged to separate craft, not to a single double canoe. On the other hand Christian (10, p. 180) mentions two old canoes in this valley which, from their location, seem to be the same as those here referred to and gives a photograph of a large double canoe, unquestionably Marquesan, which he implies belongs with the reference. In this photograph each of the canoes appears to be complete in itself while the attachment consists of three cross poles, easily removable. It seems probable, therefore, that these canoes were used both singly and together.

A study of the complete underbody—which had been exposed to the weather and was much rotted and warped—brought out the following particulars:

It was 40 feet, 6 inches in length, with a maximum central width of 4 feet, which tapered to 2 feet, 6 inches at the ends. The original depth could not be accurately determined. The two ends of this underbody were identical.

The section of an underbody was much better preserved, having been stored under an overhanging cliff which protected it from the weather. If the underbody of which this had formed a part was similar to the complete specimen it must have been over 60 feet in length. Some old canoe models, which appear to be very accurate, clearly show that the two ends of underbodies were not always the same, the forward end often being made much broader and deeper to facilitate the firm attachment of the bow piece. The extreme shallowness and narrowness of the outer end of the section proves that it was the stern, and if we assume that the whole underbody was of the broad bowed type it is possible that it was not more than 40 to 45 feet in length. The dimensions of the section were as follows: Length 34 feet, 11 inches; maximum width (at a point 4 feet from the inner end of the section) 3 feet, 4 inches; width at stern, 1 foot, 6 inches; maximum depth (outside) 1 foot, 9 inches; depth at tip of stern 4½ inches. The walls were 1½ inches thick at the upper edge, increasing gradually to 2¾ inches in the center of the bottom. The cavity of the underbody had, in cross section, the form of a rectangle with rounded corners. The middle of the canoe was flat bottomed, becoming gradually more rounded toward the stern.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, 304x
back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of 531
the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the 184
present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, "*i te tiki*" means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living 304x
informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old 531
mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their 304x
significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the 531
body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the 552
body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *d*, left and right) zigzag: or in terms of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ka'ava* (Pl. x, *B*,
531 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this
552 function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *h*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *k*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *kaka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

304x
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aa fanana	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
hei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
nihoniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
tamau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [835]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [431]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513
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352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger. 552 778

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes. 552

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim. 551 [572] [552]

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did. 551 608

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with 619 611 604

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 858
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant [552 ●
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given 831]
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[547] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 1266

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 1784 481

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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553 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with
572 just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they
[786] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [182] [182]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The 852 783

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

[553] At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[623] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
793 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the
574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [582]
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa [164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

● 554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

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619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, re-
554 spectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them
593 a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo,* or *hamua),* who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki.* The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o té haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki,*
554 and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu,* chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki.* She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-tè-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki.* Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki,* the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu,* sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

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chief and chiefess are *haka-iki* (literally(made-chief) and *ha'a-te-pe'iu* or *haka-te-pe'iu* (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole. 622 554

Manner of Becoming a Chief

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. The chief referred to his people as his *hua'a*, the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as *hua'a*. *Tama*, literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances.. [642]

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, "*Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki*" (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fañ tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since. 533x 534

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote: [524]

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son. 533x 534

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 217, New York, 1876.

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X533 534 The elaborate festival that would be celebrated when the new arena was completed, and the ode, composed in honor of the youth, that would be chanted, would constitute an historic event that would glorify the individual, his family and his tribe, to the end of the memory of man, or certainly as long as there was any man living who could tell posterity for whom the place of celebration (*taha ko'ina*) had been built.

X533 789 The eulogistic chants had also a religious aspect, but this was more important in certain other chants that were recited for the first-born when he was a child. (See p. 23.) One of the fundamental concepts in the native religion was the belief that men and gods, in fact all things and beings whatever their nature, on account of a sympathetic psychic rapport that was thought to exist naturally (as between relatives), or that could be artificially established, were subject to direct influence through the medium of and by means of the repetition of "words with power" in dynamic chanting, and by dynamic movements accompanying the recital. The process of empowering the individual was also aided by the use of potent objects that served as mediums of psychic power. It is not difficult to picture the atmosphere of these occasions, nor to realize the actual effect that must have come to the child or youth. To the Marquesan, the feeling of the sense of power that must have come as an ever increasing accession during these performances would be sufficient proof of the actual effect; and we may surmise that the exuberant personal vanity characteristic of these people rendered the effect actual and lasting. The expansive feelings of pride and satisfaction would not be passing sensations but lasting realities that would be roused anew with every reminder of the event. Unquestionably these eulogistic singings had just the beneficial effects that the Marquesans attributed to them, though perhaps, American and European students will believe, from causes and in a manner different from those imagined by the natives.

X533 Besides the *putu, pehi, pipine* and *pope* (pp. 23-4), which were the only types of which Haapuane, my Marquesan informant, knew the melodies, there were a number of other kinds of eulogistic songs for different occasions. Several of these, the *Ti'e-mata* and *Faufau-oa*, were composed to be sung for the first-born boy at the chanting festival (p. 23), celebrating the completion of his education in the learning of the sacred chants and genealogies. The *pope* was composed and sung at the time of the consecration of a new house for the first-born; and the *putu* and *pehi* were performed in his honor when he had attained to young manhood. In addition to these, two other types of eulogistic chants may be mentioned. The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar to the *pipine*, but instead of honoring a young girl, it was composed and sung in honor of a

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648 sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

●554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for 491
the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same 554
manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with 622
this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gatta- 554
newa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he 784
steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his 554
family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, 957
&c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been 000
taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was
467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of
788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be
554 classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal
[423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene-
611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[519] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* [554] whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

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Households were graded in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households. 592 554

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed. [565]

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. 342 592 554 [483]

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment [554] of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or 162 wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural [592] wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice [847] infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, 592 a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband 595 outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592

The household also included the children of the women, 595 either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were 842 perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 851

595 842 851 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 595 When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 554 597 [852] The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 584 592 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social 584
elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely 592
took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several 554
generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was mov- 584
ing toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by 592
marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to 622
his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, [597]
the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an aban- 342
doned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a 554
household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the 554
rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required 584
wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in 592
his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their [556]
status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispens-
ing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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554 584 592 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 592 595 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

Below the priests ranked the *toa,* the important warriors. 554
These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga,* 701
or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the 623
council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of 622
their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god. 622

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief. 622 789 831

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *mohomoho,* a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of 622 [556]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating
[535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.)
[786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

R3

The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a*, *tau'a nui*, or sometimes *atua*, which means literally god. The *tau'a*, who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, *u'u*, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha*, *veveahu*, or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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539 from generation to generation, the names being changed to apply upon different occasions. They were chanted at the time of the death of a relative and at the memorial festivals. Immediately after a death, when relatives were coming to the house to pay their respects, each would chant his *uta*. These sacred *uta* were sung by choruses at the memorial festivals, the singers being seated and accompanying their chanting with hand clapping, but with no body motion. It was very unfortunate that I was unable to find anyone who knew the melody of an *uta*, although texts of this type of song were more easily obtained than any other. Great festivals spoken of as *uta nui* were apparently the same as the memorial feasts. At such feasts the *uta* were accompanied by three small drums (*umi or putu*), three great drums (*pahu me'ae*), and three *pahu pepe'e* (?).

539 556 The composition and singing of the simpler laudatory *uta* was described as follows by an informant at Atu Ona. *Uta* and *rari* were prepared and sung together on these occasions. According to this informant the *uta* was in honor of old people and the *rari* in honor of young girls. When it had been decided to have a combined *ko'ina rari* and *ko'ina uta*, the maternal uncles of the girl for whom the *rari* was to be composed sought out youths and had them to build a house (*oho-au*) in which the song would be rehearsed. This house was made near the dwelling of the girl and was a small shed open in front. The youths who collected the materials and erected the house were fed by the family for whom they worked. This was their only payment. Work could be done on the house only at night. The *oho-au rari* was not *tapu*. The *tuhuna* who was employed to compose and teach the *uta* and *rari* did his work of composing at home and used the *oho-au* merely for rehearsing his choruses, the *uta* being taught to a group of old men and women, and the *rari* to a group of youths and maids. Doubtless it was the same group of male *ka'ioi* who erected the *oho-au* that sang in the chorus. Both the *rari* and the *uta* were in honor of the girl. When the songs had been well learned in the *oho-au* a feast was celebrated on the tribal feast place, the feast being to "show the *oho-au* (sacred house) of the girl," that is, exhibit the house and songs that had been prepared in her honor. A long time was necessary for the preparation of food for the feast. All comers had to bring their contributions. First the genealogy or genealogies of the family or families who were honoring their daughters were chanted; next the *uta* were sung by the old people; and lastly, the *rari* were intoned by the groups of youths and maidens. There was no dancing. The festival ended with a feast. Such a feast was celebrated in honor of a girl at some time after her adolescence, but was not directly connected with this event in her life.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of 121 natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country [178] and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, [176] from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to 304x certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called 556 a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer 465 work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*. Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently, guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x304 556 465 naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

x304 556 561 While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

x304 714 622 Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment. 554 584 592

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families. 554 584 592 622

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it. [597] 342 554

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge 554 584 592 [556]

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in thewhole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 597 621 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace
[558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous
[411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas. 727 266

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten. 727 [266 558]

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that 727 754

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana,* grandfather; *tupuna vehine,* grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna.* Great-grandparents were *peka,* great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau,* and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina.* These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama,* grandson, and *moupuna mo'i,* granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina.*

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata).* Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una,* there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai,* literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o,* to take; *maohi,* to seize or take; and *hopu,* to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai,* foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama,* children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa,* boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e,* girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu,* an adolescent girl; *ahana,* males of virile age; and *vehine,* women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua,* old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o),* old women. 601 561

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*304 556 465

naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

*304 556 561

While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

*304 714 622

Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 362 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

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×304 clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must
[731] agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the
[561] father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi,* who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou.*

×304 A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal
184 marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo,* whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

×304 That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious sea-
881 sons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

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men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304x
definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 581
chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [541]
success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304x
with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343
tuhuna and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602
the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones *(hutu)* were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561]
forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi, tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

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x304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

x304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for x304 262 them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [592]
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person
[689 who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—par-
754] ticularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected
[562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power
[689 to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu*
754] was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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562 Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is impossible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of performance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.*

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

*For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [567]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

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Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left-foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

● 562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

958 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in-
844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302 at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize 562] still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable
831 bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desir-
562 able girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in
762 the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

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776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources.

114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114

basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562 contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833 basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177] Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833 may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182 in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

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621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
793 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the
574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu*; while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu* were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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565 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:
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> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern [164] section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

534 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 597

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [551] [428]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565] [184]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [782] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima (ha'a,* to make; *me'ie,* clear; *ima,* hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi.* The 852 783

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tooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability 463
and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai,* acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna.* That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

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Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as pay- [465]
ment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth 565
thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono,* master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in
● 565 connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized en-
464 terprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences.
784 The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accom-
[187] plishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [534]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tewuvu* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [291] [565]

6: Lisianaky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 565 342 the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for [356] their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351 the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [287] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

Households were graded
in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man 592
power; the more active adult males the household had, the more 554
it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, [565] social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. 342
There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The 592
house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a 554
stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which [483] were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house.

/31 cont./

clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 548 648 sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836 that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554 form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648 resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826 velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832 ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833 complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857] strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839] and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492] discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152] feel.

/62 cont./ The 586
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178]
ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships, [123]

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 571 831 unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178 been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [48] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831 the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797 missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/106 cont./

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923). 462

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [338] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

565 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva,
622 probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa
[164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and
554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters,
● 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesa OX6

the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

/51cont./

826 831 [192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

831 834 [609] [571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

838 883 838

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 839 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 114 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special 182

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 421

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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553 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, there-
● 572 fore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they
[788] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 352 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The 352 783

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
793 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front
● 574 of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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883 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period
836 usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village
● [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution
[184] in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fafi tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou,* post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka.* Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
556 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obliga-
431 tion of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [432]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513 352

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [184] [171]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

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The Sleeping House

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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539 A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

539 576 The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father, other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bring- [2.01] ing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu 'me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing. 539 576

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. 533 The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone 539 to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most 576 interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

539 576 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

534 534 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

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younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The 857
group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell.

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-con- [156]
fidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical [576]
of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[577] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

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The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

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621 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the
●578 dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

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The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

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FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

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same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one [184] group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 621 622 631 578

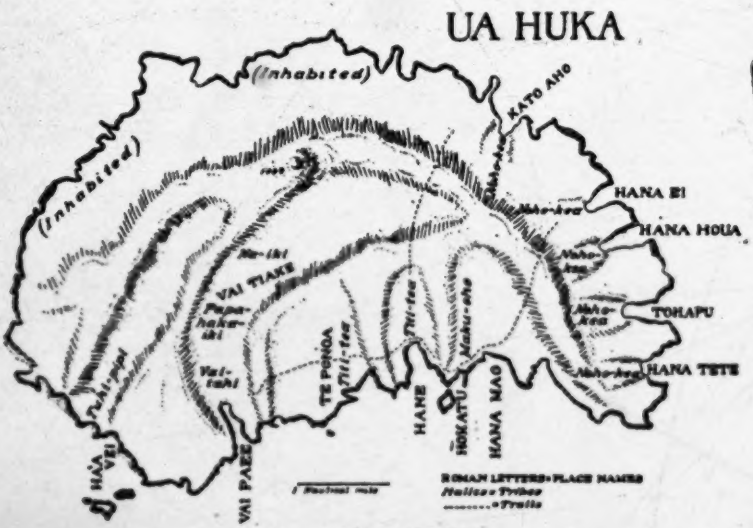

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FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the 621 578

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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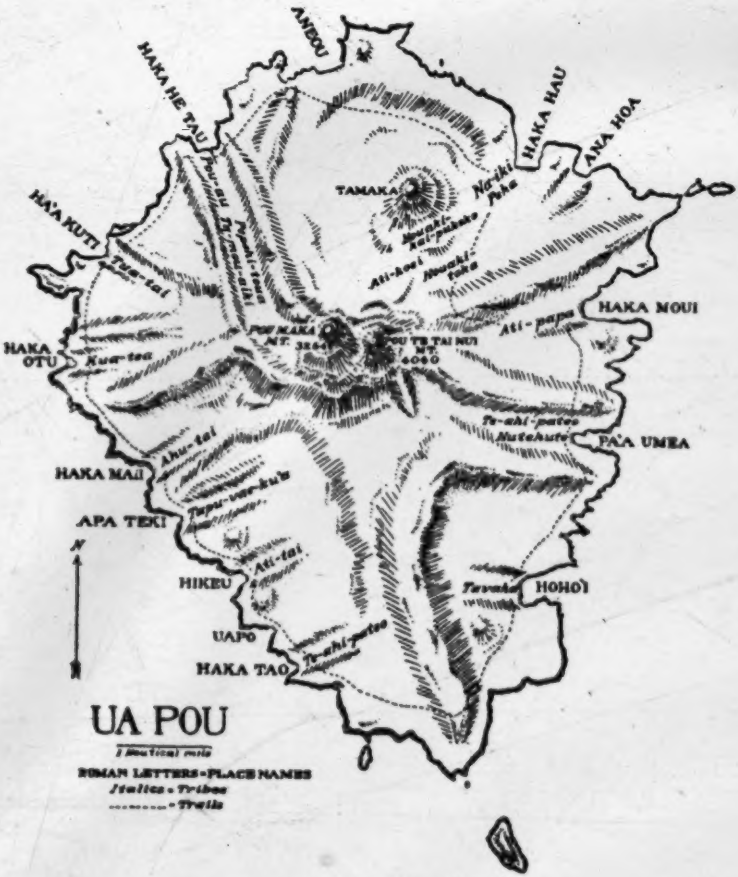

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

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sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

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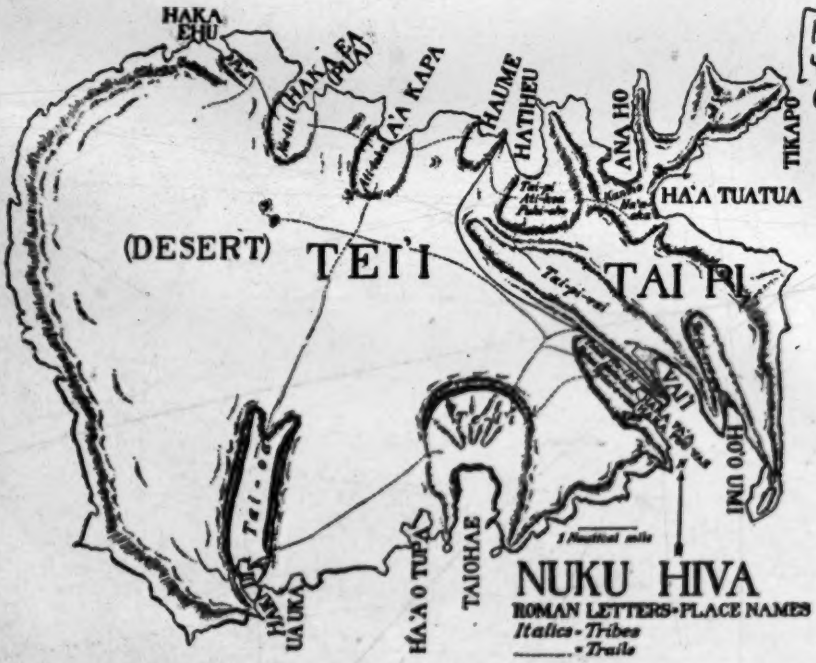

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FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

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Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[9] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[9]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, 597 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as 621 united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.) 789 578

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4). [762]

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war 291

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539 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in 789 surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vakahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

539 The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used 578 in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*ua hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband 762
appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be in- [156]
terpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride.

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jeal- 152
ousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the 578
household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys 595
from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife.

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being 583
that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs.

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the house-
[793] hold. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
273 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 887
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/69 cont./ 837
two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most 521
valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684
extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152]
injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 934
is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837
in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [578]
be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837
a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/71 cont./ 521
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being pro- 522
duced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. 831
These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already 192
been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," 195
p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented 831
here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over
Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The [177]
word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate,"
and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on con- 521
versation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except 831
in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect re- [602]
lations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, [606]
are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed con- 831
siderably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both 179
with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than [578]
referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere). 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 951

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [58 584] [607 837]

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Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants made no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

● 581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide.

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [582] ●
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawàii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no 848 such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu,* being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaka,* 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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601 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiititohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every [604] child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not [582] allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 604 605 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

● 582 604 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 835 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

583 through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848 or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582 applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

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contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge herself either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by [386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation- 848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ohana* and *vehine*, merely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more or less permanently.

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6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721
This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766
its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782
deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837
women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585
with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583
session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to [591] one of their own. 1804. May.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

848 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the 586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that 588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above 000 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband 762
appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride. [156]

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife. 152 578 595

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs. 583

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [793] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and 273] that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in- 685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi- 682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia. Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 852 858 881 [584] [301]

Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 858

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enata mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!——O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . i!——Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!——May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!——O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

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527 **Mau hei titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the fete (*tuahaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunona*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Ques-
842 tioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
851 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
● 584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [762] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatá mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!——O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!——Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!——May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!——O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, sucking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, 584
which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fafi tapu*, or 431
formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fafi tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fafi tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fafi tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fafi tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is de- 584
scribed as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of 585
wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunona*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fañ tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fañ me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that 586] there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the second crop, called *kato'o* or *ki'ihi*, might be used for *popoi* for this feast. When the pigs and the *feikai mei pa'a* (*feikai*, grease; *mei pa'a*, ripe breadfruit) had been prepared in the special house, the final preparations for the feast were made. The food was wrapped up in little parcels and distributed everywhere, hung up in the tops of trees, hidden all about, inside, under, and on top of the sleeping house. All the valuable of the family were taken out and secreted, as everything was demolished in the scramble for the food that was to follow. All the time the work of preparing the food was proceeding, the women of the boy's family chanted their genealogies (*hahi*). There were no *tapu* connected with the work. As many as ten great ovens would be made, half the food prepared being for the workers. Offerings of food, called *hai hei*, were also sent to the future son-in-law from the valley of the girl.

The *ko'ina hunona* was then celebrated. All the people from Ta'a Oa set out in advance of the family of the girl. They and the Atu Ona people raided the house of the boy where the food was concealed—in searching for the food they demolished everything.

The family of the girl then arrived bringing gifts, consisting of ornaments, and were followed by the girl, who came with her parents and *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). As they approached the house of the boy's father, the maternal uncles and paternal aunts (*pahupahu*) carried the girl. They bore a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of *hiapo* (sacred cloth made of banyan bark, reddish brown in color) on their heads. An uncle preceded with the girl on his shoulders, the others following behind, carrying on their heads the long *hiapo*. Those carrying the girl and her *hiapo*[14] were met by the maternal uncles and paternal aunts of the boy carrying him and his long loin cloth in the same way. The two parties exchanged the boy and the girl. Each party then walked under the loin cloth carried by the other. Both parties then made a circuit, in procession, while the genealogies of both families were chanted. This completed the formalities of marriage. Other festivities (*ko'ina hunona*) followed, however, which repeated the same rite.

Six months or so later the paternal aunts of the boy would make a second *ko'ina hunona* for the boy, at which exactly the same ritual was gone through. It took place at the house of the richest sister, the others helping. Each *ko'ina hunona* for the boy was reciprocated by one for the girl by her parents, when everything was done in just the same way, except that the preparations were made by the girl's relatives at her father's house and the boy's family brought the gifts. The boy's family must,

[14] It was explained that this was white cloth. The use of the term *hiapo* here is probably incorrect; it should be *uto*. *Hiapo* is sometimes loosely applied to loin cloths in general.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particu- [171] larly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was cus- [431] tomary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721 This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766 its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782 deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837 women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people. It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585 with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583 session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is con-
cluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

848 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
OTO all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[2] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[2] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually 583
narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, [883]
settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is
accorded community acceptance and recognition, without
any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents
of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is
called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often
another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to [177]
which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate
those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most 583
common, two factors have produced a recent increase in 585
church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudi- 178
mentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in [648]
the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on re- [697]
calcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous
indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled
by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government
authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the
church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the [797]
goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become ob-
vious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter
has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite [626]
high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pres-
sure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced
into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would [797]
have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church
blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not in- 586
frequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the ab- [585]
sence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely de-
parts. If there are children, they are divided among parents,
in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585●
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka 585
na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, 192
there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex 195
act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used 585
among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply 833
slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words.

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was un- [586] happy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna,* and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu,* both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fah tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia.* At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fah me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that 586] there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of
pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or
six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the
occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to
make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer
like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of
age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children
before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an
advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right
of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not
subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly
domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care
of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch
fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are
all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in
the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in,
such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the
ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole
attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed
barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men.
Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with
great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid
piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated
to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get
on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would
otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from
the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom
of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes
for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone
and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of
mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden
harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is con-
cluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

848 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
●586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
000 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/62 cont./ The 586 197 797

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to [591] one of their own. 1804. May.

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatá mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!.....O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!.....Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!.....May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!.....O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342]
to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the [231]
dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however [626]
and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/36 cont./

their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence. 589 883

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, clothing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted. 883 548

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls. 883 515 832

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act. [201]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is con-
cluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

548 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
000 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342]
to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family [231]
barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626]
and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi,* Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

622 592 357 [689]

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622 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape
592 (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was
357 to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself
689 with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a,* which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation-
592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just
622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived
357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka,* skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana,* and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto.* Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs. 592 622 357

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense. 622 576

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely, and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii. [84] [17]

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun- 622 292

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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga*, and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 769] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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Households were graded

in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households. 592 554

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed. [565]

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. 342 592 554 [483]

343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is [773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the [564] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

 611 592

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment [554] of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or 162 wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural [592] wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice [847] infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, 592 a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband 595 outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592

The household also included the children of the women, 595 either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were 842 perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 851

595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
842 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-
851 such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment. 554 584 592

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families. 554 584 592 622

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it. [597] 342 554

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge 554 584 592 [556]

554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). 883
Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon 883
for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and par- 304
ticularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further [597]
explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born [593]
or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, re-
554 spectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them
593 a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo,* or *hamua),* who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki.* The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki,*
554 and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu,* chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki.* She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki.* Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki,* the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu,* sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 500 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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Secondary Mates

Secondary husbands and secondary wives were called *pekio*. *Pekio* came to a woman or a man only upon the mutual consent of both *ahana* and *vehine*. Male *pekio* were numerous in chiefs' households and were common in all families. On the other hand, it appears that female *pekio* were very rare even in chiefs' households. Garcia (14, p. 111) writes that he knew of only one example of polygamy. Stewart states (26, p. 317) that he had never heard of a man's having two wives, but that "for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit." I know, however, of a man on Hiva Oa who had three wives at the same time. There appear to have been two reasons for the more frequent plurality of husbands; first, the fact that men greatly outnumbered women and, secondly, that the chief purpose in the *pekio institution* was to obtain assistance in work. Assistant male workers were required and were of much more value in the Marquesas than females. The principal *pekio* in a chief's household was always known as *tahu ahi* (fire lighter or guardian). He attended to the fire and did the cooking for the chief and had the first right to the common wife when the true husband was absent. It was the universal rule in both chiefly and other families that *pekio* could cohabit with the wife only when the husband himself was absent. It is doubtful whether there is anything in Krusenstern's belief (16, p. 167) that the main function of the *pekio* was to guard a man's wife during his absence. In a chief's establishment all of the *pekio* lived in a separate house of their own near the dwelling of the chief. It will be seen (in the discussion of betrothal) that if a man or woman lived with another woman or man who had not been the *tuia* or affianced mate this person was called *pekio* even though he or she might be the only actual mate.

Melville and Stewart give interesting evidence as to how the *pekio* relationship sometimes came about. Melville says (23, p. 222):

> The girls are first wooed and won at a very tender age by some stripling in the household in which they reside. This, however, is a mere frolic of the affections, and no formal engagement is contracted. By the time this first love has a little subsided, a second suitor presents himself, of graver years, and carries both boy and girl away to his own habitation. This disinterested and generous-hearted fellow now weds the young couple—marrying damsel and lover at the same time—and all three thenceforth live together as harmoniously as so many turtles.

Stewart supports this as follows (26, p. 317):

> We have yet met with no instance, in any rank of society, of a male with two wives, but are informed that for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit. Some favourite in the father's household or retinue at an early period becomes the husband of the daughter, who still remains under the paternal roof till contracted

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595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

848 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
~~588~~ all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 784] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

611 592 [554]

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

162 [592]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

[847]

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The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

592 595 842 851

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

595 842 851 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 595 When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 554 597 [852] The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 584 592 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
562 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
592 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time
595 that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride.

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife.

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs.

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

/62 cont./ The 586
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178]
ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships, [123]

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in thewhole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says: 883

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au,* including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting. 883 304

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi,* because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* [597] [593]

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana,* grandfather; *tupuna vehine,* grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna.* Great-grandparents were *peka,* great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau,* and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina.* These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama,* grandson, and *moupuna mo'i,* granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina.*

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata).* Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una,* there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai,* literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o,* to take; *maohi,* to seize or take; and *hopu,* to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai,* foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama,* children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa,* boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e,* girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu,* an adolescent girl; *ahana,* males of virile age; and *vehine,* women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua,* old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o),* old women. 601 561

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild. 547

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers. [551] [422]

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family. [565] [134]

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, 547 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as 621 united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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Adoption Rites for Chiefs

The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

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597 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption. 547 431

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things. [602]

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and 551

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Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii. 551 [424]

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names. [597]

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond. [826]

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father. 597 551

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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583 through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848 or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582 applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 611 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 611 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 [517] The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Ques-
842 tioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
851 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment. 554 584 592

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families. 554 584 592 622

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it. [597] 342 554

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge 554 584 592 [556]

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals,[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597 ●
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts -- Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 159 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approached only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia. Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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604 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiititohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every
[604] child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*
[589] was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana,* grandfather; *tupuna vehine,* grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna.* Great-grandparents were *peka,* great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau,* and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina.* These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama,* grandson, and *moupuna mo'i,* granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina.*

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata).* Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una,* there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai,* literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o,* to take; *maohi,* to seize or take; and *hopu,* to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai,* foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama,* children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa,* boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e,* girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu,* an adolescent girl; *ahana,* males of virile age; and *vehine,* women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua,* old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o),* old women. 601 561

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 604 605 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 604 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 835 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
846 cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutoi putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
• [602] to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka,* cross; *ka'ahu ahi,* charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus- [302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 ●602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304x
definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 881
chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [841]
success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304x
with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343
tuhuna and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602
the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones *(hutu)* were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561]
forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi, tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

would often make an offering to the god before beginning his 776
task. The *tuhunga* were also priests to the gods of their crafts, though they had little formal ritual and, except in the case of the fishermen, no sacred place.

Below the gods was another series of supernatural beings, the *vehini-hai,* or wild women. The natives were not clear as to whether or not these spirits were of human origin, but they did have human form. They were malevolent toward children, watching them continuously, sometimes merely making them sick and at other times stealing or eating them. They were also dangerous to young men. Appearing as beautiful women, the *vehini-hai* would present themselves to some charming young man in a lonely place and invite him to go along with them. If he complied, they would lead him to their caves, where they would turn back into ogresses and devour him. Occasionally however, the *vehini-hai,* instead of eating her victim, would try to establish him in an affectionate relationship, which was, needless to say, a very uncomfortable and dangerous position for the young man. The men who had encountered these *vehini-hai* said that they usually appeared as beautiful young girls, but that they were always hungry, and if one could steal glances at them when they were off guard, one could see their eyes shoot out and their long hungry tongues pop out and lick the ground. This was warning that one's associate was an ogress and not a lovely lady, and that it was time to get away.

Still another series of supernatural beings were the *fanaua.* 776
They were the spirits of dead men who became the familiars 602
of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding. They never operated against men. No woman had more than one *fanaua.* This spirit might be the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, i.e., a father, grandfather, or even some important member of the family several generations back. In such cases his relations with the woman were probably not on the basis of sexual attraction, although I could get no exact information on this point. The *fanaua* might also be a 776

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602] child as the physiological mother does. When the child can walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862 the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178] These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757] treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597 infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become obvious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives, hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836] formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such instances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556] terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endearing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechanism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476] an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for reinforcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite considerable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing numerous small, but vital functions.

1' [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/32 cont./

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Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 179 [578]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 169
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, . . almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.

164 192

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/95 cont./

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therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
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A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
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The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
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Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
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judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/24 cont./ 868 866 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/32 cont./

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/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom. 603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body. 291

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 291 797 178 291 797 178 797 834 [291]

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 698 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

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A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiititohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship 604 was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and 605 nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male 604 and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, 835 rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene-
611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 858
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given [552
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all 831]
the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
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At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
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sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
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on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. 835
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825] in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164] he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when [786] the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

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/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded. 521 522 831

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen." 192 195 831 [177]

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature. 521 831 [602] [606]

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters. 831 179 [578]

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approached only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] [554] members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dance and

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 ●609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fafi tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group. 101 114

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded. 133

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly diposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of 609 ● [301] [301] [237]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. [622] They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [291] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

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The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and 152
open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It [609]
was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They
manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief,
although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded 763
death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived
immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my
stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not
going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a
magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it
was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the
work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it
on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the
construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of 152
an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He
had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted
on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then
leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did
not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing
the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, 626
an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the
mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be
subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a
polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view.
They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his
back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe,
there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles,
the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest
of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the
standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of
thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which
was previously discussed.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with 121
many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, 122
fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their na- 123
tive tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider 191
will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against [609] the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they be- [522] come a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the 122
investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects 124
of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the [521]

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [179]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/51cont./

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans 826 831 characteristic of this type was probably [192] quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals 831 in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for 834 a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in [571] [291] bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate [532] with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the [826] genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the fore- [609] skin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears 838 with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the 883 term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On 838 the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

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604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene-
611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[597] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the
[564] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

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 611 592

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth. [554]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women. 162 [592] [847]

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592 595 592 595

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 842 651

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TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipinui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4). 619

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined. 619 616

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa. 619 631

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the
genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of
any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands,
but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two
rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While
popoi made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking [262]
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more Euro-
pean than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee
and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cook-
ing utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who
have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of
Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their
sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally
affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 177
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, accord- 144
ing to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the
finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of
them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind.
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of 164
rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other
minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands
and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life
with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their
whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural
avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely
by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near
disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension
on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse
that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally
unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174 167
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local dif- 184
ferentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

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TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipinui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4). 619 ●

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined. 619 616

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa. 619 631

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
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FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

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The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the
578 dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578

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FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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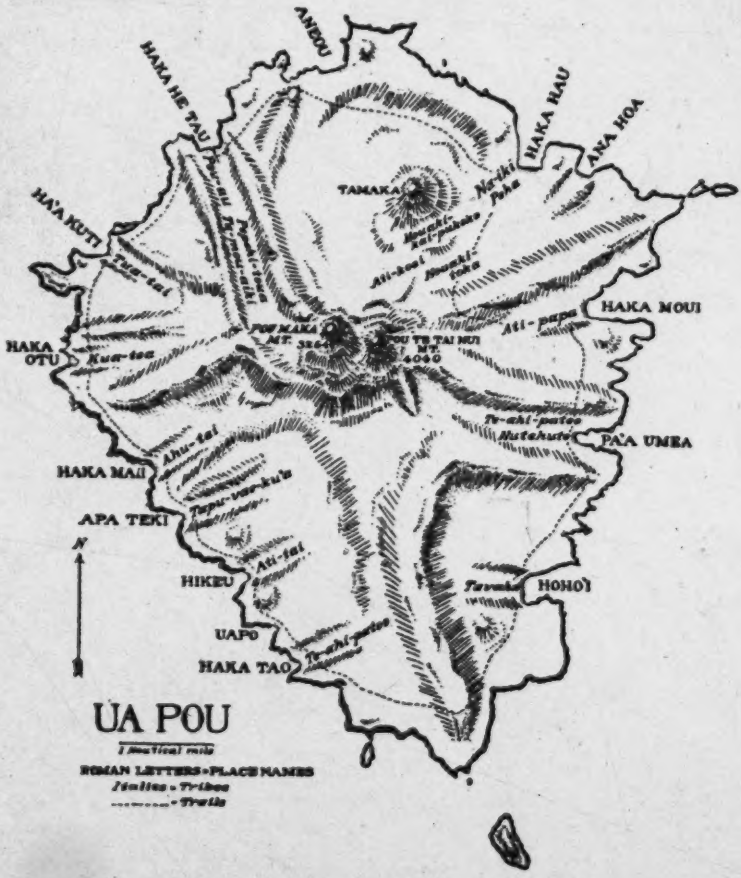

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

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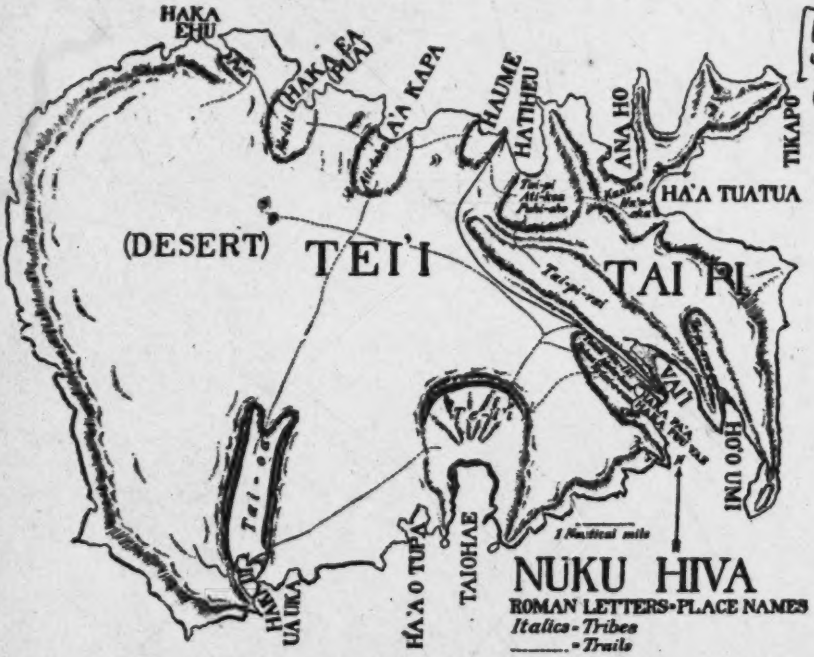

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FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage. 619 621

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes. 622 631 184

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224): 622 621

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,*
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the [515]
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619 ●
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 621 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 554 543 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, respectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki*. The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 554 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*, and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu*, chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki*. She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*. Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu*, sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 1804. May. [64] Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful [65] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making [66] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
649 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
●619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619 ●
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long gene-
611 alogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[519] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] [554]
members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 769] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

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The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hebe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

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621 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the 578 dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

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The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

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FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

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same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 621 622 631 578

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FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the 621 578

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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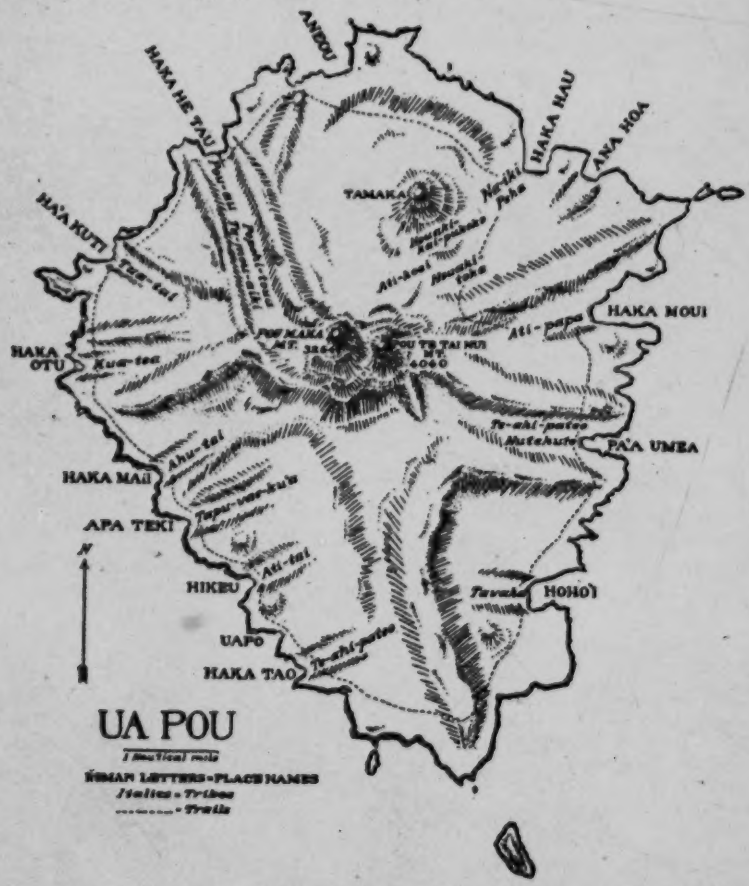

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

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sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

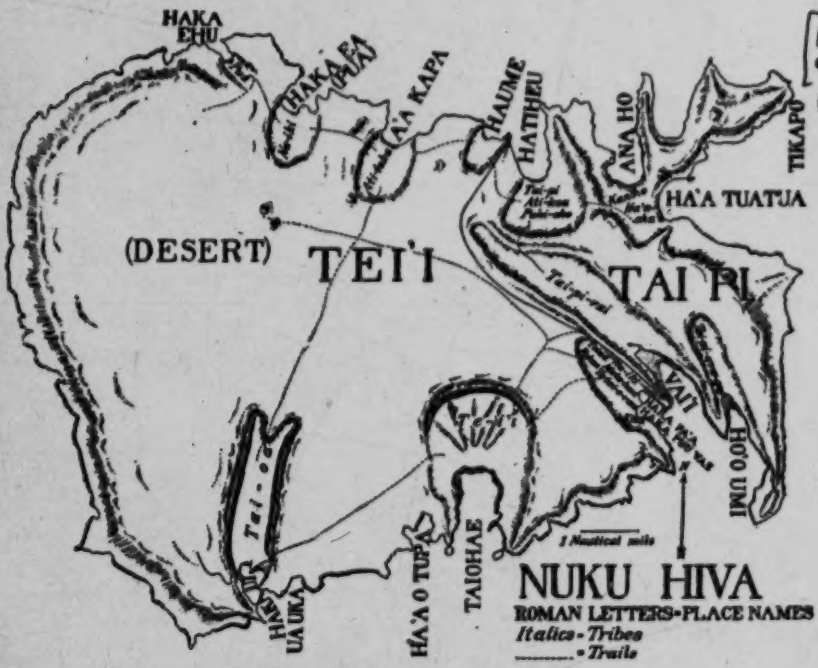

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during [illegible], indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [172] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [176] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [173] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [178] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage. 619 621

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes. 622 631 184

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224): 622 621

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

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621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
763 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front
574 of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge [71] on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

● 621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 322
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* [515]
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, re-
554 spectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them
543 a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki*. The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*,
554 and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu*, chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki*. She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*. Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu*, sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 500 632 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, 597 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing 621 about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ha*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[23] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days. 252 621 [251]

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish. 252 [222 415]

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [197] 361 621 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

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 578 621

through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578

[133 487 619]

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[623] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
193 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'o*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front
574 of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [582]
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa [164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* [515]
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanawa,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
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the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, re-
554 spectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them
593 a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo,* or *hamua),* who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki.* The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki,*
554 and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu,* chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki.* She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki.* Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki,* the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu,* sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

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chief and chiefess are *haka-iki* (literally(made-chief) and *ha'a-te-pe'iu* or *haka-te-pe'iu* (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole.

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Manner of Becoming a Chief

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. The chief referred to his people as his *hua'a,* the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as *hua'a. Tama,* literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances..

[642]

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, "*Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki*" (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi,* Krusenstern says (16, p. 167): 622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed. 622 592 357 [689]

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For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a,* which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relationship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka,* skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

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Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana,* and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto.* Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

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622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no 848 such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 500 632 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person
[689 who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—par-
754] ticularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected
[562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power
[689 to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu*
754] was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god. 622

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief. 622 789 831

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *moho-moho,* a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of 622 [556]

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●622 chiefs except over their own households. The evidence of early visitors varies as regards the authority of chiefs. Krusenstern (16, p. 165) supports this:

> I have already had occasion to mention that the form of government is any thing rather than monarchical; the king is not to be distinguished either by his dress or by his ornaments from the lowest of his subjects: they laugh at his orders, and should he venture to strike any one, he would infallibly meet with a like return.

Porter (24, p. 98) says:

> As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children.

Melville, on the other hand, was impressed with the personal authority of the chiefs in Tai-pi Vai during his residence. He writes (23, p. 217):

> During the festival I had not failed to remark the simplicity of manner, the freedom from all restaint, and, to a certain degree, the equality of condition manifested by the natives in general. No one appeared to assume any arrogant pretensions. There was little more than a slight difference in costume to distinguish the chiefs from the other natives. All appeared to mix together freely, and without any reserve; although I noticed that the wishes of a chief, even when delivered in the mildest tone, received the same immediate obedience which elsewhere would have been only accorded to a peremptory command.

When Melville arrived he was also made to feel the personality of the chief. He says (23, p. 74):

> Close to where we lay . . . were some eight or ten noble-looking chiefs . . . . who, more reserved than the rest, regarded us with a fixed and stern attention, which not a little discomposed our equanimity. One of them in particular, who appeared to be the highest in rank, placed himself directly facing me; locking at me with a rigidity of aspect under which I absolutely quailed. He never once opened his lips, but maintained his severe expression of countenance, without turning his face aside for a single moment. Never before had I been subjected to so strange and steady a glance; it revealed nothing of the mind of the savage, but it appeared to be reading my own.

Melville's whole account would indicate a strict obedience to their chief on the part of the people. It seems probable that in Taiohae at the time it was visited by Porter, Stewart, and Krusenstern, there were chiefs who were capable of wielding little personal authority. The general attitude of old Hiva Oa natives in discussing chiefs indicates a strong individualistic spirit of freedom but at the same time a definite respect for and appreciation of the authority of a *haka-iki*.

[171] One thing which prevented chiefs of the Marquesas from assuming such arbitrary power as was held by those of Tahiti and Hawaii was the fact that in the Marquesas chiefs were invested with neither the sacredness nor the religious prestige that would support such authority. It is

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the 622
same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and un- 624
organized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war 721
called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their 624
advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the 793
main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a,* the inspi- 624

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793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in
● 622 the community, including the *tuhuna,* and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a,* who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna,* leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa,* war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa.* The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa).* The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name. 627 784

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic. 622 423

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

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423 primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself,
622 but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his
[422] house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua*.) The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ka'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

[764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [121] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of those rites.

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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [292] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to [291] me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411]
length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276]
intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
● 622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for 491
the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same 554
manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with 622
this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gatta- 554
newa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he 784
steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his 554
family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, 357
&c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been 000
taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

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1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen. 648

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were doing, uninterrupted by his presence. His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells. [622] [302]

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

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●622 1804. May. [629] Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful [651] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making [928] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

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naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

X304 556 561

While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

X304 714 622

Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants gave no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social 584
elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely 592
took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several 554
generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was mov- 584
ing toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by 592
marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to 622
his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, [597]
the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an aban- 342
doned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a 554
household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the 554
rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required 584
wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in 592
his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their [556]
status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 853
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given [552
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all 831]
the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

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Below the priests ranked the *toa*, the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga*, or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

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712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace
[558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit.
[411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 ●622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

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fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

●623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the
622 important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fañ tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167): 622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed. 622 592 357 [689]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the 622
same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and Executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and un- 624
organized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war 721
called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their 624
advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the 793
main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a*, the inspi- 624

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the
622 important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and 152
open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It [609]
was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They
manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief,
although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded 763
death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived
immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my
stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not
going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a
magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it
was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the
work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it
on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the
construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of 152
an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He
had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted
on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then
leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did
not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing
the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, 626
an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the
mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be
subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a
polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view.
They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was neverthe-
less aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his
back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe,
there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles,
the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest
of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the
standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of
thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important fac-
tor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which
was previously discussed.

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342] to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the [231] dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626] and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/57 cont./
on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional re- 835
ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander.
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relation-
ship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by
native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825]
in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor
reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164]
he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the
promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This [786]
occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when
the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged
man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite
fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to
marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred
the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been
involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread
the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the
girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked
who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated
her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while
supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed
the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to
prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter
for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it
is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two
nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824 [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes be- [14]
gan heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the com-
plex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name. 627 784

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic. 622 423

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 1804. May. [64] Noocahiva, like all the other islands of this group is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful [65] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making [92] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

● 627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

628 721 [302] tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and [266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

726 (ʻua'a, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in
784 triumph. The *ko'ina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-
726 hunting, was called *moe oe (moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy
726 many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal 619
organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with [608] [554]
members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption 619
between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar 628
bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This 619
community center was rated as part of the chief's household 344
establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace
[558] that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous cere-
monial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous
[411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
[302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipi-nui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4). 619

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined. 619 616

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa. 619 631

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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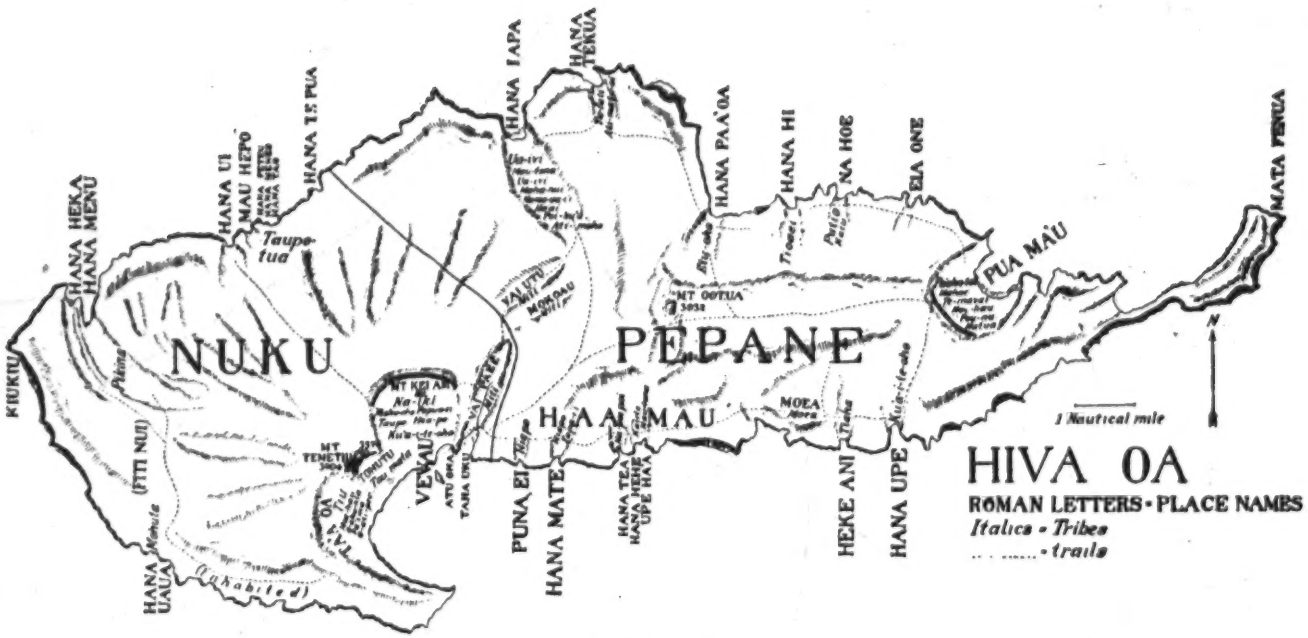
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HANA HI
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HANA HEKE
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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

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The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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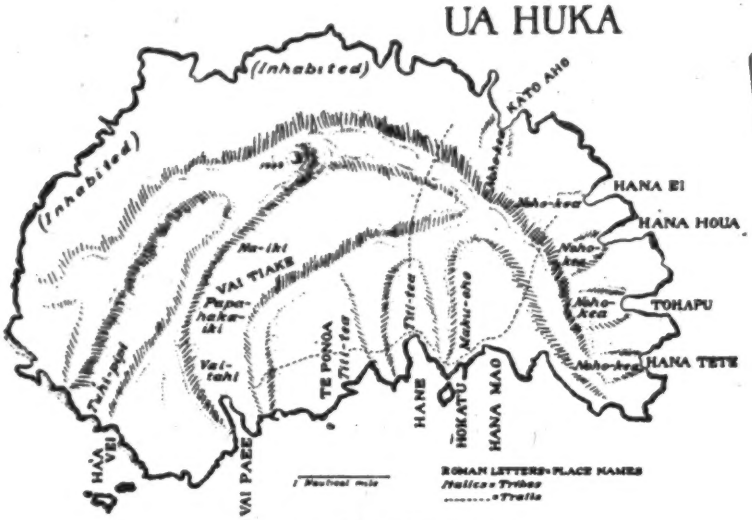
through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578



[133 487 619]

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage. 619 621

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes. 622 631 184

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224): 622 621

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
• 634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - -	19,200

726 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

chief and chiefess are *haka-iki* (literally(made-chief) and *ha'a-te-pe'iu* or *haka-te-pe'iu* (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole.

622 554

Manner of Becoming a Chief

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. The chief referred to his people as his *hua'a*, the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as *hua'a*. *Tama*, literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances..

[642]

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of
● 645 divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his 142
countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing 648
their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived [262]
they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, [415]
good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head [142]
and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

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[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.
[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

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648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

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jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts. 648

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery. 131 133

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

At a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast. 131

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

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131 ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

648 While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible [147] from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

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child in his arms. Clasped together, they were sent to the bottom by a shot from an arquebus that one of the soldiers fired off. He said afterwards, with great sorrow, that the Devil had to take those who were ordained to be taken. The Chief Pilot said to him that he regretted that he had not fired in the air, but the soldier said that he acted as he did lest he should lose his reputation as a good marksman. The Chief Pilot asked him what it would serve him to enter into hell with the fame of being a good shot? The Camp Master returned without having found either a port or a watering place. 648

At the same time four very daring natives had gone on board the ship, and while no one was looking, one of them took a small dog, which was the gift of the Camp Master. Then, with a shout they all jumped overboard with great courage, and swam to their canoes.

The next day, which was St. James's day, the General again sent the Camp Master, with twenty soldiers, to the island of Santa Cristina to find a watering place and a port. He effected a landing with the men in good order, and surrounded a village while the inhabitants stood looking on. The Camp Master called to them, and about three hundred came. Our people then drew a line, telling the natives by signs that they were not to go beyond it. On asking for water they brought some in cocoa nuts, and the women brought other kinds of fruit. The soldiers said that many of these women were very pretty, and that they were ready to come near in friendly intercourse, and to give their presents with their hands. The Camp Master sent the natives for water with the jars, but they made signs that our people should carry them; running off with four jars, for which reason we opened fire on them.

The General, having seen the port into which the Camp Master had gone, ordered the ship to be taken into it and anchored. But the wind died away under the land, and

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the ship was taken by a wave to within a lance's length of a rock, with 50 fathoms close to it. There was great consternation at the obvious danger. Sail was made, and God was served that a breeze should spring up, and the ship stood off. Then there came another report that the port was bad, full of sunken rocks, and that it was impossible to get out again if a ship had once entered. The Adelantado was much annoyed to hear the complaints of the hard work, and was moved to continue the voyage, saying that the water they had on board would be sufficient for the voyage to his islands. The Chief Pilot reminded him of the uncertainties of the sea, to which he answered: "If we cannot find a port, what are we to do?" The Chief Pilot replied that we must return to Magdalena, which we had already seen, and where the frigate had anchored, and that for a little more work it was needful to secure more necessaries. Meanwhile, the Camp Master had been coasting along the island; and very near the port that had been entered he found another, which he reported, and there the fleet anchored.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Adelantado landed on the island of Santa Cristina, and what took place with the natives.

On the day after the arrival, which was the 28th of July, the Adelantado went on shore, with his wife and the greater part of the crew, to hear the first mass said by the Vicar. The natives knelt down in silence and attention, imitating all they saw the Christians do. A very beautiful [142] native sat near Doña Isabel, with such red hair that Doña Isabel wished to cut off a few locks; but seeing that the native did not like it she desisted, not wishing to make her angry.

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The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain.

648 ● [241]

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

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648 sought out and sat with, when they came ; and by signs they asked each other the names of the sky, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and stars, and everything else within their vision. All were well content with what they said, calling each other friends and comrades. As this friendship was not without payment, there was a certain man who joyfully said to the General, that he had his dog well fed by the natives, by a forage he had made in the preceding night, when his company had the guard.

On another day eleven natives came in two canoes, and two of them stood up with some strings of cocoa nuts in their hands, and shouted while they showed them. Orders were given not to answer, and for the soldiers to be ready with their arquebuses. When the natives found that they were not answered, they came close to the ship, when a volley was fired. Two were killed. The soldiers shot three more, and throwing down what they had, the rest rowed away and fled. They were chased in a boat, but the natives got on shore and fled. Jumping on shore, only three were seen to run to the top of some high hills. Those in the boat took the canoes, with three dead bodies in them, for the rest had fallen into the sea. The cruelty of the Spaniards was such that there were not wanting those who said that the bullet wounds, so fierce and ugly, would frighten the other natives, and that the swords, making wide wounds, would have the same effect. In order that the natives might see, it was ordered that the bodies should be taken on shore, that the Camp Master might hang them up where they would be seen by the natives. It was said that this was done in order that the natives, if they came with false intent in their canoes, might know what the Spaniards could do. But it seemed to me that four armed ships had little to fear from unarmed natives in canoes. The Camp Master hung up the three natives in a place best adapted for the intended

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object. A certain person came to see them, who gave one of the bodies a lance-thrust, and praised what had been done. At night the natives took the bodies away. 648

An evil example gives rise to licence, and reason conquers him who knows it. A certain person had an arquebus in his hut, and a friend of his loaded it, and pointed it to fire at the natives. The other took it out of his hands, and asked him what he was going to do with so much diligence. He replied, that his diligence was to kill, because he liked to kill. "It is not right," replied his friend, "that you should show such readiness to cause the death of men. What harm have these natives done to you that you should treat them with such cruelty? It is not valorous to show yourself a lion amongst lambs, nor to kill when it takes your fancy. If you do not know what a foul and sinful thing it is to murder a body which contains a soul, it is high time that you learned, and though it has weight it is not profitable."

The native who was friendly to the Chaplain came to the guard, and being seen by the General they embarked very joyfully, the native crying out, "Friend! Friend!" The Adelantado received him very cordially, offering him conserves and wine, but he would neither eat nor drink. He began to look at the sheep, and seemed to give them a name; he gazed at the ship and the rigging, counted the masts and sails, went below and noted everything with care, more so than is usual with a native. They told him to say "Jesus Maria," and to make the sign of the cross, which he did with great amusement, showed good will in all things, and presently he asked for persons to take him back to the shore. Such was the intelligence of this native that when he understood that the ships would depart, he showed regret, and wanted to go with us.

The Adelantado wanted to colonise these four islands, to make his business with them, and to leave thirty men,

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648 some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

133 THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

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the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the papay.[1] 241

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen. [251]

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other. 648

[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

[pp. 30-148 not processed.]

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SECOND VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,

BY

HIS CHIEF PILOT, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

600

ON Friday, the 9th of April, of the year 1595, the Commander-in-Chief, Alvaro de Mendaña, set sail with his fleet to go and subject and people the western islands of the South Sea, from the port of the Callao of Lima, which is in 12½° S. latitude; passing by the valleys of Santa, Truxillo and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita, where he took in water, and made a list of four hundred persons, more or less, with his four vessels, two large and two small. He 648 left this port (which is 5° higher than the said port), 142 steering W.S.W., making for the islands of his discovery: he took as Master of the Camp Pedro Merino Manrique, and as Admiral his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, and as Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; and he sailed on this course to the altitude of 9½°, from which point he sailed W. and to the point S.W. to 14°, where he changed his course to W. and the point N.W.; and having reached, by this course, fully 10° of latitude, on Friday, 21st of July,

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648 we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name
142 of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any
[291] part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands,
304 and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet
648 men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arque-
131 buses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

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island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 000 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

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CHAPTER XIII.

Madison's Island.—Happah War.

At day-light next morning I bore up for the island of Nooaheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W: not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the east side of the weather bay, called by Lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay.

Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out towards us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. To correct my error as soon as possible, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States' navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with Lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship, Pennsylvania Packet; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which

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we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of
648 554 about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different
[30] from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was in-
648 formed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411]
length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276]
intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

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valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six-pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to them, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on

On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them; they declared that it stuck to the ground; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

As an additional security to our camp, I landed another six-pounder, and mounted also a long wall-piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement.

The Happahs were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten they would then be willing to make peace; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present; and

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648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

72 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

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set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

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About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

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drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them. 648 727

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. 648

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it* 192

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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent*: it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

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648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

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penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648●

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

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ahuwahee. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white 291
piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan 648 ●
of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

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●648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
[427] dulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
622 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we had not destroyed a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is no respect inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

648 Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to enquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false: I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace.

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They denied positively having refused him a passage, and 648
strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al- 501
ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooa- 422
hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

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lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed 501
in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enume- [526]
rated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys [857]
and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh 648
complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

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648 bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taeeh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Taeehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre.

We soon came to the place for fording a river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. On emerging from

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the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of 648 short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them, I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort.

Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Happahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages,

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648 and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicion of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Happahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had in all appearance been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we

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equally divided our ammunition and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day. 648

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.—After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men

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648 were wounded and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M' Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley.

We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, oon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees, and all the young plants they could find.

648 712 We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprize, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly

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under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, dispatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come to terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief, accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these

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●648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 648 241 Having now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

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owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live. 329

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England. 186

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. 173

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months. 548

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648 The prizes, Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of Lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with Midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to Lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The Otaheitan I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboad undiscovered, and was seen no more. Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up; whether he hoped to reach the shore; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.*

[pp. 119t. end not processed.]

* He, however, reached the Island, after swimming and floating two nights and a day.

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1804. May. stance, I thought it not unlikely, that some navigators, passing this way before us, had treated them in an unfriendly manner, and made them afraid of showing themselves to vessels arriving off their shores; and, as the wind in the afternoon was in a quarter that would enable me to reach the north part of Noocahiva, about six o'clock, with disappointed feelings, I tacked for that purpose.

The night proved squally, and we were once in the course of it in danger of being driven on the shore of Noocahiva, but a sudden gust from the land fortunately saved us. In the morning, a canoe with eight persons made for the ship, from the east side of this island; and, when at a short distance from us, one of the company sounded a large conch, while another waved a piece of white cloth. Thinking these to be tokens of friendship, I ordered, in return, a white handkerchief to be waved, and a white flag hoisted. My guests climbed the ship's sides, with the assistance of a rope that was thrown to them from deck, and behaved in as free and amicable a manner as if they had lived amongst us all their lives. Our curiosity did not in the least interrupt their singing, dancing, and other wild testimonies of joy, on receiving the different presents we made them, and especially the knives, which they called *coke*. Observing that four more canoes were hurrying from the shore, I ordered our present visitors to leave us; and in a moment they all jumped overboard, one after another. As soon as the new visitors arrived, those who left us made a most tumultuous noise; and, displaying our presents, vociferated, repeatedly, the word *cuanna*. In one of the new canoes, which was rowed by fifteen men, was the chief, who held a long stick, to which was

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fastened a bunch of bananas, a piece of white cloth manufactured on the island, and a square fan. Being under sail, I did not like to be surrounded by too many of these savages, and I therefore signified that a few only were to come on board. The chief, as soon as he comprehended my orders, jumped out of his canoe into the water, and climbed up the ship with astonishing alacrity. As soon as he was on the quarter-deck, he sat himself down, and presented me with the bunch of bananas, and the cloth that had been fastened to the stick. I was going to put on his head a cap of striped stuff; but he refused the honour, and begged a knife, which was given him with a pair of ear-rings, made of two copeks, which is the smallest Russian copper money. One of my officers made him a present of a small looking-glass, which delighted him so much, that I thought he would have lost his senses. Our new guests behaved with the same familiarity as the preceding ones. They were all perfectly honest in the exchange of articles, and so docile, that no one left the ship without asking my permission. I showed them fowls and pigs; the fowls they called *moa*, and the pigs *boaga*, intimating by signs that there were plenty of both on shore; but, from their surprise at the sight of our sheep and goats, I inferred that they had never till then seen such animals. 1804. May.

We steered all the morning of the 9th to the southward, in the hope of reaching the bay of Tayohaia towards evening; but at noon we were becalmed, and gave up the idea of being at anchor before night. 9th.

During the night, the rain was so heavy, that a dozen casks

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

[481]

648 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by 831 a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

[231]

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen. 648

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were doing, uninterrupted by his presence. His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells. [622] [302]

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 mercial intercourse for the present, by hoisting out a red flag, as it was our hour of dinner. The moment the islanders understood, from our interpreter (the Englishman of whom I have just spoken) what was meant, they retired to a short distance from the ship; but their noise was as tumultuous as ever. 1804. May.

As soon as dinner was over, the taboo was taken off, and the traffic began again. We had as yet no reason to complain of misconduct on the part of the islanders. Whenever any thing was purchased, it was hoisted on board, and a piece of iron hoop (our common payment), fastened to the end of the rope, was let down in return. Some of these traders were occasionally admitted into the ship; but on receiving payment, they in general instantly jumped overboard, seemingly the happiest beings in the world.

We moored the ship to-day; and, as the weather was warm, I called the islanders to our assistance. This produced great joy amongst them; and the capstern was manned in an instant. After the business was over, I made each a present of an iron nail; and they departed, as before, perfectly happy.

To my great satisfaction, Roberts was induced to stay on board and attend the ship during her continuance at these islands.

On the 12th we were again awaked in the morning by the noise of the swimmers; but their number was so small, in comparison with that of the day before, that only fifty cocoa-nuts, and a few other trifles were purchased. About noon the king 12th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May paid us another visit, accompanied by his brother, and exchanged four cocks, which he brought with him, for one of ours, whose crowing had particularly pleased him. The brother also had taken a liking to one of our ducks, and offered a middling-size pig for her, promising at the same time another, not quite so large, for a drake. This exchange was not only advantageous, but very gratifying to me, as it might be the means of introducing into the island a useful domestic bird, unknown there before. During this visit, a circumstance took place of a serio-comic nature. One of my midshipmen, in examining the oar of a canoe that I had purchased, happened to let it fall, and it struck against the head of the king, who was sitting on the deck. His majesty immediately fell down, and began to make the most extraordinary wry faces, as if in great pain. The accident mortified me so much, that I reprimanded the young man a little severely for his carelessness. He was himself considerably alarmed; and, in apologizing, presented the king with a small piece of iron. This changed the scene; his majesty burst into a loud laugh, and expressed by signs, how cleverly he had deceived us, and that he was not in the least hurt. This scene over, the king went on shore in high spirits, and I was myself not a little pleased that the accident terminated as it did. 648 648 522

In the afternoon, captain Krusenstern came to see me, and in the course of conversation informed me, that the king had also brought him in the morning a pig; but as on his coming on board, the officers being at dinner, there was nobody to receive him on deck, he was so much displeased, that he ordered the pig to be taken back again. Though this circumstance appeared to us of 648

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a trifling nature, it had nearly been productive of serious consequences. One of the savages, returning on shore, reported that the king was in irons on board the Nadejda, for refusing to part with a pig. The bay was instantly in commotion; and our launch, which was then watering on shore, was surrounded by a host of savages, who threatened, if their chief was not immediately released, to put Roberts, who was attending the launch, to death. Though the poor fellow did all he could to convince them of the falsehood of the story, he certainly would have been cruelly treated, had not his majesty opportunely made his appearance, and assured the throng that he had received no insult or injury. This conduct of the islanders was a little grating to us; but we showed no resentment, considering them as uneducated children of Nature, who suffered their passions to run away with their judgment, and force to carry it over reason. 1804. May.

Notwithstanding these tumultuous symptoms, I ordered the launch to be dispatched again the next morning for water; and I proposed to captain Krusenstern our paying a visit to the king. At eight o'clock we set out, thirty in number, with Roberts for our guide. Our way at first was along the beach, and then through a grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. Having passed some poor cottages, we reached the house of the king's brother, where we stopped for a while to repose ourselves. The multitude that followed from curiosity, crowded upon us continually; but a word occasionally from Roberts, was sufficient to make them keep at a proper distance. As we proceeded, there were many springs of water on the way, and the path being narrow, we were wet and dirty before we reached the place of destination. Arriving at the king's abode, we made a proper 13th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building re- 648 342 sembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and an- [352] swered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with [353] several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the en- [343] trance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen 648 with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported 764
by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we 648
returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; [342]
but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. 1804. May.
His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that 14th.
if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of
[184] her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular
[292] tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed
[302] with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Finding that there was no possibility of providing ourselves here with a greater quantity of live stock than we had already obtained, captain Krusenstern and I, with some officers of both ships, repaired to Jegawé Bay, which was about three miles and a half to the westward of our station. On our landing, we were surrounded by men and women, with fruit and other commodities for sale; and in a very short time sixty bunches of bananas were in our possession. After visiting the king, and breakfasting at his house, we proceeded in search of what was the main object of our excursion. We were, however, disappointed: the natives would sell us nothing but fruit and vegetables, though plenty of hogs and fowls were seen about their houses; and towards evening we returned to our ships. 648

The bay of Jegawé is a very safe place for anchoring; it forms a small bason, defended from all the winds, and ships may lie there quite close to the shore, especially on the south side, which renders it an admirable place for such as may be in want of thorough repair. The entrance is rather narrow; but as its depth does not exceed eighteen fathoms, and the bottom is good, you may warp in with ease, when you cannot sail in. To a small river of fresh water there, I gave the name of the Little Neva, the banks of which abound with inhabitants, who are able to supply vessels with a sufficiency both of fruit and hogs, though to us they would spare none of the last-mentioned article. 133

From the difficulty of further augmenting our live stock, we began on the 16th to prepare for sea. I rewarded Roberts for his services, with linen, pieces of iron, and other articles that were 680

16th.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine
142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European
164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken
[124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these 133
places, and followed them down the coast.

At length, having come before the port they were in 648
search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore.

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again 648
in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them 439
bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot.

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipita- 648
tion. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more
439 distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly [illegible]
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./

girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any previously established unions and marriages. 836 648

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual potential of the girl. [832]

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the disruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations. 836 648 182

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" ooo 836 648 [833]

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 884
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. 831 The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 698 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136] the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 698

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 869 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 869 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 698 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 864 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603] tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 571 831 unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178 been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [248] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831 the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797 missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

178 883 833 [648] [684]

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

178 585 [583] [584] [554] [556]

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

178 595 [648] [792] [628] [728] [584] [622]

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731] very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726] Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439] for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164] diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

175 182 648 797

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

182 648 797 831

154 182 648 797 831

/115 cont./ 154
context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most 182
troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the 648
top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act 797
out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules 831
laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154
seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182
on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797
nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831
ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182
relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831
French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

651

651 TAXATION AND PUBLIC INCOME--sources of public income (e.g., gifts and bribes, tribute, license fees, ground rents, profits from public enterprises, fines, confiscations, tolls, taxes); types of taxes (e.g., taxes in kind, labor levies, poll taxes, property taxes, stamp taxes, excise taxes, customs duties, income taxes, inheritance taxes); importance of and revenue from each type; differentiation by administrative level; principles of taxation; tax law; mode of fixing and collecting taxes; specialized personnel (e.g., tax collectors, tax consultants); tax exemptions; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 48
Gift giving 431
Government lotteries 535
Government monopolies 666
Income 434
Foreign trade 439
Forced labor 468
Fines 681

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 Nooccahiva, like all the other islands of this group, is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

656

656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 23
Government regulation of food processing 26
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 160
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 583
Wartime regulations 792
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 799
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe 847
pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the [824]
abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted.

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is 843
certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea).

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often re- [262]
quested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha 'ua).

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse [522]
during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby."

In labor (ha 'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease 844
the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative [656] [743]
edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives.

674

674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization 98
Neuroses and psychoses 188
Organized vice 548
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Banditry and piracy 579
Crime prevention 625
Sanctions 681
Litigation of civil cases 691
Juvenile delinquency 730
Suicide 793

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793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. [628] Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was [674] more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of [784] the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

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674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

291 The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

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1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 266 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 674

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674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low 754
rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick 776
and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As [787]
soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate [681]
relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit 775
of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after 776
death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a 776
fanaua's victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract 766
the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the house-
[793] hold. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
273] that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

/69 cont./ 837
two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most 521
valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684
extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152]
injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 834
is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837
in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [578]
be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837
a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *uluna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

> Around, around, O Oieke,
> I am turning, O Oieke,
> Take your man, O Oieke,
> The man born of the land, O Oieke,
> Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

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thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described. 754 685 [231]

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it. 754

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha,* a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha,* an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua,* the fire of the god. He

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the house-
[793] hold. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
273 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e tuka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days. 766

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says: 766 786

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and sea-shells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the 766 [688]

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member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi,* Krusenstern says (16, p. 167): 622 592 624

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed. 622 592 357 [689]

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622 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape
592 (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was
357 to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself
689 with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a,* which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation-
592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just
622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived
357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka,* skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana,* and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto.* Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 500 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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622 784 [689 754] witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected [562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power [689 754] to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa [164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721
according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202] trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. [534] When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701
appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this [552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

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Below the priests ranked the *toa,* the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga,* or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.

On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

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Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

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One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 292 714 [304]

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728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times [486] these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing.

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa*, *papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and [556]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 were wounded and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M' Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley.

We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, soon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees, and all the young plants they could find.

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On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us. 648

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, dispatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come to terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief, accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these

over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 266 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous [411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kins- [302] man had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha,* a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o,* full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[301]

Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai,* were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho).* A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o.* In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

[824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils. [727]

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw: [551] [714]

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous 648
of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen 648
several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly 714
ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in [411]
length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy 648
years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a 622
clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an [276]
intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

x304 556 465 naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

x304 556 561 While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

x304 714 622 Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d)* to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304* 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304* 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304* 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304*

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

726 (*tu'a*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in
784 triumph. The *ko'ina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-
726 hunting, was called *moe oe* (*moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy
726 many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papua)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the 622
same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and un- 624
organized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war 721
called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their 624
advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the 793
main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a,* the inspi- 624

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of those rites.

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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628 tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hang-
721 ing down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward
[302] the lower section by a little cylinder of bone (*puo*), a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana* (*umu*, oven; *heana*, human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and
[266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721 according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa*, had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e*, head-dress; *vi'i*, to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua*, with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi)*, a sign of *tapu*. Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202] trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into bat- [534] tle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua*, or *pa'e vi'i toua*, was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho*, be angry; *tae*, accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi*, sign; *toto*, blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe*, watch at night with dead; *oe*, you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701 appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa*, which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

800 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, [793] we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank 764 in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

1804. May.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721 This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766 its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782 deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837 women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585 with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583 session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home. [721]

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul. [756]

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs. [304]

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior
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301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

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722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

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[727] Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, [722] children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home. 727

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9). 726 784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani* 726 784

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501 were temporarily fastened in pairs. They were fastened together by heavy poles, corresponding in position to the crosspieces of the outrigger. The space between the canoes was covered with a temporary platform. In some stories mention is made of a railing around this platform. (Handy, personal correspondence.) Double canoes of this sort were used for inter-island trips and for long fishing trips, when the crew expected to be away for several days. Double canoes, made from [724] fishing canoes, are said to have accompanied the war canoes on long raids to carry supplies.

Porter (49, pp. 102-103) mentions still another type of craft which is so remarkable that it seems best to give the quotation in full. He says:

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With these they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net and with the hook and line. . . . The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes and are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat. . . . These are also worked during a calm with paddles and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner.

No other author mentions craft of this large type but the quotation just given is preceded by a detailed and accurate account of the built up canoes and, except for a tendency to exaggerate dimensions, Porter's accounts of material culture seem to be thoroughly trustworthy. It seems certain that at the time of his visit the Marquesans had some vessel of much larger size than the built up canoe and differing from it in construction.

Informants made no mention of craft of this sort, and the type probably became extinct at an early time. Even at the time of Porter's visit the natives had had considerable contact with Europeans, and there were white sailors settled among them. They are, as a race, quick to see the advantages of mechanical improvements, and the rapid adoption of the present type of outrigger shows the speed with which a new idea may spread among them. They had undoubtedly seen many ships' boats, and it is quite possible that they had already developed a hybrid form intended to embody the advantages of both ships' boat and canoe. We have seen that in 1838, twenty-five years after Porter's visit, whale boats had supplanted most of the large canoes, so that the life of the new type would have been short.

On the other hand, Porter specifically says that the large double canoes were of this type, a strong evidence that it was pre-European. Moreover, his

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war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's 411
description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. 726 [776]
On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association [783]
with woman kind.

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of 537 fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa,* a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

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> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ka'au*) and left it there (9).

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TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani* 726 784

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726 784 (*va'a*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in triumph. The *ko'ina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 726 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-hunting, was called *moe oe (moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 726 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

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always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papua)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided
634 into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited
101 by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their
161 own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

726 Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-
411 clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity. 411

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes. 548 726

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

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6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 266 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 674

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior 727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic- 301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special 722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair: they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 266 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous [411] hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who [302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

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The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

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597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families,
597 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as
621 united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa,* a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

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> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ka'au*) and left it there (9).

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Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

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> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. [722] Before a battle women, children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

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feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home. 727

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9). 726 784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani* 726 784

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Treatment of Captives Taken in Raids

●727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish.* Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu.* Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

Torture of Captives

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils. [727]

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw: [551] [714]

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

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●727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus- [302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

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5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

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I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased.

192

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it*

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

• 727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

800 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, [793] we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank 764 in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

1804. May.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
[266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
● 727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh. 266 727

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe. 726 411 726

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the 674

ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accoints of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the *tevake* bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip. 501 531 [237]

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth." 501 531 824

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung on coconut branches. [237]

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-hina* (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way. 501 531 [824]

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage. [727]

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled. 502

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the information obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which 501

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord. to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals. 411

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouwai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouwai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one. 411 293

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompom of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown. 4

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says: 727

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and passes under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In 171 New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

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Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close: but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahhe* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [29]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior
727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic-
301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special
722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 266 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. [411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who [302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive 727
groups, but both women and children participated in the can- 266
nibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his 727
victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a [266
special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse 558]
than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, 727
sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured 754
and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus-
[302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

● 728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices. 728●

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent: [825]

> The last *heana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *heana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

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728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times [486] these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing.

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa, papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

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527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

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The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

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> The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates.

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THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe.

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The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

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The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it[A] fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

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[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, *"U tupu no i ao,"* it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a mispelling of *i ao.*

A [i.e., the population. - Analyst]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

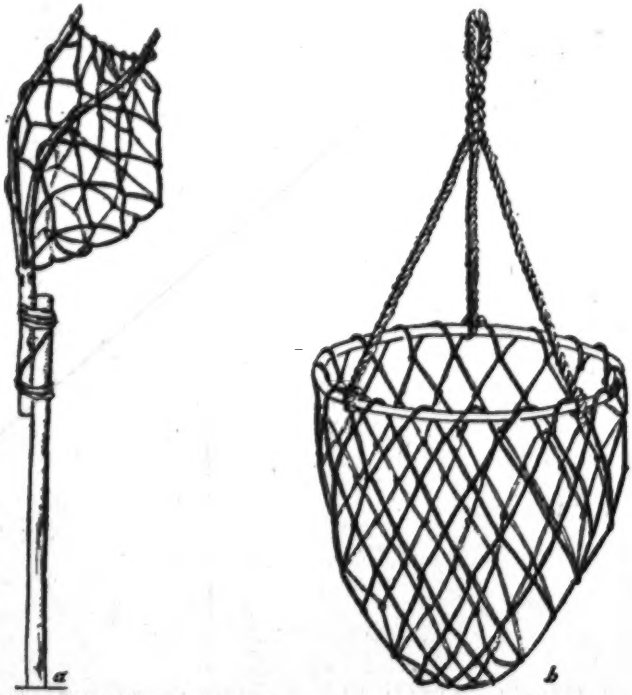

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241 262

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *ki'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vonana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *voititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

● 73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
[266] every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
727 ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisiansky T-S (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Carpé. This root is about three feet long. The greater part of it grows out of the ground. It takes twelve months to ripen, and is made into puddings, or prepared like yams. 1804. May. 137 [251]

Hoé. A kind of wild potatoe, which has a bitter taste, and affords but little nourishment. It is only used by the islanders in times of famine. [731]

Titou. A root that grows wild in the fields, and resembles our turnip.

Togoogoo. A root of the size of a cocoa-nut without its husk: when boiled, it turns to a sort of pudding. [252]

There is only one species of salad herb on the island, that is calculated for the table. It is called *emahé*, and considerably resembles our field-mustard.

Knowing from experience how necessary the language of a country is to a person who travels in it, especially where no assistance can be obtained, except what some lucky chance may present, as, for instance, our interpreter Roberts; I endeavoured to collect as many words and sentences of the language of this island as possible, which I shall give in the Appendix, in the hope of their being useful to future navigators. ooo

During our stay at Tayohaia, I could make no observations on shore: however, having taken a great many lunar distances the day before our arrival at the island of Noocahiva, we were enabled to lay down with great precision the island of Motané. 131

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious seasons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history: 161 174

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population. 175 [161] [165] [131]

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century. 161 175

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731] very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726] Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439] for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164] diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/66 cont./ 585
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or 833 [192] hano are used. [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one 833 837 male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. [158] His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days [733] a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited 888 above. [832]

/9 cont./

known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha 'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods). 755

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa,* by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a,* who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

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leaves. A fire was lighted near the ditch (over the sick person?). It is 755
said that if the sick person showed signs of fear or agitation [apparently indicating the departure of the spirit], it was a sign that he would get well. But if no such signs were exhibited, the person would die. This curative method was used for the insane as well as for those afflicted with physical maladies.

The rite called *tataoho* or *tataua* was performed as follows. The sick man was laid on his back on the ground. He was covered over his entire length with a banana leaf, then a coconut leaf, and on top of that a sheet of cloth. The man's mother placed herself at his head, a sister at his feet, and others at his sides. An aunt, or a sister-in-law, or some other female relative discarded her clothes and jumped up and down seven times on top of the sick person. While this was going on, an inspirational priest, standing on one side, chanted. The priest then rapped seven times on the sick person with the top of the *ti* plant. If the same signs were observed in this rite as those described above—that is, if the sick person was agitated—he was considered as cured; if not, he would die.

A similar rite was sometimes performed near the place where the family relieved themselves. In this ceremony the relatives danced entirely naked around the sick person. The *tau'a* chanted the same chant and beat on the sick person seven times with the *ti* plant (*muku ti, Cordyline terminalis*). This rite was known by the same name as that just described above and was usually performed in the evening.

Another rite of the same nature, called *tomitomi*, is described by Père Pierre (4). The sick person was placed in a ditch and covered with a mat, pandanus leaves, and banyan bark cloth. Relatives (doubtless females) entirely naked, then jumped seven times over the ditch, in order to frighten away the evil spirit (*haa iika te etua*). If the patient showed fright, he would be cured; otherwise he would die.

According to Père Pierre (4), mats, girdles, the private parts of females, men's loin cloths, and the cloth from which they were made, and even pandanus leaves, because from these mats were made, were regarded as profane, insulting, or distasteful to gods, and evil spirits. When an unknown disease appeared, or when there was an epidemic, the [751] people often suspended at the door of their houses a mat or a girdle or pandanus leaves, believing that these would drive away any evil spirits that attempted to enter. Another protective measure against such spirits consisted in surrounding the house with briers.

Some sickness, supposed to be caused by the absence of a sick person's spirit, was treated by a *tau'a* in this manner: he ordered a small shed to be built and put in it *popoi* and *poke* (See Preparation of Food); enter-

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she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita,* which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau,* and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua,* the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleedng did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

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The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

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304 [533] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tukuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *voi ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 853

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 854 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs [769] that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would 272
follow. A person under the influence of the drink[1] was very highly sensi-
tive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought [776]
to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by
noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava*
drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's [755]
stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest.
It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of [753]
the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill
effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short
period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of
chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formal-
ity connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity 527
whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of
ko'ina are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of
the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for
the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[1] [i.e., Kava.—Author]

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priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu. 776

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy. [753]

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

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[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

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member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

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153 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *uci*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, "*Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!*" Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home. [721]

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs,

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E ma 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas). 844 [152]

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death. [352] [177]

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months). [412] [165]

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [825] [753] [178]

/13 cont./

(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support 114 165
whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable 114
disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which 162
Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females.

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth 844
(Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the 82
survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth [343]
house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use.

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil [776]
spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth [753]
or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and [778]
whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion [776]
and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua [847]
Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield.

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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622 784 [689 754] witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected [562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power [689 754] to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 762 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mounu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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dug in which the "bait" was buried, and the ashes and earth were thereupon heaped on top of it. It is said that the earth around the hole and above it remained hot on account of the spell, which was recited during the process. This heat was supposed to cause heat or fever in the person, on whom the spell was inflicted. The manner of working in Nuku Hiva was different, and was based on the principle of binding rather than that of burning. The bait was bound in a package of coconut fiber and buried. I have not heard of this method in Hiva Oa, nor have I heard of the use of fire in Nuku Hiva. 754

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, a *tukuka nani kaha* would never divulge his secrets, not even to his own son just before he died. On Hiva Oa I was told, however, that one who desired to learn the practice could go to a *tuhuna nati kaha* for instruction. The person who desired to have this power must kill his or her father, mother, or sister (whether by a spell or by physical means is unknown). The body was then put in a coffin and taken to a sacred place (*me'ae*). There, offerings and prayers were made to it by the person performing the rite, in order to increase the power (*mana*) of the spirit. Thereafter, the spirit of the deceased relative became the familiar of the sorcerer. (See the discussion of familiar spirits and *fanaua*, under Spirits.)

THE PRACTICE OF SORCERY

Père Pierre (4) describes the practice of sorcery in Nuku Hiva as follows. When the bait (*momo*) had been secured, it was wrapped in leaves of the *noni* with leaves of the *mi'o*, and certain evil smelling plants, and the whole was wrapped in the husk of the coconut and tied tightly either with sennit or crushed reed stems. This was then buried, with the accompanying recitation of a spell. During the whole time that the *tuhuna* was performing his rite, he must be naked; he danced around the hole into which he had put the *kaha;* he hugged the trees, invoking certain deities to cause the death of the victim. Père Pierre (4) writes that the bait was regarded as representing the soul or spirit of the victim.

The same writer also describes the method (on what island he does not say) of digging a hole in the earth, lighting a fire in it, throwing in some evil smelling plants, and, on top of all, the bait. The *tuhuna* then danced around the hole reciting the same incantation as was used in the other rite described above. This manner of practice was called *taotao te kaha* (*tao*, to bake).

According to a description of the practice on Nuku Hiva given to Krusenstern (16, p, 174), the bait was mixed with a powder, put in a spe-

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754 cially woven bag, and buried. Langsdorff (18, p. 155) furnishes us with an exceedingly interesting description:

> For this purpose [killing by means of a spell] a preparation is required, called here a kacha, the composing of which is one of the most important secrets among them. The person who would fabricate one, must first wash his whole body perfectly clean; for three days he must not eat, he must not drink much, and must have no intercourse with the female sex. All the time he is preparing the kacha he must live in a taboo-place, that is to say, a morai or popoi-taboo house. The kacha itself is a little purse or bag made with the threads of cocoa-nuts and other threads woven together, in which the skin of a fresh-killed lizard, various sorts of plants, a little stone of a particular form, a small piece of bamboo-cane, and a number of other things, are tied up together. But the principal thing is to seek out some one among the enemies of the man they would afflict with illness, and procure from him some of his hair, the remains of something he has been eating, and some earth on which he has spit or made water, with a little piece of the cloth that he wraps round his waist; without these ingredients the kacha would have no effect.
>
> Three of these enchanted bags are commonly made: when ready they must be well perfumed, and buried separately in the ground, in some remote spot.

According to Père Siméon (7), the bait was sometimes tied to a stone and thrown into the sea with a curse. When this was done, there was no possibility of relieving the spell nor of saving the victim.

To kill a man by the rite of *tiha ipu*, the *tau'a* employed went upon a sacred place (*ahu*). A drum was beaten—apparently to attract the spirit of the victim. The victim's spirit (*kuhane*) was then supposed to be caught by the *tau'a* between two half coconut shells, and these, being held together, were then crushed with stone—it was thought that the crushing and destruction of the spirit of the man was accomplished by this, and the victim was expected to die in a few days (19).

Spells for Revenge

When a man had been taken as a revenge victim, a female relative sometimes performed the rite called *naue*. Taking off her clothes she rubbed her body with red earth and ashes, put on an apron-like arrangement of leaves, and placed hibiscus flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) in her hair. Then, taking with her breadfruit paste and *noni* fruits, she went to the place where the murderer of her relative lived. As she approached, she threw about bits of the cooked breadfruit paste and the *noni*, saying, "There are *feikai* and *poke* [see Preparation of Food] . . . carry them to your friend." Thereupon, it is said, two ghosts would appear, those of the killer and of his victim. The woman then danced about, striking her body with her hands. If the spirit of the killer came first, it was a sign that the murderer would be taken for a victim or that he would die; if the spirit of the dead man preceded, these results would not follow. The spirit of the dead man was supposed to be recognized

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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *utuna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

> Around, around, O Oieke,
> I am turning, O Oieke,
> Take your man, O Oieke,
> The man born of the land, O Oieke,
> Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

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thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described.

754 685 [231]

Transference of a Spell

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The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it.

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

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Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 229). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

302 [754]

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e kea* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putea*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e kea*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana, havara*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu, pahe'u*, and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know,

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive 727
groups, but both women and children participated in the can- 266
nibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his 727
victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a [266
special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse 558]
than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, 727
sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured 754
and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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727 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would
754 dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the
[771] Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

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776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 776 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb [158 843] (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died. 754 776 [787]

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud. [681]

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places 775 776 776 766

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776 remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected
766 over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevo-
776 lence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua,* corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

791 Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua,* might be
● 754 either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar
776 spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 824] the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for
●755] the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ohana* and *vehine*, merely

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would 272
follow. A person under the influence of the drink was very highly sensi-
tive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought [774]
to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by
noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava*
drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's [755]
stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest.
It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of [753]
the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill
effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short
period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of
chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formal-
ity connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity 527
whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of
ko'ina are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of
the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for
the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of im-
portance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of
manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work
was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and
social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amuse-
ment, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants.
But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or
elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most
part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences
that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they cele-
brated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a
whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several
classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land;
those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage,
tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were
made by different families in honor of those who had died some time be-
fore; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately asso-
ciated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[i.e., Kava.-Analyst]

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 757

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

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755 for there is nothing in the description so given by Père Pierre to indicate
787 that the god in this case was supposed to enter the body of the *tau'a*. It has already been pointed out that ventriloquism was used in connection with the possession of the inspirational priest by tribal gods.

Dordillon (9) gives another description of this phenomenon called *etua topa*. An inspirational priest was called to a sick man's house. He summoned his god to come. When he had come, the practitioner asked, "Are you the god?" The god replied, *"Io, io, io, io."* (Dordillon explains that the noise was similar to that made at times by a fowl. The practitioner asked, "Are you angry?" The same reply came, *"Io, io, io, io."* The priest then asked, "Will the sick man die?" *"Vi, vi, vi, vi,"* came the reply of the god. The practitioner repeated his question. The god then replied, *"Vii, vii, vii, vii,"* which was interpreted to mean that the man would die. The god, asked when, replied that it would be the next day.

Another account by the same writer describes a similar rite as follows: The practitioner came in the evening. Songs were sung, and the lights then extinguished. The god descended and said, *"Ve, ve, ve, ve,* here is the fish on the land, it is Na-iki" (the name of the tribe). When the god had fallen upon the mat, the practitioner said, "Let your friend go free." "We shall go together," replied the god, "he will die."

According to Père Siméon (7) the ceremony of causing the god to fall began with the singing of the chant called the *mumu*. If it was desired to have a number of gods fall, one went to the house of the *tau'a* carrying the extremity of a coconut leaf called *kopiti*.

What was called *etua amo*, described by Père Jean (19), is evidently another trick of such practitioners. The god who came to possess the *tau'a* was thought to carry him and his mat out of the house in which he was seated, by way of the ridge-pole, without disturbing the thatch.

There is now living in Nuku Hiva a woman who is a practitioner of this kind, whom I was unfortunately unable to induce to work for me or to discuss these matters in any way, for the reason that she had been in trouble with government authorities for having supposedly caused a death by a curse. It would appear that this woman works as a diviner by means of trance rather than by possession. She is said to discern the cause of illness and the outcome of it, to find lost articles, and so on. Dordillon gives the following words, meaning to be in a state of trance: *ahue te menava, kukina o te ate, kukukina, kukuina, pueueu, pupukina, touha.*

Medico-Magical Remedies

755 Medicines were prepared and administered by *tuhuna fainu* (*fainu*, potion or medium). There was a rule that a native doctor could take

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but one patient at a time. If a doctor stumbled when he was on his way to procure the materials used in making his medicine, he must turn back and start all over again. The hands of a doctor were *tapu* during the time that he was treating a patient, and he could not feed himself with them. Little is remembered today of the manner of professional practice, although natives still make use of some of their old remedies, most of them, however, like the rest of their culture, having been forgotten. Massage appears to have been little practised, though rheumatism was treated by rubbing with scented coconut oil. I understand that a great number of native remedies are recorded in a manuscript left by Père Pierre. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of examining this manuscript, which will, I hope, some day be published, as it would furnish students with what is certainly a far more complete study of native remedies than could possibly be made today.

A potion called *makiikaeva*, which seems to have been used to restore health or life to an invalid (*fainu ʻno te menava*), was made up as follows: Two old coconuts were grated and squeezed, the inner bark of a *fau* tree bearing red flowers (*hau toto*) was mashed, three stalks of sugar-cane were pounded, five taro roots were grated and seven *noni* fruits were mashed. The potion pressed from this mixture was drunk without heating (9).

After a woman had given birth to a child, she ate a kind of fish called *koukape* with *tiaa*, hot breadfruit paste. A magical concept seems clearly to be the basis of this remedy, for *koukape* also means a membrane in the interior of the intestinal cavity (mesentery).

When a woman's breasts (*u*) were inflamed (*hehe*), the doctor applied to them three or four leaves of the *noni* and cut these in various places with a strip of bamboo, being careful not to touch the breasts (4).

When a person had bad eyes, the practitioner rolled a piece of cloth in a hollow pipe, at one end of which he held a light. The person whose eyes were afflicted looked through the roll of cloth at the light for healing.

Pueva appears to be a name that was applied on Nuku Hiva to various maladies of infants, supposed to result from the mother's having eaten or handled something harmful to the child during the period of her pregnanacy. The symptoms of *pueva* are described as manifesting themselves in anything from sores and itchings to noises in breathing. The remedy for such an affliction consisted in the mother's burning the article, or a part of the article, that was thought to have been the medium of the evil influence, and putting the ashes on the baby's tongue. In order to safeguard her coming child, a woman, therefore, saved a bit of everything that she ate during the whole time of her pregnancy. If, after its birth, the child developed *pueva*, these materials were at hand to be burned. If

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she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita,* which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau,* and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua,* the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleedng did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

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The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

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To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4). 751 831

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa. 754 752 755

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods). 755

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa*, by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a*, who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

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escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

[776 372]

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the

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leaves. A fire was lighted near the ditch (over the sick person?). It is 755 said that if the sick person showed signs of fear or agitation [apparently indicating the departure of the spirit], it was a sign that he would get well. But if no such signs were exhibited, the person would die. This curative method was used for the insane as well as for those afflicted with physical maladies.

The rite called *tataoho* or *tatana* was performed as follows. The sick man was laid on his back on the ground. He was covered over his entire length with a banana leaf, then a coconut leaf, and on top of that a sheet of cloth. The man's mother placed herself at his head, a sister at his feet, and others at his sides. An aunt, or a sister-in-law, or some other female relative discarded her clothes and jumped up and down seven times on top of the sick person. While this was going on, an inspirational priest, standing on one side, chanted. The priest then rapped seven times on the sick person with the top of the *ti* plant. If the same signs were observed in this rite as those described above—that is, if the sick person was agitated—he was considered as cured; if not, he would die.

A similar rite was sometimes performed near the place where the family relieved themselves. In this ceremony the relatives danced entirely naked around the sick person. The *tau'a* chanted the same chant and beat on the sick person seven times with the *ti* plant (*muku ti*, *Cordyline terminalis*). This rite was known by the same name as that just described above and was usually performed in the evening.

Another rite of the same nature, called *tomitomi*, is described by Père Pierre (4). The sick person was placed in a ditch and covered with a mat, pandanus leaves, and banyan bark cloth. Relatives (doubtless females) entirely naked, then jumped seven times over the ditch, in order to frighten away the evil spirit (*haa iika te etua*). If the patient showed fright, he would be cured; otherwise he would die.

According to Père Pierre (4), mats, girdles, the private parts of females, men's loin cloths, and the cloth from which they were made, and even pandanus leaves, because from these mats were made, were regarded as profane, insulting, or distasteful to gods, and evil spirits. When an unknown disease appeared, or when there was an epidemic, the 751 people often suspended at the door of their houses a mat or a girdle or pandanus leaves, believing that these would drive away any evil spirits that attempted to enter. Another protective measure against such spirits consisted in surrounding the house with briers.

Some sickness, supposed to be caused by the absence of a sick person's spirit, was treated by a *tau'a* in this manner: he ordered a small shed to be built and put in it *popoi* and *poke* (See Preparation of Food); enter-

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said
762 also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mounu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 787

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was [721] in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs,

/94 cont./.
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The 756 856
use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an
aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known [182]
today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due
to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out [797]
all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the
Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained 174
on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty 881
from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two [115]
valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at
least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were [302]
kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the [757]
vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation [826]
for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some [824]
tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank [304]
at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls 174
would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or 881
koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they 826
exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a
genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon
flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the
rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called
ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone
or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to
be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva.
Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside
genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed
sufficiently large, hence the name attached. 881

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus 832
membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair 826
pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan
aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes
were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to con-
siderable derision, being insulted with the appellation of
to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./

(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1' [i.e., the child's aunts -- Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/17 cont./ 856
role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess 757
cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832]
of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186
believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757
are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856
superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826
contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757
sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856
limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/18 cont./

northeastern side of the valley. Despite its scarcity it is most popular of all the preparations. 757 856

/19/

ko ku'u (Staphylea sp. ?). The leaves of the plant are prepared and administered in the same manner as described above. Can be administered at three weeks of age.

ko'i'e The nut of a coconut (C. nucifera) fallen at a very young stage called koie is used for this medication. The nut is crushed on a stone and squeezed for juice, which is administered three times daily in one or two drops from the time the infant crawls until it reaches an age of a year.

moho ki'o (Achyrathes aspera?). A branch is grated against an abrasive stone and the scrapings squeezed in a cloth after mixing with a small amount of water. The juice can be administered one week after birth.

vai ma This medication consists of water poured from fermented breadfruit paste when it has been removed from storage, pounded with a stone pestle to remove lumps and moistened. The excess water, mixed with urine, can be used as a vaginal astringent.

ki'i kehika (Szygium jambos ?). The bark of the kehika tree (the well-known pomme rouge of Eastern Polynesia), is grated, mixed with water and squeezed through a cloth in the same fashion as the preceding medications.

ki'i 'ama The bark of the candlenut tree (Aleurites trilobita) can be used in the same fashion as the above medication.

/20/

pota ko The juice of the fruits of the mi'o tree (Thespesnia populnea) are crushed for their juice which is administered in the same fashion as noted above.

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/32 cont./ 826

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 832
puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 757
to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856]
is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of
the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation
of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824]
alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary
effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u)
more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be
somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864
tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602]
generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603]
vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883]
together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521]
talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason,
government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875]
girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871]
and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower
grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864
in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838
tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are
more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their
clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor
supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the
pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy"
of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291
undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883
pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be
termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833]
clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there
is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526]
indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being
observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515]
mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene. 164 [181]

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment. [124] 744 [175]

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation. 757

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine" 757 824
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Alèurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days. 757

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 157 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not [182] be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that if had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina,* which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina.* Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left [759] alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4). 751 831

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa. 759 752 755

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods). 755

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa,* by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a,* who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in-
844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. [761 775] 782 776

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly ap- [585] proved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named 789
either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after
the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house 578
were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means [762]
of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men 291
working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride. 762 [156]

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife. 152 578 595

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs. 583

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enata mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!.....O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!.....Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!.....May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!.....O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

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•'763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

'764 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts
'765 for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa*, and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said
762 also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *koako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mouni* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and 152
open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It [609]
was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief, although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded 763
death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of 152
an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, 626
an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view. They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe, there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles, the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which was previously discussed.

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423 primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself,
622 but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut
[422] and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua.*) The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ka'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

[764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [121] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

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The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of ruzzys lashed on poles with sennit.

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763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned the chant called *kaheoko*.

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taha, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *heva* naked.

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [782] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following 533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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Treatment of Dead Bodies

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed. 764

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a.* As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe.* Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(vaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu.* After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says [784]

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764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the [824] corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it [243] the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* [775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

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During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead. 764

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor. 764 768

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva: 764 184

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*. 764

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

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764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu,* and was called *toki mana (toki,* adz, *mana,* power), or *toki tapu.* The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e,* creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puho as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were [53] elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of

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exactly the same form as those used for beating *popoi*. It rested on legs called *toko papa*, spreading from a central support lashed to the board. The form is shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 11, *a*). There was one pair of legs at each end of the board and another pair in the middle, so that the pairs of legs were at right angles to the body of the bier. The legs were carved with designs, and the feet with conventional human

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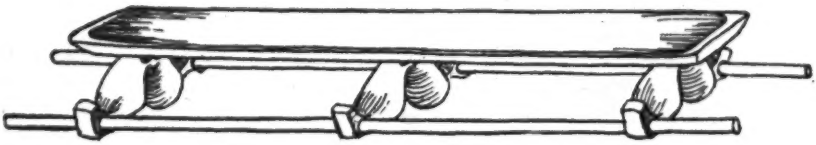
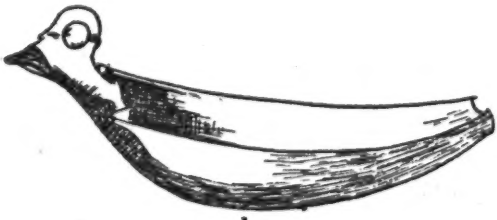


a



b

[532]

FIGURE 11.—*a*. Portable bier (drawn from one pair of legs supplemented by description); *b*, bowl for carrying the head of a dead chief (After Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 48, No. 1).

figures. Poles for carrying the bier were lashed to the feet on either side. The bottom of the board was either carved or decorated with black or red ornamental sennit lashed over white bark cloth.

DISPOSAL OF BONES

The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up *(kokonatua)*, the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of *tapa*, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house. Melville (23, p. 225)

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764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b.*) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[178] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae).* It is striking that the two most

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sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 [778]

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu (pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu (ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

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764 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice
778 and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu*, being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on
778 Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the
184 same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u* (*vahi*, place; *tomia*, burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae*. On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae*. As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae*, the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u*, or platform for the dead, is a simple
778 small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vale*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it. 764 778

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e*, house; *vaka*, canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a*, to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery. [343]

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●764 778 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae,* but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u, ahu, feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani (*ke'i,* pierce; *ani,* sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana (ikoa,* name; *kenana,* man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders *(kiva)* in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs *(ke'etu)* lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

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On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual. 764 778

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing [824]

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764 upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is im-
778 possible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees
[824] *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of perform-
[562] ance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[6]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[6]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

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rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

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793 upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

793 173 The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

796 764 793 The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic.

Funerary Chants

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Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hakae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiuñu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

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At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i*; the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u*; and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

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The Uta Chant

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There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

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the average European, had no singing of their own more advanced than the monotonous oli and mele which appear to be all that is remembered today. And the singularity becomes even more surprising, not to say incomprehensible, in view of the fact that it is beyond question that the Marquesans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Samoans and Tongans—all of whom were closely similar to the Hawaiians in other aspects of their culture—were singing in large groups when the first Europeans arrived among them. It appears certain that if it were possible to go back to the days when the hula organization was intact we should find that there were many occasions when the members, who were both singers and dancers, intoned meles, and probably other types of chants now forgotten, in chorus and probably in parts; that is, with melody and harmonization. But of more weight than this supposition is a bit of evidence which is based on definite knowledge that there was choral singing in the southern groups; and the personal opinion, based on several lines of evidence, that there was also part singing in these groups in pre-European times. David Malo,[2] in describing the elaborate rites performed in ancient times in Hawaii in connection with the consecration of the war temple (*luakini*), has written that at a certain stage in the consecration ceremonies, a service of "prayer" was carried on in the temple for two whole nights and days by a body of priests who had committed the "prayers" to memory. The kahunas were divided into two groups that occupied either side of the house in which the service was performed; and the service was carried on by the two groups alternately giving the recitation. Now all prayers in Polynesia were rhythmically intoned, for dynamic expression was considered essential to efficacy. When, therefore, Malo writes, or is translated as writing, that "a prayer was said," a more accurate sense of the meaning will be gained if we substitute "a prayer-spell was intoned, or chanted." Evidently this is an instance of the intonation of a religious chant by a choir of men in the temple service analogous to the intoning of the sacred chants at the temples and on the feast places by choirs of old men—who it is to be noted were called collectively *tuhuna* (kahuna)—in all rites in the Marquesas.

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It is interesting to find mention in Captain King's account of Cook's[3] last and fatal visit to the Hawaiian islands of a group of dancers singing at a funeral; for dirges and eulogies were among the most prominent of the types of chants in Tonga, the Marquesas, and Cook Islands and doubtless elsewhere also. In Tonga the first missionaries who came on the ship "Duff" witnessed the funeral of one of the sacred chiefs of the

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[2] Malo, David, Hawaiian antiquities: B. P. Bishop Mus. Sp. Pub. No. 2, pp. 225-6, 1903.

[3] Cook, James, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780; vol. III, pp. 161, 166-7, London, 1785.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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islands. In their description of the ceremonial performances they describe corps of women and of men as singing responsive chants as they bore material for the tomb of the divine potentate.[4] Gill[5] gives a more adequate description of the singing that was usual at the funerary feasts of the Cook Islanders. At these festivals dirges, or "weeping songs" (*tangi*), and eulogistic compositions were sung by those taking part. Songs were commenced by individuals who brought them as tributes or offerings to the dead, and were then caught up by a chorus and carried on. The dirges and eulogies, and the singing festivals and mode of performance, undoubtedly closely resembled the Marquesan chants and performances on the same occasions.

I can vouch for the fact that *tangi* are still remembered today for I heard one sung in Tahiti by a company of people from Atiu in the Cook Islands; and they sang also other types of songs, the names of which are mentioned by Gill, that were undoubtedly ancient. But these chants were intoned by a few of the older people from Atiu only after they had been persuaded with some difficulty that it was the old "heathen" songs that were wanted, and not the adapted hymns that are much more familiar today and more generally approved, and hence produced always when singing is asked for. On the basis of only two hearings I should say that singing of the Cook Islanders shows an interesting combination of quite distinct elements characteristic of the Marquesan and the Society Islands choruses. Male voices appear usually to commence and take the leading part as in the Marquesas, and the hearer has the same sense of strongly marked, rugged rhythm, contrasting with the more rapid, running Tahitian; and of a sort of heaviness or sluggishness in the voices and tempo. In range the Cook Islands songs resemble the Tahitian rather than the very restricted Marquesan. The rhythm of the Tahitian *himene*, in which the women rather than the men lead off and carry the melody, though they are vigorously supported and urged on by the men's voices which seem veritably to take hold of the melodic element and swing it along in a powerful dynamic impulsion, is quicker and more flexible than that of Marquesas or the Cook Islands, though at the same time it is very strong. These *himene* in Tahiti are probably the best known of the genuinely native performances in Polynesia. They are referred to as "genuinely native" in order to contrast them with the modern Hawaiian songs which, like most of the modern music in all parts of Polynesia, are based wholly on our own music which has been adapted in many very different and

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[4] Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson (pp. 235-246), London, 1799.

[5] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Seas (pp. 181 ff.), London, 1876.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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that were tapu and those that were not. Those learning tapu songs were under numerous restrictions; they were confined to their work, and all sorts of pleasures of common everyday life were denied them; and these prohibitions had to be strictly regarded, for delinquency on the part of a single member of the chorus was capable of destroying the efficacy of the whole work. In addition to the actual deprivations, there must have been at such times a sense of "living under a cloud"; being tapu must have carried with it for the members of the chorus, especially if they were in their youthful and ardent years, a strong feeling of what may be characterized as emotional and mental burden, a sense of oppression. But we may imagine a very different atmosphere when a chorus of youths and maids, unburdened by restrictions, gathered to learn or to sing a recreational song; when the mood of the singers was that of the "lover and his lass" for whom "life was but a flower," and the song must have gone, as in old England, "With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino."

The recreational chants, specimens of which are presented in this paper, are the *ru'u, nani,* and *tape'a.* In addition to these there are several other types that were much used in the old days. No informant was found who could or would sing any except those here presented, but examples of the verse of the *uta* song will be published in a collection of Marquesan lore.[7] There were *uta tapu,* and common *uta.* The *uta tapu* were distinctly religious chants with erotic words, which, handed down as family heirlooms, were sung at funeral feasts as tokens of affection for, to give pleasure to, and doubtless also to stimulate, the spirits of the departed. But common *uta* were mere love songs in which any boy or girl, or for that matter, any older man or woman, might express passion for one of the opposite sex. Words of such songs are very easily obtained; and it is beyond question that there is many a native who could sing them if caught in the right mood. Natural shyness and constraint would make it difficult for a native to sing one of these before any foreigner; and anyone who at all understands the Polynesian nature, or for that matter youthful and temperatmental human nature anywhere else in the world, must realize that it would hardly be possible for a Marquesan to sit down with a prodding ethnologist and in cold blood produce a sample of the type of song that is but the spontaneous expression in music and poetry of an impassioned soul.

Another type of recreational song that was very popular in the old days was the *komumu,* or *mumu.* The peculiar feature of this chant was its accompaniment. Each singer in the body of men and women who performed the *komumu* held in the left hand a stick of soft, resonant wood.

[7] Handy, E. S. Craighill, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer 304
certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of 287
a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as 296
strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the 764
manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with sur- 293
prising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the [784] king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. [778] The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

000 Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a ● 764 very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my [532] expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported 764 by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we 648 returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were [342] larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

850 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, [793] we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank 764 in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

1804. May.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal, but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a 824 large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *mio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

45 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *hue po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

266 This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[246] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

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Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Pale o le Fe'a only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

Mortuary Practises

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil; in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practised
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or insane; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*. 304x 714 622 [585]

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250). 304x 561

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three. 304x 562 264 764 [581]

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[1] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con- 304x

[1] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms
.344 which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills
778 which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal
[782 of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen
789] and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usu-
595 ally two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief. 775 765

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance. 775

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men. 764

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back 784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of 152 this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned the chant called *kaheoko*. 764 765

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taha, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *heva* naked. 764

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had ● 765 been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus- [302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal 266 god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been 602 captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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cried three times in a high voice, *"Tatapa i te puaka"* (We call on you for a pig). The householder would reply three times, similarly in a high voice, *"A hahi i te puaka"* (Chant your genealogy for the pig). The seeker then replied, *"E toe puaka tu'u tupuna, e"* (Enough pig for my ancestor). The pig or pigs were then delivered. A *tapu* called *fau'oa* reigned for the families collecting pigs while this was going on—this *tapu* allowed no eating nor smoking. 765

When a descendant of the dead man had obtained three or four pigs, they were taken to the ceremonial priest at the feast place and the *tapu* was lifted. The pigs were fattened, and a season of plenty was awaited before the *ko'ina* was announced. All the people in the valley aided in procuring wood for cooking. A special house (*oho au*), open at the sides, was built beside the feast place for the preparation of food. One festival would be given in honor of the spirits of several dead men at the same time, and the relatives of all united in sharing the support of the workers. The pigs were dressed, *popoi, poke,* and other foods were prepared. (See Preparation of Food.) The preparations lasted about a week, during which time all those engaged in the work were *tapu*. The last day of preparation, which preceded the actual celebration, marked the ending of the *tapu* and was called *takoui*. On this day, the great *tuhuna* (master professionals) of all kinds arrived. Ovens, each of which held twenty to thirty hogs, were fired and filled.

Just before daybreak on the day of the feast, a loud drumming announced its opening, and the old men began to sing the chant called *nato* at the feast place, continuing until the provisions were all on the dance area and the people were all assembled. People from other valleys came, bringing pigs and other provisions. The pigs were laid in rows on banana leaves on the dance floor—a row for each spirit—by men girt only with a loin cloth. The drums began to beat with the beginning of the *nato* and continued all day long. Old women, relatives of the deceased, chanted (*nahi*) in pairs all day long the genealogy of the land and of their families. (See Genealogies.) One woman would chant the names of the men, another of the women, thus:

O Nuku, h-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Nuku, for sure)
O Mea ta oe vehi-i-i-i-i-ne, (Mea is your woman)
O Pepane, ho-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Pepane, for sure) . . .

The professionals (*tahuna*) stood on a sacred platform, the men on another or part of one reserved for them, and the women and children were elsewhere by themselves. After the *nato* chant and before the carving of the pigs, chants called *uhaki* were sung. (See Sacred Chants.) The pigs were then cut up, whole pigs or parts being distributed to all those at

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[536 887]

> . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [534]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tenuen* (*ka'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [29] [565]

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta,* or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi,* played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke,* the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu,* and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua.* These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 537 852

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*. 539 764

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i*; the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u*; and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*). 539 765 [533]

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families 539

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X533 Several men marked time throughout the singing by clapping regularly in the manner called *pitika*. The singing was vigorous and precise.

PEHI

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu* and marked the completion of the singing in honor of the youth for whom the feast was celebrated. It is evident from the words of the *pehi* that it was a kava drinking song. (See melodic figure 7.) The accented rhythm of the melody was marked, and the mode of performance very energetic. The chant was unaccompanied by drums or clapping. In rhythm with the song, the chorus of men swung the upper part of their bodies from side to side, and the two hands, palms up, were shoved forward or to one side or the other, with a motion resembling shovelling, perhaps pantomiming or accompanying the presentation of the kava cup.

RELIGIOUS CHANTS

UHAKI

V533 765 The *uhaki* was a dirge composed in honor of a dead warrior and sung on the tribal feast place upon the occasion of one of the memorial festivals celebrated periodically on behalf of the spirits of the departed. The nature of the chant as a mourning song or dirge is indicated by the inclusion after every second line of the wailing that is typical of the histrionic mourning of all the Polynesian peoples. Commonly, the wailing over a dying person, a corpse, or at a tomb, was participated in only by the women; but when the wail occurred in the *uhaki*, both men and women took part. The wail starts with a slow wavering sound deep down in the throat covering a musical interval of about a whole tone, the wavering of the voice being gradually accelerated until it is almost a trill, and is continued until the breath is exhausted. The words of the example of the *uhaki* here presented in melodic figure 8 have reference to a war of revenge. The chant was intoned in unison throughout by a chorus of men and women, and was accompanied by small drums. The verse is of considerable length. Only the first few lines are given in the example, but the remainder continues with exactly the same melody carried through every pair of lines and followed by a wail, continuing the final vowel sound of the last line preceding it.

NATO

X533 It is said that the first *nato* was composed by a *tuhuna* named Taitihu, who lived long ago in the valley of Vevau (Atuona), on the island of Hivaoa, and that all subsequent *nato* have been modeled after his original. *Nato* were learned and sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) of the tribe at the

776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief. 775 765

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance. 775

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men. 764

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 533 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

● 766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e vaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days. 766

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says: 766 786

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and sea-shells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the 766 [688]

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787 While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

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The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono,* chants) or *tuhuka o'oko.* To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e,* constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vovona, pu'e, tona pou,* etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono.* No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e, tona pou,* and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna.* Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono,* a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called *tuputu*, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting *tuhuna* were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the *tuhuna o'ono* lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono* and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoho*) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspira-
766 tional priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono,* like that of the *tau'a,* was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

793 Temple assistants, called *moa, taputoho,* or *u'u,* were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa,* saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing. 772 776 [184]

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

Fanaua

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits. 776

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or 778 [766] [776]

6: Lisianskv T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

[793] 764 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721 This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766 its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782 deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837 women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585 with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583 session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low 754
rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick 776
and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As [787]
soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua*, they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate [681]
relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit 775
of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after 776
death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was
therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a 776
fanaua's victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract 766
the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected
766 over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevo-
776 lence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

791 Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be
754 either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar
776 spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead. 764

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor. 764 768

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva: 764 184

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*. 764

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824 and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or 428 female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu.*

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u,* the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.) [769

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539 collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. 769 775

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9). [184] [386] [252]

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals." [292 302] 387 [186]

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty. [302]

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua,* which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the 776 *ko'ika vaihopu,* except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par- [481 ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua.* Champions of different tribes challenged each 526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu,* women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki,* but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi,* and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau,* I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau.*

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic- 266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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X533 773 hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X553 As in the *pu'e,* there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting [869] features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of [868] these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

X533 The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the ● 769 time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The 832 use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna*, who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[10] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[10] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 164), London, 1813.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals
were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages,
funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de-
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the [769]
commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his
death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally,
and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were
used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was
also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear
and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded
the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the
men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden
to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with
anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch
was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside
for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what
remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing
could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was
always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out
alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from
land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies.
Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let
down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were
harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the
flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for
days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human
captive.

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back 784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all 152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods;

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771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or mórai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane*, corresponding to our concept of the astral

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'oma*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

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The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing. 772 776 [184]

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits. 776

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taichae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or 778 [766] [776]

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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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person's mother. Still another type was called the *i'i*. This, it is said, was a form of tribute paid when there was a feast in honor of a chiefess. When a *ko'ina i'i* was announced, people of the home valley and many from neighboring friendly settlements would come prepared to sing *i'i* in honor of the chiefess; and all would bring, as appropriate gifts to accompany their songs, offerings of flowers. According to legend, the first *i'i* was taught to a young man who was desirous of attending a festival in honor of a chiefess by two birds, who were in reality "wild women" (*vehine hae*) of the mountains. The youth, who was handsome as heroes of legends seem usually to be, charmed not only the chiefess but all the other ladies at the feast, so that they were all filled with a passionate desire for him.

Of the strictly religious chants there were many kinds. Before describing these it will be well, without dwelling too long on this subject—which would in itself require a whole book for thorough explanation and illustration— to bring out certain of the most important points with regard to the place of chanting in the native religion. The Marquesans, like all Polynesians, chanted their prayer-spells because they believed in the efficacy or dynamic effect of rhythmic intonation; they considered such intonation to be an essential feature of all religious recitations. The singing of the choral religious chants is nothing more than intonation by large groups with prescribed rhythm and melody of causative dynamic spells. These chants may be compared to the liturgies of the Christian and the Thibetan Buddhist churches. The Marquesans believed that the gods who animated and vivified all nature, including man and all other living beings and things—in fact, nature as a whole, made up of gods and spirits, and earth-dwelling beings and things—were affected directly by these causative recitations.

The *pu'e* chant describes the growth (*pu'e*, to grow) of the world from its beginnings. It was intoned to consecrate children and such things as new houses and new canoes. The idea in the native mind apparently was that the dynamic recitation, along with the repetition of many meaningless "words with power," of the stages of the world's growth served to make the new thing one with all nature and thus to consecrate it, psychically binding it firmly to all growing, living nature. The *pu'e* was strictly tapu, and was never intoned except by priests and the old men who constituted the choirs in the great ceremonies. But there was another creation chant, called the *vavana* (which probably means "sacred knowledge") which, though tapu, was learned and sung by women as well as by men. (Women as a class were not tapu as were men.) This, like the *pu'e*, was intoned in a slow tempo accompanied by clapping of the

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hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

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the Marquesan. This must not be taken as an indication that this *nani* is not a genuinely Marquesan chant. Practically all Marquesans today know how to speak Tahitian, and it is their habit in singing these recreational songs to insert Tahitian words in places where they produce a more graceful effect than the harder and more staccato Marquesan equivalents. It is only in their singing that the natives do this; in conversation among themselves they prefer their own language.

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The Nani o Kae may be accepted as a genuine ancient Marquesan song since the poetry is based on themes from one of the old legends of Hivaoa, the story of Kae. Hina, the chiefess of Puamau valley, the ancient name of which was Vai Noi, summoned her brother-in-law, who was a great whale, to take Kae to Taaoa. Kae was instructed to kick a certain rocky islet as he passed. This act was in some mysterious way to cause the whale to turn about so that its tail instead of its head would come upon the beach at Taaoa. Kae failed to kick the islet; and, in consequence, the whale came up on the beach head-first, whereupon the people of the valley attacked and killed it.

TAPE'A

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The *tape'a* was a companion piece of the *nani*. Three or four *nani* would be sung, and then the *tape'a*, after which the singers would rest. Only the women actually sang the words, the men accompanying them with body and arm motions as in the *nani*, but singing louder and with more spirit. While the women sang, the men accompanied, their part being referred to as *haakoakoa*, which may be translated as "warming up." In rhythm with the singing, the group of men sometimes ejaculated forcibly, "Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!" accompanying these expulsions of breath with vigorous motions of the arms up and down like those made in hauling on a rope; at other times, with tremendous vigor, they ejaculated "Ugh-huh-ugh! Ugh-huh-ugh!" twice, swinging the upper body first to one side, then to the other; then, throwing the right arm forward from the shoulder and striking it at the elbow, they ejaculated with great force "Mahu-mahu," a word which has an erotic meaning. Done by only a small group of about eight men, this male accompaniment was remarkably powerful and rousing. It needs little imagination to conceive the dynamic power of such a performance by a large group of virile natives. (See melodic figure 3.)

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194 *eYó, eYú, iYó, iYé, iYó, iYú*: in other words, when any other vowel except *i* follows *e* and bears the stress; or when any other vowel follows *i* and bears the stress. A *w* occurs in *ówa, ówe, owí, úwa, uwó, úwe, Uwé, úwi, uwí, uwó*: in other words, with *o* bearing stress before *a* and *e*, and with *o* before *i* when the latter is stressed; and with *u* stressed or unstressed with all other vowels. *ó* stressed, followed by *i* forms *ói*. A *W* occurs in *oWó, oWé, óWi, úWo*.

To sum up: When *a* is stressed, it forms a near-dipthong with all other vowels by predominating and making of the second vowel a mere shading of sound; *e* stressed does the same thing with *i*. *E* stressed with all vowels except *i*, and *i* stressed with all vowels except another *i* modify the following vowel with a distinct *y* sound. When the second vowel is stressed, its modification by the preceding *e* is much less noticeable, as indicated by the *Y*. *O* and *u* stressed and unstressed, which modify the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* with a *w* or *W* sound; and *u* similarly modifies a following *o*. In this inclusion of a *w* sound, however, the extent of modification does not seem to follow in the orderly fashion of the *e*'s and *i*'s the stressing of the first or second vowel.

LEGEND OF MAHUIKE RECORDED PHONETICALLY

539 The short legend of Mahuike was recited at Atuona, Hivaoa, by Haapuani, 723 who was born in that valley. It was recorded phonetically, exactly as heard, using the conventions described above. A free translation of this legend and the phonetic record are as follows:

Fire in the Marquesas originally came from Mahuike. It is said that formerly there was no fire here, Mahuike having it all. Maui was the great-grandson of Mahuike. In those times the people became disgusted with eating things raw. A rumor spread among them that the food that Mahuike ate in his country was very fine in comparison with what was eaten raw here. How different it was with the chief Mahuike! There was a wise man (*tuhuna*) here who bethought him of the native stories that were told of the delicious food that Mahuike enjoyed. The wise man conceived an idea. The story had it that Mahuike's food was particularly good. Some one asked in what way it was better. "We have breadfruit, banana, breadfruit-paste just like what they have." "This is the difference," said the wise man, "Mahuike's food is prepared with fire." Then the people said to Maui, "What a fine thing it would be if you would go to your great-grandfather Mahuike and get fire for us." Maui was told what to say:

O Mahuike!
Give me some fire. (Chanted).

When Maui approached his great-grandfather with these words, the old man asked, "Who told you Mahuike had fire?" "Why," said Maui. "A report came to us that your food was good, and not indigestible like ours, because you had fire". Mahuike said, "Give me your fire-lighter so that I may give you some fire". "Here it is," said Maui, and unwrapped it from the tail of his loin cloth. Mahuike ignited it from the sole of his foot and gave it back to Maui, saying, "There is some fire for you, my great-grandson". Maui set off along the road. He rubbed the end of the fire-lighter on the ground and put out the fire, then returned to Mahuike, approaching him with the same words as before. The old man demanded, "What put out your fire?" Maui

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told him that as he was passing along the road he had looked at the fire-lighter and found that the fire was out. So Mahuike gave Maui fire from his knee. (The same episode is repeated, Maui departing, putting out the fire, and returning. When he received fire from Mahuike's chest, he was told that there was no more). After Maui had put out the fire that had been given by Mahuike from his chest, he returned. Mahuike was asleep but his gods warned him that his head was in danger. Maui demanded fire from his great-grandfather's head. Mahuike refused, saying that the head was tapu. Maui threatened the old man, but he still refused. There were hot words, then they came together in a clinch. Back and forth they struggled, striving with might and main to overthrow each other, until at last Mahuike exclaimed, "Your strength is like that of a madman, my grandson!" They came together again and again; they fought and fought. Maui's gods said to him, "Do not give in, lest you fail to get the fire." Then Mahuike's strength suddenly gave way, and his head struck upon a rock with such force that the fire flew in all directions from it, entering all the trees and all the rocks. When Maui returned to his people, they demanded, "Where is the fire?" "It is scattered all over the land," replied Maui, and then explained to them how they could get it from the wood of trees by rubbing two pieces together. He demonstrated it to them, bringing the spark from the fire-sticks by long rubbing, and putting the spark in dry tinder—"then did grow the flame of the fire."

mahUwī'kē

(Note: Accented syllables are pronounced with a slight rising inflexion.)

na mahUwikē te túmu o te áhi i te fēnūwa enāta.
From Mahuike the origin of the fire in the land native.

u pe'a'U hó'i te pó'i kakī'yu, á'ó'ē he(y)áhi mamū'wa átu,
Did say indeed the people anciently not the fire before away,

o mahUwikē. oCHī'ya i pe'áU te nēI ha'akekáI,
of Mahuike. When did say the here legend,

o maúwi he pī'ka no mahUwikē, he táma na te mo'upúna o
is Maui the great-grandson of Mahuiki, the child of the grandchild of

mahUwikē. oWhī'ya i húwa móU po Uwa kū' húwa mata-
Mahuike. When in those some days was disgusted those peo-

élrāna i te hálīī'na i te meYa tī'e. Uwa pa te' óno
ple with the eating at the things raw. Did hear the rumor

iyo húwa mataélnano, a hī'iyū'nē tē a háI iyo mahUwī'kē,
among these people was good the there food at Mahuike,

he háI ná'ē ná'ē óko, ná te mēYa i háI tī'ē'ya ta tatóU
the food nice very. Because of the thing did eat raw that of us

éI, no él'a i pīYáU ta tatóU nēI. a'iya owī'ya e meYa
here, because of that is bad of us here. It is this it is that is thing

he tī'tahi iyo húwa haka'iki, o mahUwī'kē. iyo húwa pó'i
different another at this chief, is Mahuike. Among the people

titáhi enáta tuhúna. ua vívo ī'ya no tē a táU pona tēkáU
another man wise. Did think he of the that [sign of plural] words

a te mataélnana i pe'áU nēI no te háI ná'ē ná'ē iyo
of the people did speak here of the food nice at

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ā'ō'ē ātu he āhi i tōwē. a tāha! Uwa tāha maúwi mē te
Not away the fire enough. Go!" Did go Maui with the

hā'ta. Uwa vīvo maúwi, e tāhi āhi i tōwē ātu, o te āhi
laugh. Did think Maui, one fire more, is the fire

i te ōho o mahUwikē. i te a'amúwi u tināl i hēwa i no
at the head of Mahuike. On the road did extinguish to this to on

he ipo. te hī'a ī'na o ta iya nānu u hūwa hakaúwa
the dirt. The put-out having been of his lighter did come again

iyo mahUwikē. a hāno ātu e ana, u pa'aníya i te hiyomō'uw
to Mahuike. Was searching, was fallen asleep to the sleep

mahUwikē. [Maui calls as above.] *a tahi a hāhuwa te tāu*
Mahuike. Then did begin to chant the

atúwa o mahUwikē.
gods of Mahuike.

o te ahi mēl heya?
Is the fire from where?

o te ahi mēl te ōho.
Is the fire from the head.

o te oho o mahUwikē.
Is the head of Mahuike.

e ahi tapu te iya
Is fire sacred the that

o te upoko o mahUwikē
Is the head of Mahuike.

i ha towē i.
— — — —

te ono tima o mahUwikē u kahúwa hakaúwa maúwi i te
The heard having of Mahuike did to sing begin again Maui to the

āhi mēl úna o toWiya ōho. Uwa mahUwikē me te pē'kē, mē
fire from on of his head. Did rise Mahuike with the anger, with

te hā'a hā'a, me te vēvē'i. u pe'āU mahUwikē, eYaha to
the rage, with the choler. Did say Mahuike, "Is what of

owē hiya, e tú u pē'ka? u tu'u atú na e yāU n'āhi pāOtu
you want, oh of me great-grandson? Did give away there to be me the fire all

o te āhi. Chēya ta owē e imi nēl e tu u pē'ka? o te
of the fire. Where of you is seek here, oh of me great-grandson? Is the

āhi i tōwē nēl o tú u póko te iya, ā'ō'ē
fire remaining here of me head that, not

e ī'o iya ō'wē tu u āhi. iya hina ō'we. ā'ō'ē
is come to you of me fire. Then fall you. Not,

e ī'o tu u ahi, a tahi a fēfāl mahUwikē me maúwi. u māl
is come of me fire." Then did combat Mahuike with Maui. Did come

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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fəfál, u mál, u mál fəfál. a táhi a hína mahUwikə
combat, did come combat, did come combat. Then did fall Mahuike

i a'o. u pə'áU mahUwikə, túta tə i'i, e tu u pə'ha.
to down. Did say Mahuike," Mad your strength oh of me great-grandson."

Uwa tú'u maúwi. u ha'a tópa mahUwikə i to Wiya
Did take Maui. Did cause to fall Mahuike to his

áO. Uwa tópa te áO o mahUwikə. u fəfál hokaúwa aúwa. me húwa
face. Did fall the face of Mahuike. Did combat again these two. With this

hána, u mál fəfál fəfál. a táhi a pə'áU te táU atúwa iya
work, did come fight fight. Then did say the gods to

maúwi, umá'i owə e tú'u ówa te ko'óna te áhi iya ówə.
Maui, "Do not you give up lest the get the fire to you."

a táhi a ha'a páO te i'i o mahUikə. Uwa tá i te upóko
Then did cause end to the strength of Mahuike. Did strike on the head

o mahUwikə i úna o te kə'a. u hi'i tavava te úpoko o
of Mahuike to on of the rock. Did break-to-pieces the head of

mahUwikə. a táhi a hiki te áhi mél oto mál o húwa úpoko
Mahuike. Then did go up the fire from in here of this head

o mahUwike. uwa f'ə titahi áhi i oto o te táU akáU,
of Mahuike. Did go another fire to in of the trees,

uwa f'ə titáhi i óto o te kə'a. PáOtu te táU áhi a
did go another to in of the rocks. All the fires of

mahUwikə i te tavava ma te táU fenú'wa. a táhi a
Mahuike to the breaking among the lands. Then did

pə'áU te atúwa iya maúwi, kéYu óko ówə i tihə néI
say the gods to Maui, "Play strong you to arrive here

i te áhi imi a mahUwikə. a táhi a húwa maúwi iyo to(w)iya
to the fire seek of Mahuike." Then did come Maui to his

huwá'a. u pə'áU huwa tuhá'na, I'cheya to ówə áhi? éna te
relatives. Did say this wise man, "Where your fire?" "There the

táU (W)áhi a mahUwikə u tavava ma na fenúwa páOtu.
fires of Mahuike did break over the lands all."

a táhi a pə'aU maúwi i toWiya huwá'a, a tó'o te
Then did say Maui to his relatives, "Take the

akáU, a fəfáti ma vavéna, a ha'a mówə te hópə owa i úna
wood, break in the middle, lay flat the half long to on

o te ápo. o te hópə póto no te i'ima. a áhi titáhi akáU
of the ground. Is the half short for the hands. Rub one wood

ma úna o titahi. u pə'áU te táU huw'a'a, a táhi a
on of the other." Did say the relatives, "Then

pəhə'ya? pə'áU maúwi. a táhi a ko'óna te áhi. o te oWa
how?" Said Maui, "Then get the fire." Of the long-

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 773 *tína o te ábi, a táhi a ho'ána tá tátóU páE ábi. Uuu*
ness of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

ábi hónua pó'i. te ouu tína o te ábi uuu á'a te ábi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te hóU náti. u mahá'o hónua matoálnama o muu'ui.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Maui.

u pe'áU huuu tuhóna, ouíya náI te ápáU i ná'ĕ ná'ĕ
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

áI te á'a a mahUuíkĕ. a táhi a ha'a pél pél átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te ábi i úna o hónua hóU náti, uuu tú'u mĕ te heíkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

má'o, a táhi a hé'i te á'a o te ábi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with *"ka'ó-o-o-oha, nú-u-uui-y-é-e-e-e-e (ka'oha nui e)"* with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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784
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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

The hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many ge- [713]
nerations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to [823]
mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they im- 167
pressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in [505]
search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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789 natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

Folklore and Legends

773 From Handy's[1] volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi*, who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

[1] E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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basket of eels, which the mother puts in her back, and she dies. Before dying she tells the children to plant a seed on her back. Since they fear her ghost, they bury her in the ground, and a fruit tree grows. The girl wants the seed. They eat the fruit and fell the tree, and the mother comes to life again. Then the mother pursues the children, and threatens to kill and eat them. They flee from her to an island which the mother cannot climb. There they have no food, but they plant the seed that came out of the mother. It grows and they eat the fruit. The mother succeeds in getting on the island, and finally wants to climb up on the girl's hair. She does so, and when the brother cuts her hair, the mother falls and dies. The children now feel safe. They take the corpse of the mother and bake it. There is no mention of their eating it. One brother is a glutton, and eats not only food but utensils. He meets his death by eating forbidden cocoanuts belonging to a chief. The girl is wooed by two chiefs, one of whom kills the other.

Another story deals with a handsome married man who is carried away by the *vehini-hai*. The wife sets out in pursuit, but cannot catch up with him, and dies. The three wild women suggest eating the youth. One of them suggests that there is nothing to gain from eating him. The good ogress cautions the bad, and the latter is transformed with beauty. The woman ceases to be a man-eater, and the captured youth stays with them.

Another story deals with father-daughter incest. A man is married to a woman, but when she is three months pregnant, he deserts his wife for a new woman. The first woman has a daughter, who grows up to be very beautiful. The father of the girl hears of her beauty, and among others seeks her favors, not knowing it is his daughter. He comes while the mother and her brothers are away looking for food during a famine. He takes the girl. The mother returns and the girl tells of her adventure. The mother recognizes the man as the girl's father. The woman reproaches first the daughter, and then the father, and then presents them to each other, i.e., father and daughter.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.[3] They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[832] [3] White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

[End of processed section]

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 895
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This
is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations
with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living:

The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in enbalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs,

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727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. [761 775] 782 776

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with [824] coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise- [293] shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tartooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* [775] had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

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DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

[805]

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

[775]

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

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scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i. 774

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way. 774 791

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living: 775

The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in embalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

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775 sighting along his arm. The ghosts of living persons look exactly like them, but cannot speak, and seem to be unable to injure other persons. The ghosts of Europeans as well as natives are frequently seen.

Mauhane was the term applied to the spirit of a woman whose husband or son was at war or on a fishing expedition (9). Such spirits were supposed to aid the enterprise. (See Fishing.)

Actual physical death resulted upon the departure of the breath (*menava*) by way of the mouth. Absence of the soul (*uhane*) would produce, first, sickness, and then with the departure of the breath, death. On Ua Pou the mouth of a sick person was sometimes stopped to prevent death. At Pua Ma'u, the natives apparently believed that sometime after death the *menava* finally left the body, later than the *kuhane*.

While *menava* is to be translated as "breath," for the native it carries with it more than the sense of physical breath. It seems better, on account of the additional spiritual significance, to translate it "breath of life." A rite designed to strengthen the new-born child was described as being *na te menava* (for the breath) of the child. Again, one of the chants intoned after a death was explained to me to be *na te menava* (literally, for the breath; figuratively, for strengthening) of the dead person's spirit, which was about to depart.

JOURNEY OF THE SPIRIT TO THE SPIRIT WORLD

The spirit took its departure from the body at death by way of the mouth, being thought to leave some persons before physical death, others after. In Pua Ma'u it was said that the spirit went on its journey in the form of a dragon fly. Offerings—a pig's head and *kava*—were always put with the dead body in order to give its spirit means to gain admittance to the lower region. There were dangers from malicious demons (*vehine hae*, or *pepeke ou mei*), which were supposed to tear the spirit to pieces if they could come upon it. A dog was hung up near a dead body to chase away the evil spirits, and a pig was put under the legs of the corpse to furnish food for the demons while the spirit made its journey in safety.

According to the natives of Hiva Oa, spirits of all their dead went to the next world by way of the precipice at the western extremity of that island, named Kiukiu. It was believed that souls of the dead on Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Tahu Ata returned to Hiva Oa and likewise took their departure at this point. Spirits were thought to leap from the precipice at Kiukiu, to land on a rock called Hi'ia, which turned with them and precipitated them into the sea. On Ua Huna, it was said that souls took their departure via Tetiutiu, the western point of the island (perhaps on their way to Hiva Oa). Tetiutiu is so suggestive of Kiukiu that it seems

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

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The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

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674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

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168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de-
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the [769]
commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

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This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief. 775 765

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance. 775

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men. 764

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina,* which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina.* Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left [759] alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae,* or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's 411
description just given. The sling, *maka,* made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. 726 [776] On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati,* relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Pēre Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the [783] sea. This made them *tapu,* removing any influences due to association with womankind.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use. 226 778

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*kou'fau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds. 226 776

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple. 226

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished . [776] [225]

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned. [252]

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle Fishing

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In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u,* feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the
●776 *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par-
[481 ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each
526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei maka-maka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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793 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

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THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono*, chants) or *tuhuka o'oko*. To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e*, constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana, pu'e, tona pou*, etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono*. No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e, tona pou*, and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna*. Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono*, a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

> *E N . . . a tuku mai te aki (ua)* (N . . .grant us rain).
> *Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hano i te mei* (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a ueue mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vavana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonōfiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

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characters. Some of these names occur in the genealogies recounting the descent of man, others do not. (See Genealogy.) 776

Atea was the progenitor of all natives with Atanua as wife. With other female elements, or beings, as wives, he was likewise the progenitor of all animate and inanimate things. (See Genealogy.) His name never occurs in legends or in chants other than those of creation. He appears never to have been appealed to or propitiated with offerings. Atea represented a concept, rather than a god. An anlysis of the word furnishes some light with regard to the concept. Atea in the Marquesas corresponds to Wakea in Hawaii and Vatea in the Cook group. The "A" in *Atea* corresponds therefore, to Maori and Hawaiian *"wa,"* Tahitian and Samoan *"va,"* which have meanings in all these groups signifying space in one sense or another. *Atea* in Tahiti means widespread. *Tea* in the Marquesas means "white," "clear" (referring to water, for instance). *Atea* in the Marquesas should probably, therefore, be translated "white, or clear, space." The word for high noon was *o-atea-nui* (*o*, is; *nui*, great), which may be translated as "the time when *atea*, clear space, is great, or greatest." *Atea* may therefore be defined as the native name for the concept of clear space as a fructifying principle or force in generative creation.

Tu is a legendary character and the patron of war. His name does not appear in the genealogies.

Ono, as far as I have been able to discover, was of no importance in the actual worship—at least not under this name. A long legend recounts his exploits. According to this story, he defeated the god Tohetika, whose spirit thereupon became identified with his. Tohetika was worshipped throughout the group.

Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in the genealogies. The sacred adz is associated with his name. The concepts of a male principle and light belong to Atea rather than to Tane here, though Tane was regarded as a "light" god in the sense that he was believed to have had light skin and hair and to have been the ancestor of the white race.

Tana-oa is mentioned elsewhere as god of the wind and sea and patron of fishing. Tiki is famous in legend as a trickster—according to one legend, he was ancestor of men through union with a heap of sand which he piled up on the seashore (Hina-mata-one). Pupuke and Manatu were patrons of the sacred chants. Pupuke was also god of the inspirational priest's house at Pua Ma'u. Tonofiti, who thrust apart the "level above" and the "level beneath," became a god of the underworld. Of the others of the "original gods," little is known except that their names appear in the sacred chants.

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DEPARTMENTAL GODS

●776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

[805]

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

[775]

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

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priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu. 776

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy. [753]

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

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776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing. 772 776 [184]

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae,* which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits. 776

Tokai, also called *fanaua,* were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua,* there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or 778 [766] [776]

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778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts [843] as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.

Fanaua seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

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scendants and would repel attacks upon them by *fanaua* of less power. For example, the father of X——'s wife has become a *fanaua* and protects her from others. Such *fanaua* can be used to injure women outside the family. 776

Personal *fanaua* seem to have been more numerous than those of the preceding class. According to informants a *fanaua* of this type would roam over the group watching the women until he found one to his fancy. He would then attach himself to her "like a man in love," but would not injure her in any way. At her bidding he would attack other women and kill them. Y—— controlled a very powerful *fanaua* of this sort from Pua Ma'u.

Fanaua controlled by the dead were those who had killed some one. When a woman had been killed by a *fanaua* she seems to have exercised a control over it and was able to send it to kill other women. It was on this account that offerings were made at her tomb.

Fanaua were exclusively controlled by women, and could only attack women. When they attacked, they first bit[16] the head of the victim, then entered the body and caused it to swell up as if the woman were pregnant. From the time that they entered the woman her own personality was displaced and the *fanaua* spoke with her voice.

When a woman was thought to be attacked by a *fanaua*, her relatives chewed up *noni* leaves and put them in her ears and nose, asking, "Who are you?" This often had to be repeated many times, but finally the *fanaua* would speak and say: "I am so-and-so," giving his name and the name of the woman who had sent him. Offerings were then made to his family that he might be appeased. In some families a relative of the sick woman attacked and killed the sender of the *fanaua*. The proceedings where the *fanaua* was sent by a dead person could not be learned. The sender seems not to have been able to recall the *fanaua* even when she wished to.

One of the commonest uses of the *fanaua* was against personally imposed *tapu*. An example was given as follows: A chief might *tapu* for himself the land of a person of less power. If the wife of the real owner of the land had a *fanaua*, she would send it to attack the chief's wife. The *fanaua*, speaking through the lips of the chief's wife, would tell the chief to remove the *tapu* from the land. If he refused to do so, his wife would die.

In the belief of the control of a *fanaua* by the soul of the person killed by it, there seems to have been some idea of an attachment between the soul and the *fanaua* that was unpleasant to the departed spirit and could only be ended by indicating to the *fanaua* a new victim. This point could not be made clear. The belief in *fanaua* is still strong, and the natives dislike to speak of them.

A few additional notes were obtained from the woman referred to above as X—'s wife. If her fother had died of *fanaua*, the spirit of the *fanaua* was always regarded as being associated with her in such a way that any other women who stepped over her mat would be afflicted by the spirit. No one knew what became of the woman's own spirit when she was in a state of possession by a *fanaua*. Such possession was always temporary. If a woman were with child at the time when a *fanaua* took possession of her, she would die with the child in her. But common possession by the *fanaua* spirit for a woman not pregnant was not considered

[16] I am inclined to believe that this biting of the head is due to a misinterpretation of a pantomimic representation on the part of the informant of the way in which a spirit was thought to enter the open mouth of the person of whom it is taking possession.

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776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

Vehine Hae

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke cu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the [513] Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae,* appearing only at night. *Vehine hae,* seen always with the head and eyes turned

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground. 776

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted. 784 778

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

¶755 escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an ¶776 372] old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow.

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou*:

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[8] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[8] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women 853
took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their [832]
breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; [514] they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child 865 doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum [276 or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, 261] observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was 854
under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, [176]
who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the 855
child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 266

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

● 776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. [761 775] 782 776

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [78]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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793 have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

776 Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and

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would often make an offering to the god before beginning his task. The *tuhunga* were also priests to the gods of their crafts, though they had little formal ritual and, except in the case of the fishermen, no sacred place. 776

Below the gods was another series of supernatural beings, the *vehini-hai,* or wild women. The natives were not clear as to whether or not these spirits were of human origin, but they did have human form. They were malevolent toward children, watching them continuously, sometimes merely making them sick and at other times stealing or eating them. They were also dangerous to young men. Appearing as beautiful women, the *vehini-hai* would present themselves to some charming young man in a lonely place and invite him to go along with them. If he complied, they would lead him to their caves, where they would turn back into ogresses and devour him. Occasionally however, the *vehini-hai,* instead of eating her victim, would try to establish him in an affectionate relationship, which was, needless to say, a very uncomfortable and dangerous position for the young man. The men who had encountered these *vehini-hai* said that they usually appeared as beautiful young girls, but that they were always hungry, and if one could steal glances at them when they were off guard, one could see their eyes shoot out and their long hungry tongues pop out and lick the ground. This was warning that one's associate was an ogress and not a lovely lady, and that it was time to get away.

Still another series of supernatural beings were the *fanaua.* They were the spirits of dead men who became the familiars of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding. They never operated against men. No woman had more than one *fanaua.* This spirit might be the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, i.e., a father, grandfather, or even some important member of the family several generations back. In such cases his relations with the woman were probably not on the basis of sexual attraction, although I could get no exact information on this point. The *fanaua* might also be a 776 602 776

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776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 776 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb [158 843] (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

539 *mahUwikĕ. a táhi a fáki húwa tuhū'na, e meYa tówitō'wi,*
777 Mahuike. Of once (then) did think this wise man, is thing true,

i ná'ĕ ná'ĕ ál ta iya kál, ĕ na mĕ te ápaU. u pe'áU
was nice thus of him food, is there with the taste. Did say

húwa mataélnana me húwa tuhuna. e(Y)ā'ha tĕ nél apáU i
these people with this wise man, "Is what the here taste was

ná'ĕ ná'ĕ ál ta atoU kál. o húwa meYa anélCHo' te kál.
nice thus of their good? Is this thing certainly the food.

he mél ta tatóU atī'i ta atóU; e mel'ka ta tatóU atī'i
the bread-fruit of us like of them; is banana of us like

ta átoU; he má ta tatóU atī'i ta atóU. i pĕhéYa
of them; the bread-fruit paste of us like of them. Was this

tiya ta tatóU, i pĕheYa tiya ta atóU. u pe'áU húwa
way of us, was that way of them." Did say this

tuhúna, o ta mahUwī'ke i túnu tíYa mĕ te páE áhi, no él'Ya
wise man, "Is of Mahuike to cooked having with the prepare fire, because of that

uwa vī'a te mél, uwa vī'a te má. ma él'a iya kál i
was cooked the bread-fruit, was cooked the bread-fruit paste. Because of that when eat at

húwa táU kál i túnu tiya mĕ te páE(Y)áhi. a táhi atóU
these foods were cooked with the prepared fire." Then they

a pe'áU iya maúwi, meYa ná'ĕ ná'ĕ amál ō'wĕ i titáhi meYa
did say to Maui, "Thing nice. Come you to another thing

áhi na tatóU iyo to pĕtĕ'o, o mahUwikĕ. iya tíhĕ óWĕ
fire for us at your great-grandfather's, is Mahuike. When arrive you

iyo mahuwikĕ, a pe'áU ówĕ [chanted],
at Mahuike, say you,

mahuwī'.....ikĕ'.....ī'ī'.....ikĕ! i háno mál yáU i te á.....ahi.
'Mahuike! Give to me the fire.'"

a táhi a pe'áU mahuwikĕ, i óno ówĕ i yál i te áhi a
Then did say Mahuike, "Did hear you of whom of the fire of

mahuwikĕ nél? i óno pu anélCho(W)aU na te méYa
Mahuike here?" "Did hear only certainly I because of the thing

uwa tíhYĕ te óno iyo matóU, a hī'iyā'nĕ o te kál iyo
was arrived the report to us, was good of the food at

mahuwikĕ. ā'ō'ĕ e húkaka ma óto o te kópu. i vívo ai(y)áU
Mahuike. Not is go wrong by in of the stomach. Did think there I

éna mĕ te áhi iyo óWĕ i ná'ĕ ná'ĕ ál ta otóU (W)ō'a.
there with the fire at you was nice thus of you victuals."

a tahi a pe'áU mahUwī'kĕ, éna me tá oWĕ nánu
Then did say Mahuike, "There with of you fire-lighter

meYa tú'u átu i titáhi meYa áhi na óWĕ, e tú ú pĕ'ka.
thing give away to another thing fire for you, oh of me great-grandson."

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777

a táhi o vĕvĕ'tĕ maúwi i te nánu mél óto o toW'ya fi'i fi'i
Then did open Maui to the fire-lighter from in of his tail

hámi. Uwa tú'u i te íma o mahuwíkĕ. Uwa tó'o mahuwíkĕ i
loincloth. Did give to the hand of Mahuike. Did take Mahuike to

húwa nánu a te pĕ'ka. Uwa tú'u i una o te tápu váE, u
this fire-lighter of the great-grandson. Did put to on of the sole foot, did

ho'ána te áhi i (Y)una o te nánu a te pĕka. Uwa tu'u
get the fire to on of the lighter of the great-grandson. Did give

mahuwíkĕ i te i'íma o maúwi. u pe'áU, éna te áhi, e
Mahuike to the hands of Maui. Did say, "There is the fire, oh

tu u pĕ'ka. U táha maúwi i te a' anúwi. u piyówi i una
of me great-grandson." Did go Maui to the road. Did rub to on

he épo, úwa ki'a te áhi. Uwa húwa maúwi iyo mahUwíkĕ. Uwa
the ground, did put out the fire. Did come Maui to Mahuike. Did

ite mahuwíkĕ iya maúwi, u pe'áU, éIya owĕ uwa hā'wa?
see Mahuike to Maui, did say, "Here you have come back?"

mahuwi.....ikĕ' ...i'i.....ikĕ! i hano mál yáU i te á.....ahi.
"Mahuike! Give to me the fire."

[Repeated.] *U pe'aU mahuwíkĕ, eyáha te ki'a o ta ówĕ áhi*
Did say Mahuike, "Is what the extinguish of your fire

i tú'u atu nél áU. u pe'áU maúwi, tu u táha tína
to give away here I." Did say Maui, "Of me having gone

i te á'anúwi, u ti'óhi áU i te nánu uwa ki'a te áhi mél
to the road, did look I to the lighter was out the fire from

úna. Uwa tó'o mahUwíkĕ i te nánu, uwa tú'u i úna o te
on." Did take Mahuike to the lighter, did put to on of the

mú'o. Uwa ú'a te áhi i úna o húwa nánu a mahuwíkĕ.
knee. Did light the fire to on of this lighter of Mahuike.

Uwa tó'o maúwi i te nánu áhi mĕ te táha. me húwa meYa
Did take Maui to the lighter fire and the go. And this thing

u tindl i te nánu i nó h(W)e épo. Uwa ki'a te nánu.
did extinguish to the lighter to of the ground. Did put out the lighter.

Uwa húwa hakaúwa maúwi iyo mahUwíkĕ. Uwa ite mahuwíkĕ,
Did come again Maui to Mahuike. Did see Mahuike.

eiya hakaúwa maúwi, á'ó'ĕ he éyo o mahUwíkĕ i pe'áU mál.
here again Maui, not the voice of Mahuike did say here.

te tata tina o maúwi i páta o te fá'ĕ. u vevĕ'o hakaúwa
The neared having of Maui did stand in front of the house. Did call again

maúwi. [As above.] *Uwa tú'u mahUwíkĕ i te áhi mél te*
Maui. Did give Mahuike to the fire from the

úma á'ma. u pe'áU i te pu'ka, Uwa ému te áhi, e tú u pĕ'ka.
chest. Did say to the great-grandson, "Was finished the fire, oh of me great-grandson.

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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [772] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* [515]
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

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used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 351

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

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764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b.*) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[778] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae).* It is striking that the two most

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sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 [778]

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu* (*pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu* (*ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

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764 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in
●778 which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu*, being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also
778 in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the
184 same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u* (*vahi*, place; *tomia*, burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae*. On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae*. As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae*, the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u*, or platform for the dead, is a simple
778 small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

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gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vala*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it. 764 778

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery. [343]

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

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764 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the 778 *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae,* but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u, ahu, feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani *(ke'i,* pierce; *ani,* sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana (ikoa,* name; *kenana,* man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders *(kiva)* in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs *(ke'etu)* lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

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On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual. 764 778

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing [824]

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764 upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is impossible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built 778 or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees [824] *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of perform- [562] ance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[6]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[6]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

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are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

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rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

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727 Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, [722] children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

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(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532

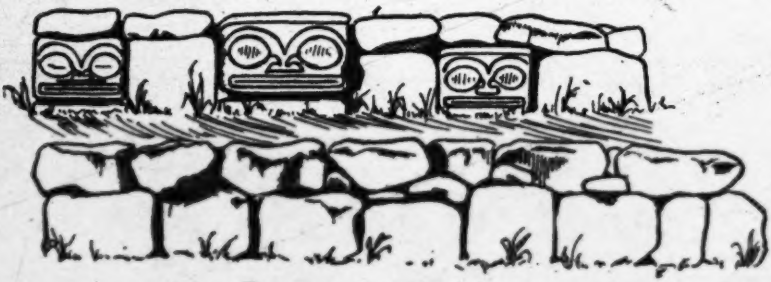

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FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 ●778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. [552] Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use. 226 778

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koifau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds. 226 776

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple. 226

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227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This 286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.* ●[778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Analyst]

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went
to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the
787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of
the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was
784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no
778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under
[421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one
[822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and
had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have
834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with
194 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called *tuputu,* the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting *tuhuna* were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the *tuhuna o'ono* lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono* and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoho*) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place. 778

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukau*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa: 778 346

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

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the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

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On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki,* made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a,* were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu.* It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu,* the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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778 346 An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukau*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'Ú AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *vavana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

778 The *ananuu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *ananuu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *ananuu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

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At each corner of the low wall a number of long, slender bamboos were erected, tied together at short intervals in a square form of bands of white cloth, while within, surrounding a bier covered with white, were a number of cones six or eight feet high in the form of the braided leaf of the coconut, confined at the top by bands of white cloth, the ends of which hung down in long pennants. 778

In Wilson's account (30, p. 526), "a sort of escutcheon" is described within a sepulchral house of a chief. "Again the side of another house, three other escutcheons are placed."

CEREMONIAL APPURTENANCES

Koufau were peeled *fau* stakes wrapped in white cloth and ornamented with plaited coconut leaves. These served as signs of *tapu,* marking off restricted areas during the times of the performance of ceremonial. What are evidently *koufau* are described by Garcia (14, p. 59). He speaks of an altar surrounded by long bundles of white stakes from which floated bits of vari-colored cloth. Melville describes similar signs of *tapu* around the restricted area on a feast place at the time of a festival (23, p. 198). *Koufau* are mentioned by Krusenstern in the following description (16, p. 127):

In the outer circle were some statues carved in wood, intended to represent the human figure, and evidently the coarse work of some unskilful artist; near to these statues were some pillars wrapt up in cocoa-leaves and a white cotton stuff. We were curious to learn what was the intention of them; but could obtain no answers to our inquiries, than that they were tahbu.—Near the morai was the priest's house, whom, however, we did not find there. Every family has its separate morai: the one we visited belonged to the priests.

Kopiripiri or *opinipini* (cf, *opini* on the *fa'e tukau*) was the term applied to the coconut leaves that embellished the *fau* stakes used as *tapu* symbols and the posts of sacred structures bedecked on the occasion of rites. Dordillon (8) gives as the meaning of the word *opini,* a sign of peace. The use of the coconut leaf as a symbol of peace is described under War. The coconut leaf appears to have been a symbol of sacredness that was used in a number of ways on ceremonial occasions: to decorate the sacred houses, *tapu* markers, and war canoes; as a headdress and body covering for *tuhuna* and others when occupied with ceremonial; and as a peace sign. The fact that a coconut leaf was used as the ceremonial dress of *tuhuna* justifies the conclusion that its use in decoration was probably primarily ceremonial rather than aesthetic. [824]

It is common today to find about the remains of some sacred places a great number of conch shells. It is probable that these were used along with drums in ceremonial, as was common in other groups, in announcing periods of tapu. Whether drums were used in the sacred precincts not

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attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

[826]

Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

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The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conventions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

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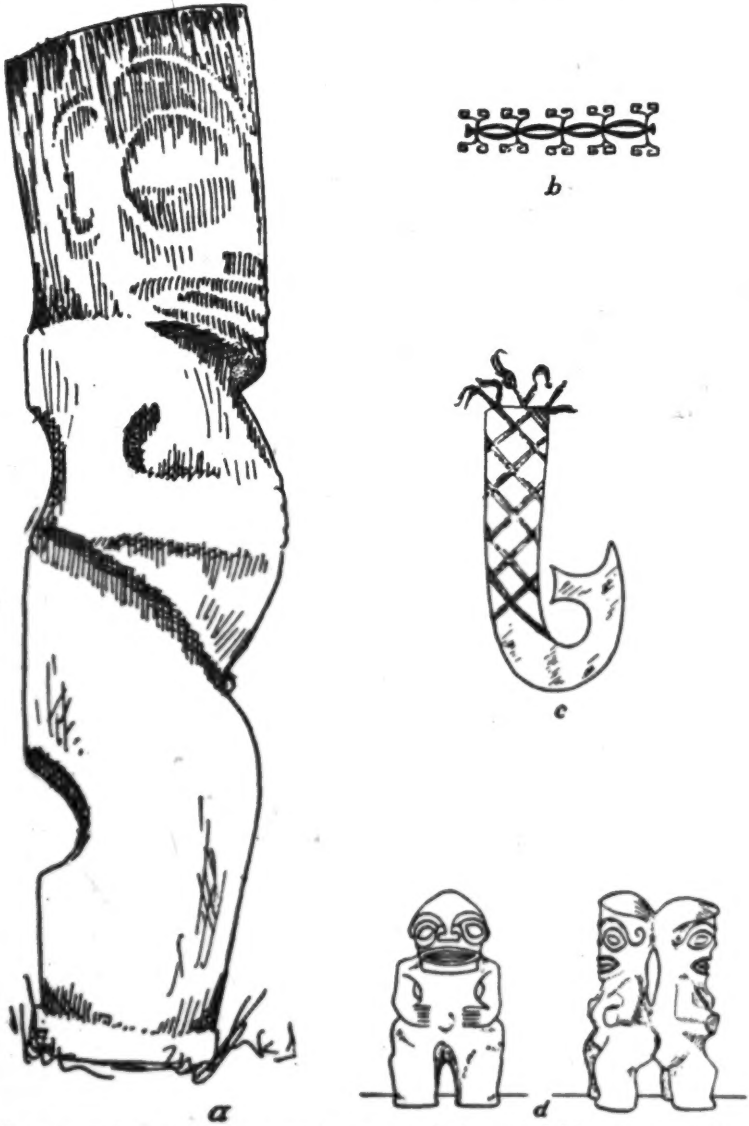

FIGURE 22.—Sacred objects: *a*, an image carved of wood (tiki); *b*, *tavo* design; *c*, hook, called *tavo*, for suspending human sacrifices; *d*, miniature stone images (tiki).

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est platform. In addition to these large permanent figures were miniature stone images (*tiki*), either single human figures or double figures (fig. 22, *d*) carved out of one piece, back to back. In order to insure success these were taken to the sacred place and there presented as votive offerings by those initiating some undertaking. By whom images were made, when, and with what rites is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were special carvers; images, like the house in the precincts, were probably made from time to time, as they were needed in rites. Images were girded with loin cloths. That these loin cloths for the gods were ceremonially made is indicated by the following translation from the manuscript of Dordillon (9): "The old *tuhuka* [probably ceremonial priest], who beat the *hami* [loin cloth] for Paiau, Tohotika, and Tamaputona [names of gods] might eat only in the evening." It was probably the loin cloth of the image that Stewart describes as being elevated while an invocation was pronounced (26, p. 275).

It is instructive to note the impressions of early visitors as to the appearance and arrangement of images in sacred places. Stewart (26, p. 267) describes figures as standing inside of the houses:

> The temples do not differ from the larger inhabited houses, except that they are always open in front. All we saw contained three images, one at each end opposite and facing each other, and one in the middle against the thatch behind.

The following description by Porter (24, p. 111) would indicate that sometimes the images stood in the open:

> In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoanut, and *toa* trees . . . and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among such a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the breadfruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model.

Such images as remain today, of course, stand on their platforms in the open and it is practically impossible to tell whether they had structures over them or not.

Garcia (14, p. 58) describes images of all sizes scattered about in a temple that he visited. In the middle of the place occupied by the images was an enormous stone figure roughly carved, about it a number of other figures, all of human form except one which represented a bird. (At Pua Ma'u there is an enormous stone image, apparently of a turtle.) About these were scattered the remains of offerings. Whether portable images

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or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51): 778 532

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used. 778

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places. [782]

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant- 782

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokoi, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

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●778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts [843] as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.

Fanaua seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

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skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground. 776

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted. 784 778

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

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784 posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her
778 head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of
784 every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred.
778 Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head
826 of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

784 Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special
778 coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a [822]
result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the [201] work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

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such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity. 784 778

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives. [783]

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

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784 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman em-
778 bodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 *Tapu*, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to
784 certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina,* bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave,* and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea,* that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou.* He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou,* in which the men chanted the *pu'e, tona pou,* and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa,* in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e, faia'u* or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki,* and *ohu au no ihi,* all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuma*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[81]

[81] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends. 133

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space. 184 [142] [197] 361 621 342

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards. 142 [291]

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took. 778

[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of 776 ●
religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the 532
valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, 771
that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods;

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the [784] king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. [778] The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

000 Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a 764 very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my [532] expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark,[1] a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May. [137] [287]

Toomoochee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maeeea, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds. [178]

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black ooo

1 [i.e., of the Bread-fruit tree -- Analysis]

342 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their
333 tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling
352 *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*. *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to in-
171 dicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kauai in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fish-
● 778 ermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

None of these fish figures were obtained by the expedition and they are rare in collections. Those seen were for the most part of cylindrical or flat oval form, poorly finished and having incised upon one end a rude representation of a fish's head. In one specimen the only feature indicated was the curve of the gill cover. A single very fine specimen in the collection of M. George La Garde of Tahiti has a flat base and high back which slopes upward almost to a point. It is highly polished all over, and bears upon one end a carved head of human or semi-human type. 532

The small human figures were of two types, single and double. They were used in healing the sick, and also as real votive offerings. They were made by special *tuhuna*, and were carried to the *me'ae* of the god invoked and there left by persons desiring success in any enterprise. (Handy, personal correspondence.) [778]

The single figures show more or less variation, but all appear to fall between the extremes represented by two specimens in the Bishop Museum's collections. Plate LV, *A* shows a short squat figure having a large head with a projecting jaw.

The features are like those of the heads of tiki headed *popoi* pounders of normal type except that the ears are represented as simple knobs. The head is set directly on the shoulders, and the bottom of the jaw is some distance below the level of the top of the shoulders. The arms are thin and unmodeled with short upper and long lower parts, and are shown flexed, with the hands resting upon either side of the body in front. The space between the upper arm and the body is pierced, while the lower arm is carved in high relief and the hand in low relief. The fingers are barely indicated. The back of the figure is concave with a well marked ridge across the shoulders. The breast slopes outward and downward from the head to the level of the hands, and the stomach, between the hands, is shown as a rounded protuberance. The legs are short and are shown in a flexed position, the upper edge of the thighs being parallel to the forearms. The thighs are thin and the buttocks project in the rear as a flange. The lower leg is very heavy, and is separated from the thigh by a horizontal groove which runs across the back and around to the middle of the outer side of either leg. The space between the legs is pierced nearly to the level of the knee. The lower leg tapers slightly toward the foot, which is represented by a thin flange, longest in front. In the middle of the side just above this flange, there is a small knob, probably representing the ankle bone. The sex of this figure is not indicated. A raised band, running from the back of the head to the middle of the shoulders, is pierced with a transverse hole which probably served for the attachment of a cord. The dimensions are: height, 7 inches; maximum width, 4 inches; shoulder width, 3 inches; length of head, 2½ inches; width of head, 2½ inches. The whole surface appears originally to have been polished, even the bottoms of the deepest cuts being rubbed smooth.

It is evident that the maker of this figure possessed remarkable technical skill, and its grotesque proportions can only be explained by the assumption that he was not attempting to represent an actual human being, but to reproduce an established convention. The majority of the small stone figures agree more closely with this specimen, especially in facial type, than with the one about to be described.

7: Linton ~E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

There are a number of Marquesan objects which probably had a religious or ceremonial significance. The most interesting of these is a tapa covered object hewn from a single piece of breadfruit wood (Pl. LXXXIV, *A*) which is listed in the Bishop Museum catalog as an idol. 778

The lower part or body is in the form of a thin flat tablet. The upper part, or head, juts out sharply from the body in front and protrudes slightly beyond it in the rear. The two sides of the face are slightly concave, meeting in a sharp longitudinal keel. The interior of the head has been roughly hollowed out from the rear, probably to reduce the weight of the object. Two short double pointed sticks of fau wood, only one of which is now in position, were fastened to the back of the head transversely. They were attached with sennit cords which passed through holes in the edges of the object. The body, and the front, top and sides of the head, are covered with ute tapa, which was evidently put on while moist. The back of the head does not seem to have been covered. The tapa is gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and is glued together on the back of the body so skillfully that the joining is hard to detect. The whole object, exclusive of the back of the head, is covered with designs painted in red and black. It is evident that the designs upon the front of the head are intended to represent two large eyes, while bands along the lower edge of the head and on the upper part of the body represent the upper and lower jaws of an open mouth. The spaces around the eyes and inside the mouth, and the front and back of the body, are filled with decorative designs most of which seem to be tattoo designs. The painting was evidently done free hand, and shows considerable skill.

The rough finish of the back of the head in this figure suggests that it was formerly attached to some object in such a way that this part was concealed, but the body of the figure is painted on both sides. Although we have no information as to the use of such figures, it seems possible that they were attached to the beams of houses in *me'ae*, the back of the head resting against the beam and the body hanging below it. Tapa covered bird effigies, painted red, were placed on the ridge pole of the tall pyramidal sacred house at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The use of effigies covered with painted tapa in the Marquesas brings to mind the similar Easter Island practice. The figures from the two localities have little more than the principle in common, but in view of the complete absence of such figures elsewhere in Polynesia even this is significant. They are not recorded from Micronesia, and even in Melanesia we find no close parallels, except in New Britain where the Baining are said to make huge tapa covered figures thirty feet high (Lewis). [171]

Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post-European. There is no definite information as to their use, but they may have been employed for the same purpose as the small stone figures. (See p. 345.) Plate LXXXIV, *B*, shows a modern wooden figure which is interesting chiefly as an example of the breaking down of the old artistic convention under European influence. The proportions of the body and legs, and the modeling of the legs, are much more naturalistic than in the old stone figures. The arms on the other hand, are smaller in proportion to the figure than those of the old statuettes. The head is more nearly in 778 592

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 proportion to the body and although the old convention is retained for the features, the eyes are smaller and more elongated. It is interesting to note that many of the modern stone figures, which are purely commercial, show the same changes in convention. Those which do not exhibit this modified convention are crudely naturalistic, and no wooden specimen was seen in which the ancient convention has been accurately reproduced.

A curious double statuette, now in the possession of Mme. Mallius of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, is shown on Plate LXXXIV, C. It is made of *toa* wood, and has been stained black, apparently by the process used in coloring war clubs. This would indicate a considerable age, although the carving appears to have been done with metal tools. The lengthened leg and disproportionately shortened arm of the degenerate convention are present, but the faces are surprisingly naturalistic. The two figures, which are male and female, were originally joined together at the back, as in practically all Marquesan double figures.

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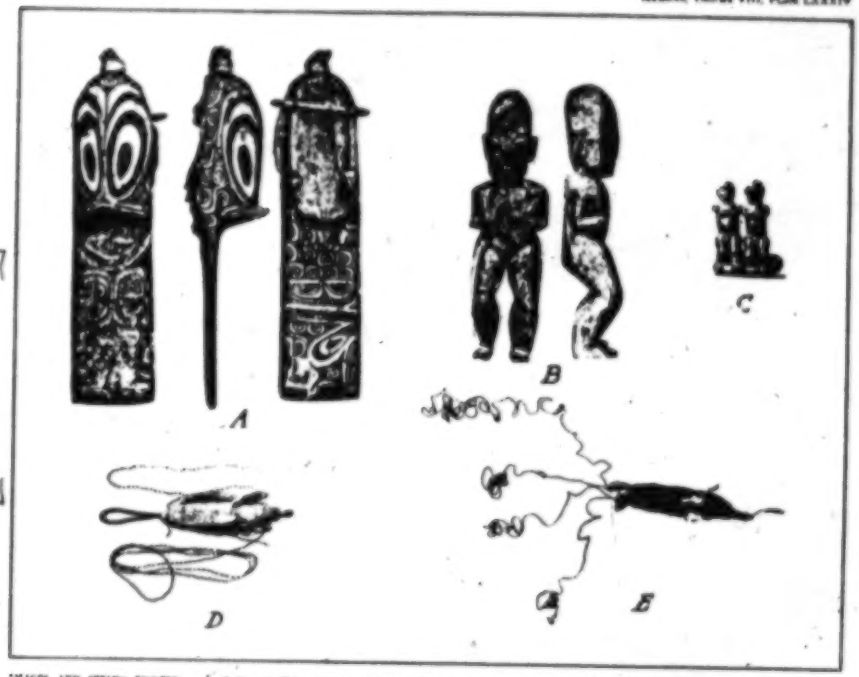

[end plate 45]

IMAGES AND STRING RELICS. *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOODEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF TIKI WOOD (COURTESY OF MME. MALLION); *D*, GENEALOGICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GERMAIN LA GARDE); *E*, STRING RECORD USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 [533] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina,* feast; *tuhi,* show; *tiki,* design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

house posts (Pl. III, *d*). A third design, found on a drum, is a series of 531x concentric diamonds which also is a common house post design. Un- 284 doubtedly other forms of ornamental lashings were used but information concerning them is no longer available.

CARVINGS IN THE ROUND AND IN HIGH RELIEF

The only figures carved in the round or in high relief by the Marque- 531x sans are representations of human beings. Large figures are carved in 532 wood and stone; small figures in wood, stone, bone or ivory. Most of the 778 large figures set up in the sacred places to represent gods are carved in the full round. Stone figures carved in the half-round or three-quarters round are set into the facing of stone walls of house platforms and sacred places; wooden figures carved in the full round are used as posts to support the roofs of dwellings. Small figures carved in human bone are used to ornament the handles of many coconut bowls and are used also as ear ornaments. Some ear ornaments are made of whale bone and whale tooth. Wooden staves surmounted by small human figures carved in the full round have been seen, and a number of objects such as fan handles, canoe paddles, war clubs and *popoi* pounders, display human figures carved in high relief.

The convention employed for the figures is that of the tiki. In most of 531x the carvings the head of the tiki is disproportionately large and has as 532 its most prominent feature round or pointed oval spectacle eyes with a high ridge through the center terminating in the ears and the nose. Supra-orbital ridges are generally indicated and these likewise terminate in the ears which on the small figures are usually represented by two connected spirals turned toward each other. On a few specimens only single spirals are seen and on larger figures a projecting longitudinal flange replaces the spiral. The nose is shown in different lengths but is always broad and flat. The mouth is very large and is always open, showing the tongue.

The bone ornaments on the handles of coconut bowls show only the 531x upper half of the body. Below the characteristic head the arms are shown at the sides of the body with the hands resting on the stomach. In one tiki figure the left hand touches the chin and in another the right arm rests on the right shoulder. Some tikis have five fingers on each hand; others have only three or four.

In the portrayal of the complete tiki figure the legs are shown in a 531x semi-squat or flexed position. In figures carved in the full round, the feet 532 are indicated but not the toes; two dolls which do show the toes were probably recently made. The figures are pierced between the legs so as to make them appear as naturalistic as possible. The sex is usually indicated

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de- [769]
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782]
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
[301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object
[778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
[523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the New ones boasted finer carving.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger. 552 778

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes. 552

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim. 551 [572] [552]

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did. 551 608

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with 619 611 604

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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 769] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the
[554] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to
● 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general 784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium. 765 [534]

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion. [293]

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . . [781]

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tewnen* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. [291] [565]

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sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
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553 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with
572 just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they [782] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima (ha'a,* to make; *me'ie,* clear; *ima,* hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi.* The 852 783

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following 533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial tapu on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [782]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of 537 fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general 784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51): 778 532

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used. 778

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places. [782]

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant- 782

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782 ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu.* The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (*7*) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192]

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu.*
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehushu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods. 782

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims. 782 784 [302] [781]

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries: 782

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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782 Coconut oil was poured over the head of the victim and on it was put a flat stone to which was attached a coconut fiber thread ending in three rings. The ceremonial priest sat down after the completion of his chant and the chorus of old men continued. A stone ax was put on the head of the victim and all the people clapped their hands. Finally a coconut was put on the victim's head and the juice of another was poured over it. Then a piece of casuarina was placed at the victim's side. The rite ended with the recitation of the names of the first victims who had been taken in ancient times for sacrifices. These rites continued seven days, the inspirational priest (*tau'a*, male or female), the ceremonial priest (*tuhuka o'oko*), the temple assistants (*moa*), and the old men of the choir (*tuhuka*) being the only persons present.

During the time of performance of such rites all those participating took the name Ati Tu, meaning family of Tu, the god of warriors. All were consecrated to the rite and could have no contact with women or outsiders. During the whole time the ceremonial priest lived in his peaked house while the others lived in other houses within the sacred precincts. After the chant consecrating the victims had been recited over the sacrifices the bodies were drawn up in the trees and left suspended there. At the end of the rite the temple assistants cut the bodies down and threw them into a charnel pit. Then other temple assistants plaited coconut leaves (*ha'a komini ia*) and hung them in the trees to indicate the completion of the rite. These signs were called *tava heaka*.

An example of the chant consecrating the victim was obtained by Dordillon (9) from a former ceremonial priest of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This chant is subsequently to be published. At certain points during the chant, according to Père Siméon (7), the body was elevated on the pole on which it was carried by two assistants. At a later point it was thrown on the ground again, after which if the victim were not dead he was killed by being strangled with a strip of fau bark. At a later point in the chant the ceremonial priest mounted a small square stone platform, holding in his hand a fishing line, on the end of which was a large hook (*tava*) (see fig. 22, *c*), which he put in the mouth of the victim—in the chant the victim is spoken of as a fish. Victims were suspended by means of such hooks in the trees of the sacred precincts. There is a Nuku Hiva legend which recounts how Tohetika let down a hook from the sky to secure a human victim. It is certain that the practice of suspending the victims in the trees of the sacred precincts on a large hook was connected with the conception of which this story in an indication. In this story and in that of Tikituao the eyes of the victims are said to have been eaten by the gods with their *kava*. Here again, the story explains the actual

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practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

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782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

> *E N . . . a tuku mai te aki (ua)* (N . . .grant us rain).
> *Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hano i te mei* (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a ueue mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vavana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonofiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

[793] murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank 764 in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721
This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766
its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782
deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [766]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837
women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585
with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583
session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the ● 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 [824] [782] According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dispatch human victims for sacrifice.

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 [824] On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear [171] never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im- 231
portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head [775]
of a household achieved in the next world was directly de- [769]
pendent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never [262]
eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks [237]
were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly 226
organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place [778]
for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, [782] ●
for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 784] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no 861 discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. [761 775] 782 776

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices [782] ●
were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima (ha'a,* to make; *me'ie,* clear; *ima,* hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi.* The 852 783

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month. 852 304 [793]

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed. [832]

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 533 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's 411
description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. 726 [776]
On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association [783] ●
with woman Kind.

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such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity. 784 778

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives. [783]

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent. 600 622 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship. [621]

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock. 622 428 [593]

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 622 784 [184] [689 754]

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622 784 [689 754] witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected [562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power [689 754] to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. [629] Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was [674] more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of [784] the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name. 627 784

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic. 622 423

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place. 423 622 [764]

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe. [721] [251] [226]

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be. 421 622 784

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of those rites.

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I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho,* which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho.* This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

352 [778] [764] [342] [354]

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

342 [784] [251] [417] [284]

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342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
784 Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
25 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[344 531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi,* long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[345] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7). 553 [266]

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person. 553 784 421

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites. 551

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native. 553 572

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by [386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation- 848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to ● 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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Treatment of Dead Bodies

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed. 764

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a.* As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe.* Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(vaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu.* After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says [184]

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feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home. 727

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9). 726 784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani* 726 784

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726 (*va'a*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in
784 triumph. The *ko'ina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-
726 hunting, was called *moe oe (moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy
726 many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

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463 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository
565 and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized en-
464 terprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences.
784 The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accom-
[787] plishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general ●784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4). 226 784

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing 226 796

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the 787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was 784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no 778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under [421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one [822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have 834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with 184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods. 782

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims. 782 784 [302] [789]

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries: 782

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

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skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground. 776

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted. 784 778

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

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784 posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something
and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her
778 head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

784 Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of
every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred.
778 Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose
hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head
826 of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

784 Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and
Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special
778 coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784 ●
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a [822]
result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena,* the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the [201] work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity. 784 778

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives. [783]

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

784 778 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 784 *Tapu*, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for 431
the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same 554
manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with 622
this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gatta- 554
newa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he 784
steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his 554
family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, 357
&c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been 000
taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their
333 tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

Scrapers

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of cocoanuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packea*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.
[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.
[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is
[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-
[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all 784 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of 152 this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e vaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days. 766

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says: 766 786

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and sea-shells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the 766 [688]

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. 769 776

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9). [184] [386] [292]

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals." [292 302 887] [786]

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty. [302]

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364 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obliga-
431 tion of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional re- 835
ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander.
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relation-
ship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by
native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825]
in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor
reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164]
he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the
promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This [786]
occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when
the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged
man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite
fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to
marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred
the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been
involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread
the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the
girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked
who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated
her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while
supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed
the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to
prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter
for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it
is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two
nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. ●787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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463 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository
565 and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized en-
464 terprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences.
784 The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accom-
[787] plishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu*; hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred
[161] yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

[483]

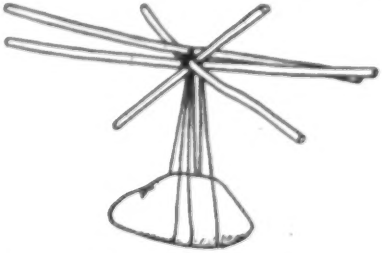

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta*, strike; *akau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
● [787] the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua kooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*koto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tawoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tawoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tawoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*koto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tawoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: "*Ena tu u taiha i N—*" (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went
to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the
787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooha*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *koto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of
784 the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no
778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under
[421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one
[822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and
had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have
834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with
194 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 757

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

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755 for there is nothing in the description so given by Père Pierre to indicate
787 that the god in this case was supposed to enter the body of the *tau'a*. It has already been pointed out that ventriloquism was used in connection with the possession of the inspirational priest by tribal gods.

Dordillon (9) gives another description of this phenomenon called *etua topa*. An inspirational priest was called to a sick man's house. He summoned his god to come. When he had come, the practitioner asked, "Are you the god?" The god replied, "*Io, io, io, io.*" (Dordillon explains that the noise was similar to that made at times by a fowl. The practitioner asked, "Are you angry?" The same reply came, "*Io, io, io, io.*" The priest then asked, "Will the sick man die?" "*Vi, vi, vi, vi,*" came the reply of the god. The practitioner repeated his question. The god then replied, "*Vii, vii, vii, vii,*" which was interpreted to mean that the man would die. The god, asked when, replied that it would be the next day.

Another account by the same writer describes a similar rite as follows: The practitioner came in the evening. Songs were sung, and the lights then extinguished. The god descended and said, "*Ve, ve, ve, ve,* here is the fish on the land, it is Na-iki" (the name of the tribe). When the god had fallen upon the mat, the practitioner said, "Let your friend go free." "We shall go together," replied the god, "he will die."

According to Père Siméon (7) the ceremony of causing the god to fall began with the singing of the chant called the *mumu*. If it was desired to have a number of gods fall, one went to the house of the *tau'a* carrying the extremity of a coconut leaf called *kopiti*.

What was called *etua amo*, described by Père Jean (19), is evidently another trick of such practitioners. The god who came to possess the *tau'a* was thought to carry him and his mat out of the house in which he was seated, by way of the ridge-pole, without disturbing the thatch.

There is now living in Nuku Hiva a woman who is a practitioner of this kind, whom I was unfortunately unable to induce to work for me or to discuss these matters in any way, for the reason that she had been in trouble with government authorities for having supposedly caused a death by a curse. It would appear that this woman works as a diviner by means of trance rather than by possession. She is said to discern the cause of illness and the outcome of it, to find lost articles, and so on. Dordillon gives the following words, meaning to be in a state of trance: *ahue te menava, kukina o te ate, kukukina, kukuina, pueueu, pupukina, touha.*

Medico-Magical Remedies

755 Medicines were prepared and administered by *tuhuna fainu* (*fainu*, potion or medium). There was a rule that a native doctor could take

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

● 787 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said
763 also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mounu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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167 never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, 167 on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the 181 houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Yavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

252 Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, [245] some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our [373] common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

000 The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices [782] were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787] ●
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781] individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low 754
rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick 776
and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As [787] soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate [681] relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit 775
of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after 776
death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a 776
fanaua's victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract 766
the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations 554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal [423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for 853 182
nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from [114]
Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first 182 844
male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption sur- 597
rounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the 788
past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical docu- 175 159
ments or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal 856
astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are be- [137]
coming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities [832]
as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of 114
prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to 826
Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast de- 832
velopment which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

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No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god. 622

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief. 622 789 831

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might becone a *mohomoho,* a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of 622 [556]

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu,* offering to gods; *toua,* war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of 537 fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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396 The recitation of the *pu'e*, creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo*, the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

396 Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana*, power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

396 All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

Types of Canoes

501 As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Ena tu u taiha i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods. 782

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava.* According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana,* is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims. 782 784 [302] [789]

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka,* the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries: 782

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vavana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way. 539

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-au no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation. 539 789

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference. 539 852

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer. 539

Chants as Spells

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its reciter *mauta'a*, was said to have been used also in connection with the operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals. 539 787 [225]

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue*, to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tataoho*. (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau*. Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u,	eia u,	eia u,	o Kena.
Here am I,	here am I,	here I,	Kena.

Ai oa,	te tau toiki!			
Ah,	the boys!			

A kau!	Amai i	una	o na	vaka nei.
Swim!	Come on	to	the	canoe.

Miscellaneous Chants

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

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539 789 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vakahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

539 578 The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*na hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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X533 534 The elaborate festival that would be celebrated when the new arena was completed, and the ode, composed in honor of the youth, that would be chanted, would constitute an historic event that would glorify the individual, his family and his tribe, to the end of the memory of man, or certainly as long as there was any man living who could tell posterity for whom the place of celebration (*taha ko'ina*) had been built.

X533 789 The eulogistic chants had also a religious aspect, but this was more important in certain other chants that were recited for the first-born when he was a child. (See p. 23.) One of the fundamental concepts in the native religion was the belief that men and gods, in fact all things and beings whatever their nature, on account of a sympathetic psychic rapport that was thought to exist naturally (as between relatives), or that could be artificially established, were subject to direct influence through the medium of and by means of the repetition of "words with power" in dynamic chanting, and by dynamic movements accompanying the recital. The process of empowering the individual was also aided by the use of potent objects that served as mediums of psychic power. It is not difficult to picture the atmosphere of these occasions, nor to realize the actual effect that must have come to the child or youth. To the Marquesan, the feeling of the sense of power that must have come as an ever increasing accession during these performances would be sufficient proof of the actual effect; and we may surmise that the exuberant personal vanity characteristic of these people rendered the effect actual and lasting. The expansive feelings of pride and satisfaction would not be passing sensations but lasting realities that would be roused anew with every reminder of the event. Unquestionably these eulogistic singings had just the beneficial effects that the Marquesans attributed to them, though perhaps, American and European students will believe, from causes and in a manner different from those imagined by the natives.

X533 Besides the *putu, pehi, pipine* and *pope* (pp. 23-4), which were the only types of which Haapuane, my Marquesan informant, knew the melodies, there were a number of other kinds of eulogistic songs for different occasions. Several of these, the *Ti'e-mata* and *Faufau-oa*, were composed to be sung for the first-born boy at the chanting festival (p. 23), celebrating the completion of his education in the learning of the sacred chants and genealogies. The *pope* was composed and sung at the time of the consecration of a new house for the first-born; and the *putu* and *pehi* were performed in his honor when he had attained to young manhood. In addition to these, two other types of eulogistic chants may be mentioned. The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar to the *pipine*, but instead of honoring a young girl, it was composed and sung in honor of a

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person's mother. Still another type was called the *i'i*. This, it is said, was a form of tribute paid when there was a feast in honor of a chiefess. When a *ko'ina i'i* was announced, people of the home valley and many from neighboring friendly settlements would come prepared to sing *i'i* in honor of the chiefess; and all would bring, as appropriate gifts to accompany their songs, offerings of flowers. According to legend, the first *i'i* was taught to a young man who was desirous of attending a festival in honor of a chiefess by two birds, who were in reality "wild women" (*vehine hae*) of the mountains. The youth, who was handsome as heroes of legends seem usually to be, charmed not only the chiefess but all the other ladies at the feast, so that they were all filled with a passionate desire for him.

Of the strictly religious chants there were many kinds. Before describing these it will be well, without dwelling too long on this subject—which would in itself require a whole book for thorough explanation and illustration— to bring out certain of the most important points with regard to the place of chanting in the native religion. The Marquesans, like all Polynesians, chanted their prayer-spells because they believed in the efficacy or dynamic effect of rhythmic intonation; they considered such intonation to be an essential feature of all religious recitations. The singing of the choral religious chants is nothing more than intonation by large groups with prescribed rhythm and melody of causative dynamic spells. These chants may be compared to the liturgies of the Christian and the Thibetan Buddhist churches. The Marquesans believed that the gods who animated and vivified all nature, including man and all other living beings and things—in fact, nature as a whole, made up of gods and spirits, and earth-dwelling beings and things—were affected directly by these causative recitations.

The *pu'e* chant describes the growth (*pu'e*, to grow) of the world from its beginnings. It was intoned to consecrate children and such things as new houses and new canoes. The idea in the native mind apparently was that the dynamic recitation, along with the repetition of many meaningless "words with power," of the stages of the world's growth served to make the new thing one with all nature and thus to consecrate it, psychically binding it firmly to all growing, living nature. The *pu'e* was strictly tapu, and was never intoned except by priests and the old men who constituted the choirs in the great ceremonies. But there was another creation chant, called the *vavana* (which probably means "sacred knowledge") which, though tapu, was learned and sung by women as well as by men. (Women as a class were not tapu as were men.) This, like the *pu'e*, was intoned in a slow tempo accompanied by clapping of the

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested
in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the [789]
lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

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789 natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

Folklore and Legends

773 From Handy's[1] volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi,* who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

[1] E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [789] [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, [881] then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

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scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living:

The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in enbalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 757

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

776 remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected
766 over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevo-
776 lence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua,* corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

● 791 Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua,* might be
754 either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar
776 spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

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174 More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have
167 to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of dis-
[195 covery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley,
793] whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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622 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[625] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
193 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may be best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front
574 of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the 622
same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*.

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and Executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and un- 624
organized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna* (*papa*, level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically.

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war 721
called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their 624
advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna*) of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*.

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the 793
main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a*, the inspi- 624

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793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
● 793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in
622 the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito*, or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*koto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tawoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tawoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tawoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*koto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tawoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: "*Ena tu u taika i N—*" (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *koto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

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793 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

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THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono,* chants) or *tuhuka o'oko.* To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e,* constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana, pu'e, tona pou,* etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono.* No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e, tona pou,* and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna.* Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono,* a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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hohoe were ***tapu*** to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called ***tuputu***, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating ***ka'aku*** (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called ***pouhakati*** when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known. 793

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous ***tuhuna o'ono*** of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting ***tuhuna*** were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local ***tuhuna*** (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting ***tuhuna*** of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a ***tuhuna*** and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called ***ui*** (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (***mana***). Some informants say that a defeated ***tuhuna*** was killed. 793 541 [778]

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the ***tuhuna o'ono*** lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way. 793

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the ***tuhuna o'ono*** consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (***hiapo***). In this valley it would seem that the ***tuhuna o'ono*** and the ***tau'a*** wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (***taputoho***) wore white. 292 793

Because of his sacred functions, the ***tuhuna o'ono*** was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per- 793 766

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formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspirational priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono,* like that of the *tau'a,* was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

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Temple assistants, called *moa, taputoho,* or *u'u,* were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa,* saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

800 murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, [793] we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank 764 in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull [727] of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way.

1804. May.

721 782 766 [793] The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
649 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

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Below the priests ranked the *toa,* the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga,* or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [1793] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and 273 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in- 685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi- 682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the 778
sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He 784
came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and 152
was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series 778
of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspira- [346]
tional priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all [782]
and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, 776
the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by [787]
his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the in- 793
spirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The [781]
individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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793 have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

776 Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4). 226 784

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing 226 786

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226 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going
•796 to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

[796]

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

527 728

> The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par-
526] ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i*, or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i*, nick-

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke*, *haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a*, *tau'a nui*, or sometimes *atua*, which means literally god. The *tau'a*, who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, *u'u*, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha*, *veveahu*, or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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538 In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. II, *F*), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna,* still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama,* came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna,* Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana.* It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana.* (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

538 796 Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e,* were known as *ko'ino vavana, ko'ino pu'e.* For the rite two special houses

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were reeited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu.* While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna,* who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[10] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[10] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 164), London, 1813.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Gracia,[11] one of the first Catholic missionaries, testifies to the impressiveness of the ancient choral chants in these words:

> The most dignified member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed, or which he composes at the moment; it often consists in only two or three words, repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or three vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert; but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a festival of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs, . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The chants referred to by both these writers were probably religious recitations of the same type as the *pu'e*.

RECREATIONAL CHANTS

RU'U

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Ru'u is the term applied in the northern islands of the Marquesas group to the kind of love song that is called *nani* in the southern islands. The *ru'u* (melodic figure 1) was heard on the island of Uahuka and was at first supposed to be Marquesan in origin as the nature of the melody and mode of singing are identical with that of the *nani* on Hivaoa. It was later discovered, however, that one of the singers who performed it, himself a native of Paumau, Hivaoa, had learned the song in the Tuamotu Islands and had taught it to the singers of Hane, Uahuka. About two and a half years after this, while being entertained by a group of Tuamotu singers in Tahiti, this *ru'u* was sung to a woman from Takaroa who instantly recognized the air. After a moment's thought she said it came from the island of Pukapuka. This was a most interesting remark in view of the fact that Pukapuka is one of several small atolls in the Tuamotus which lie nearest to the Marquesas, and that its dialect is known to differ from that of the western Tuamotus to such an extent as to make it difficult for a man from Rangiroa, for instance, to understand one from Pukapuka. Near Pukapuka, its people speaking the same dialect, is Napuka, which is known in Hivaoa as an island to which a number of refugees, defeated in war on Hivaoa, had been blown on rafts of bamboo. The whole group of facts concerning the song, therefore, furnish striking illustration of several points: connection between the northeastern Tuamotu

[11] Gracia, Mathias (Le P.), Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, pp. 64-65, Paris, 1843.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking [262]
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen 177
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 144
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceed- 177
ingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. 164
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way pro- 178
tected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

243 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, tea, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 Although the Marquesans have been under French domina-797 tion since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137]

[pp. 1-136 not processed]

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detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to 161 119
determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the pro- 162
portions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed 843
by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role 842
of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating 841
(mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed 842
that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained [997]
from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [799]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?" 881 [183] [797] 304 626

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama). 304

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives. [463] [602] [412] [177] [824]

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process. 304 752 [278]

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [197] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [179]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [797]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [797]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

/62 cont./ The 586 197 797

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut (e'ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days. 757

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100. 163 165 175

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva. 161 175 [163] [162] [197]

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago. 114 161 [172]

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every 114 165

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 55 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [187] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom. 603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body. 291

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 291 797 178 291 797 178 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 869 aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 869 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpcse of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 571 831 unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178 been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [648] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831 the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797 missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these 121
islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan 182
sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely 648
expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan- 175
European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of [731]
very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. [726]
Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded [439]
for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white [164]
diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during 175
which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital 182
information on the culture, which was subsequently used to 648
hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition 797
arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist. 175 182 648 797

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this 182 648 797 831

154 182 648 797 831

/115 cont./ 154 182 698 797 831

context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried on by the native population. Constant probing for weaknesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not successful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail. 154 182 797 831

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the 182 831 [797]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption. 461

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna peke*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*peke*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.) 284 322 386 [283]

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In 283 322 [801]

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241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pafiko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oko* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). [482] It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[19]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley 312 bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

[19] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1862 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

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That is past	Oovayoo
That will be	Ena ebo
They	Ato
Thief, he is a	Ekamoo
Thigh	Pocha
Thou	Koé
Tongue, hold your	Tooi tooi
True	Teomoo

W.

War	Etou
Water	Vy
Water, is there no?	Hamtivy
We	Mato
Well, that is	Midaggé
What do you call it?	Ehadené
What is that?	Ea ha
Where do you go?	Anoigé
Where is he?	Ihé
Where is your king or chief?	Ha kyiriké
White or Yellow	Tava tava
Who is that?	Ooy
Why	Meyaha
Wife	Evehené
Woman	Vehené
Work	Hanamydehana
Wounded	Vootoo

Y.

Year	Etahetau
You	Taoo
I am	Ooaoo
Thou art	Koé enaeoshoo
He is	Oyana
I was	Ooaoo houné
You were	Koé houné
He was	Oyana houné
She was	Tahova hené houné
I will do it	Ehaooney
You will do it	Atahagoé
He will do it	Tyé hanha aoono
I have	Eia
I had	Iua oo houné
I will have	Eyna steetahé

Numerals.

1	Eytahé
2	Eynoo
3	Eyto
4	Eyha
5	Eyma
6	Eyono
7	Ehitoo
8	Evahoo
9	Eyva
10	Hanhoo.

N. B. By the inhabitants of Noocahiva the letter *h* is not always sounded. The vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are pronounced as the French pronounce them, except where the *e* is doubled.

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/50 cont./

"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious of each others endowments, often conducting comparative sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bathing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

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DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tāna-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) [805] Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In [775] legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

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TIME RECKONING

It is very difficult to formulate any account of the calendar in the Marquesas. Such information as is at hand from literary sources is very conflicting, and I failed to find a single modern native who had any reliable knowledge of the seasons. The reason for this is obvious; it was the priests and mastercraftsmen only who knew of these matters, and the last of them has long been dead. Lawson says in his manuscript: "The fishermen and the priests are the principal ones who keep the run of the days of the month and distinguish between twenty-nine and thirty days in the different months." 805

Day and night were divided, and named in the following manner: *moa tapu* (*tapu* cock) was about midnight or one o'clock in the morning when the first cock crew; *ma'u o'io'i* (tomorrow-shade), when the third cock crew, about two-thirty; *tata hoata te ma'ama* (the light is near breaking) just before dawn, about three-thirty; *kehukehu*, dawn; *tu nui* (sun standing up), when the sun was quarter-way up, about eight to nine in the morning; *o atea nui*, noon; *evaeva tea*, when the sun was just above the mountains (*mea tata te kapua*); *ahiahi*, just after sunset, when fires (*ahi*) were lighted; *makehukehu*, dusk, before real night set in; *mamata vehine hae* (eyes of *vehine hae* or ogress), about eight o'clock in the evening.

Twenty-nine or thirty nights (*po*) made up one moon (*ma'ama* or *mahina*). In the lists of the names of the days and nights (see Table 1) it will be observed that there are more variant terms for the sixteenth night than for any other. A Hiva Oa informant gave an explanation of this as follows: *Akau*, *maue*, and *maie* (another term used for the sixteenth night, not given in the list) all refer to the male procreative organ. *Hotu* or *honu* meant to agitate or stretch. The significance of the use of these figurative terms for the night of the full moon is obvious. It was on the nights when the moon was brightest that the *ka'ioi* circulated most freely. In connection with planting it was pointed out that the natives believed that what was planted in the ground at the time of the full moon would grow best. It is evident that there was here an association of ideas based on the native conceptions of the mode of generation in nature. Whether the following remarks about fishing, made by my informant upon this occasion are directly or only indirectly relevant to the same conceptions is uncertain. The informant explained that the night of the full moon was the least favorable for fishing, and that anyone who went fishing on that night was subject to the taunt *"E ua te avena"* (Your catch will be, or is, a penis). 805 821

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON[24]

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
1. O Tunui	Tu [L]	O Maamamaama
2. O Tuhava	Maheama tutahi [L]	O Totobe
3. O Tuhaka	Tuhaahoata [D K] Hoata [P] Maheama vavena [L]	O Pakiikii
4. O Maheama tuatahi	Maheama tahi [D K P] Maheama tuhakapau [L]	O Ua noa
5. O Maheama vaveka	Koekoe tutahi [L]	O Puke noa
6. O Maheama hakapao	Koekoe tuvavena [L]	O Pukeoo
7. O Koekoe tuatahi	Koekoe tutahi [D] Koekoe tahi [K P] Koekoe tuhakapau [L]	O Maunoa
8. O Koekoe vaveka	Hai [L]	O Taunoa
9. O Koekoe hakapao	Una [L]	O Tata mai
10. O Ai	Mahau [L]	O Heke noa
11. O Huna	Hua [L]	O Pua mai
12. O Mahau	Mahao [D] Mehau [K P] Tua [L]	O Taha noa
13. O Ua	Hua [D] Otu-nui [L]	O Haako
14. O Atua	Otu mauii [L]	O Patavai
15. O Tunui	Hohotu nui [D] Hotunui [K P] Otu [L]	O Mahinahina
16. O Mahuto	Honu nui, Honu maakau [D] Hotu maue, Maue [K] Hotu akau [P] Neva [L]	O Tihenoa
17. O Tuu	Metohe [L]	O Huamai
18. O Akau	Aniva [D K P] Hakahau [L]	O Taumai
19. O Motohi	Akau [D] Metohi [K P] Koekoe tahi [L]	O Mamae
20. O Tohiau	Akau [K P] Koekoe vavena [L]	O Kakenoa
21. O Taukume	Koekoe tahi [D K P] Koekoe pau [L]	O Tavatava
22. O Kumea	Koekoe vavena [D K P] Vehe [L]	O Keekee
23. O Eea	Koekoe haapao [D K P] Tane [L]	O Ona noa

[24] Note: The basic list of nights and days in the first and third columns is from the Dordillon MS. (9). The variant terms for nights are from various sources indicated as follows: Dordillon's Dictionary (D), the Kehela MS., Hiva Oa (K), Proiho (P) (a Fatu Hiva informant), and the Lawson MS. written on Ua Huka.

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24. O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva [D F] Tanaoa tahi [E] Hee hee ia [L]	O Pukepuke
25. O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati [D] Tanaoa tahi [F] Taukume [L]	O Puke noa
26. O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka [D] Tanaoa vavena [F] Ku mea [L]	O Tahataha
27. O Vehi	Tane [E] Tanaoa haapao [F] Tana hau vaka [L]	O Hatihati
28. O Tane	Moui [E] Tana hau vehi [L]	O Maunoa
29. O Mouikeo	Onouni [D E F] Nunui [L]	O Tau noa
30. O Oko mate	Nu mata [L]	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

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Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tau*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua, mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

	DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONARY (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1.	Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2.	Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3.	Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4.	Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5.	Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6.	Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7.	Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8.	Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9.	Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10.	Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11.	Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12.	Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.			Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

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Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[25] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[26]

1.	Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2.	Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3.	Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4.	Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

[25] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, meaine tr tui*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[26] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

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NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea, katoe,* or *komui.* Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea.*

Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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moon named *uaoa* was so called because it was in that month that there was usually most rain. With regard to all these matters regarding rainy seasons, breadfruits harvests, and so on, the reader is referred to the report on the Marquesas by the botanist[27] of the Bishop Museum. The time of greatest plenty of fish seems to have corresponded more or less with that of the great breadfruit crop; fish were most plentiful at Atu Ona (on the south coast of Hivo Oa) in December (*avea*), in Haka Hau (on the north coast of Ua Pou but in the lee of Nuku Hiva) in January (*veo*).

NAMES OF STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS

(From Dordillon's Dictionary (8)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Ao'amanu	Haamekau
Atinaha	Heipua
Atutahi	Iti
Ave'a, Aveka	Manu kaki oa (Great Bear)
Ehuo	Matahetu
Matauana	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Mahau	Mahaka
Manapu-upu'ute ahiahi (Venus)	Mahake tutue honu
Nape'a	Me'e (Corvus)
Pohe	Natuihohoe
Pu'ukaha	Titihohoe
Pukeo'o	Tuhua
Puaka	Tuitui hohoe (Orion)
Tahiipua	Ua'oa
Takeo	
Takuua	
Tape'a	
Tauna'a	
Tuna	
Tuuatea	
Uanui	
Ve'o	

(From the Lawson MS.)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Hee-ti (Aldebaran)	Te-umu
Pao-toa (Aquila)	Kana
Hai (Antares)	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Hua (Jupiter)	Na-poka
Hu-aua	Pohii
Ha-vae-a	Hatu-tahi (Fomalhaut)
Maena eke aia	Na-pai-ka (Aries)
Te-huii	Hetu-nui (Venus)
	Hetu-ao (Morning star)
Te-tuii	Hetu ahiahi (Evening star)
Moana tu-tu a ono	

[27]Forest H. Brown, the results of whose botanical researches in the Marquesas have not as yet been prepared for publication.

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STRING RECORDS

The use of string records seems to have been more highly developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of Polynesia. Such records served principally to aid the memory in the recitations of chants and geneologies, but Stewart (59, p. 335) mentions a time record consisting of a string of tapa in which a knot was tied at the return of every full moon. One complete string record, and part of a second were collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition. 211 [805]

The complete record, shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, has a cylindrical body and is made from rather small three-strand sennit applied in a wrap weave. The warp strands, which run longitudinally, are placed on a slant so that each strand encircles the cylinder once between the upper and lower ends. The upper end tapers to a point and terminates in a loop. At the juncture of this tapering portion with the body of the cylinder there are five small loops of sennit, placed at equal intervals on the circumference, to each of which is attached a small piece of white tapa. The lower end of the cylinder is open, and its edges are finished with sixteen loops of sennit about one inch in length. To two of these loops are attached long sennit cords which were rolled up, when the object was purchased, and thrust into the interior of the cylinder. The cylinder is six inches long and approximately one and three-quarter inches in diameter. After weaving, it seems to have been blackened with earth. This record was used as an aid in singing the *tuvana* (Handy).

Plate LXXXIV, *D*, shows a geneological record. It is considerably larger than *E*, the string record just described, and is stuffed with some soft material.

From the sides spring six long pointed flaps, three above and three below. The knotted cords, which served to keep the record, seem to be attached to the body without regular order and vary considerably in length. The knots are all double, one half of the knot standing for the husband, the other for the wife. The long cords sometimes divide at some distance from the body, and the branches represent other lines of descent.

The string records, according to Von den Steinen (56), were purely mnemonic and could only be interpreted by the maker, or by one whom he had instructed. They were used to record geneologies, and also as an aid in chants of a religious nature. Records of both sorts were sometimes attached to a single body. If the record was in the possession of a family, the father made a knot at the birth of each child, and untied the knot if the child died. When a son married, an additional knot was added for his wife. The woven body of a geneological record was called *too*, signifying the tap root of a tree, and symbolized the history of the gods and the legendary period of the world. The flaps attached to the body are said to symbolize the brothers of the god Atea.

Deaths may also have been recorded by knot records. Von den Steinen says (56, p. 113):

"I was told that in ancient times, a post, hung with many string records, stood on the western cape of the island of Hiva Oa. There the souls of the dead sprang from a high rock into the sea to begin, submerged, their journey to the ancient home, Havaiki. A priest was delegated to register each death which came to his knowledge with a knot."

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TIME RECKONING

It is very difficult to formulate any account of the calendar in the Marquesas. Such information as is at hand from literary sources is very conflicting, and I failed to find a single modern native who had any reliable knowledge of the seasons. The reason for this is obvious; it was the priests and mastercraftsmen only who knew of these matters, and the last of them has long been dead. Lawson says in his manuscript: "The fishermen and the priests are the principal ones who keep the run of the days of the month and distinguish between twenty-nine and thirty days in the different months." 905

Day and night were divided and named in the following manner: *moa tapu* (*tapu* cock) was about midnight or one o'clock in the morning when the first cock crew; *ma'u o'io'i* (tomorrow-shade), when the third cock crew, about two-thirty; *tata hoata te ma'ama* (the light is near breaking) just before dawn, about three-thirty; *kehukehu*, dawn; *tu nui* (sun standing up), when the sun was quarter-way up, about eight to nine in the morning; *o atea nui*, noon; *evaeva tea*, when the sun was just above the mountains (*mea tata te kapua*); *ahiahi*, just after sunset, when fires (*ahi*) were lighted; *makehukehu*, dusk, before real night set in; *mamata vehine hae* (eyes of *vehine hae* or ogress), about eight o'clock in the evening.

Twenty-nine or thirty nights (*po*) made up one moon (*me'ama* or *mahina*). In the lists of the names of the days and nights (see Table 1) it will be observed that there are more variant terms for the sixteenth night than for any other. A Hiva Oa informant gave an explanation of this as follows: *Akau*, *maue*, and *maie* (another term used for the sixteenth night, not given in the list) all refer to the male procreative organ. *Hotu* or *honu* meant to agitate or stretch. The significance of the use of these figurative terms for the night of the full moon is obvious. It was on the nights when the moon was brightest that the *ka'ioi* circulated most freely. In connection with planting it was pointed out that the natives believed that what was planted in the ground at the time of the full moon would grow best. It is evident that there was here an association of ideas based on the native conceptions of the mode of generation in nature. Whether the following remarks about fishing, made by my informant upon this occasion are directly or only indirectly relevant to the same conceptions is uncertain. The informant explained that the night of the full moon was the least favorable for fishing, and that anyone who went fishing on that night was subject to the taunt "*E ue te avena*" (Your catch will be, or is, a penis). 805 821

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON[24]

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
1. O Tumui	Tu L	O Maamamaama
2. O Tuhava	Maheama tutahi L	O Tetohe
3. O Tuhaka	Tuhaaboata D K Hoata P Maheama vavena L	O Pakiikii
4. O Maheama tuatahi	Maheama tahi D K P Maheama tuhakapau L	O Ua noa
5. O Maheama vaveka	Koekoe tutahi L	O Puke noa
6. O Maheama hakapao	Koekoe tuvavena L	O Pukeoo
7. O Koekoe tuatahi	Koekoe tutahi D Koekoe tahi K P Koekoe tuhakapau L	O Maunoa
8. O Koekoe vaveka	Hai L	O Taunoa
9. O Koekoe hakapao	Una L	O Tata mai
10. O Ai	Mahau L	O Heke noa
11. O Huna	Hua L	O Pua mai
12. O Mahau	Mahao D Mehau K P Tua L	O Taha noa
13. O Ua	Hua D Otu-nui L	O Haako
14. O Atua	Otu mauii L	O Patavai
15. O Tumui	Hohotu nui D Hotumui K P Otu L	O Mahinahina
16. O Mahuto	Honu nui, Honu maakau D Hotu maue, Maue K Hotu akau P Neva L	O Tihenoa
17. O Tun	Metohe L	O Huamai
18. O Akau	Aniva D K P Hakahau L	O Taumai
19. O Motohi	Akau D Metohi K P Koekoe tahi L	O Mamae
20. O Tohiau	Akau K P Koekoe vavena L	O Kakenoa
21. O Taukume	Koekoe tahi D K P Koekoe pau L	O Tavatava
22. O Kumea	Koekoe vavena D K P Vehe L	O Keekee
23. O Eea	Koekoe haapao D K P Tane L	O Ona noa

[24] Note: The basic list of nights and days in the first and third columns is from the Dordillon MS. (9). The variant terms for nights are from various sources indicated as follows: Dordillon's Dictionary (D), the Kehela MS., Hiva Oa (K), Proiho (P) (a Futu Hiva informant), and the Lawson MSL. written on Ua Huka.

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

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NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24. O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva [D P] Tanaoa tahi [E] Hee hee ia [L]	O Pukepuke
25. O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati [D] Tanaoa tahi [P] Taukume [L]	O Puke noa
26. O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka [D] Tanaoa vavena [P] Ku mea [L]	O Tahataha
27. O Vehi	Tane [E] Tanaoa haapao [P] Tana hau vaka [L]	O Hatihati
28. O Tane	Moui [E] Tana hau vehi [L]	O Maunoa
29. O Mouikeo	Ononui [D E P] Nunui [L]	O Tau noa
30. O Oko mate	Nu mata [L]	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

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Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tau*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua*, *mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONAR. (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1. Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2. Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3. Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4. Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5. Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6. Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7. Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8. Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9. Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10. Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11. Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12. Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.		Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

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Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[25] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[26]

1. Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2. Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3. Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4. Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

[25] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, mewine te tai*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[26] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

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NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea, katoe,* or *komui.* Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea.*

Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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moon named *uaoa* was so called because it was in that month that there was usually most rain. With regard to all these matters regarding rainy seasons, breadfruits harvests, and so on, the reader is referred to the report on the Marquesas by the botanist[27] of the Bishop Museum. The time of greatest plenty of fish seems to have corresponded more or less with that of the great breadfruit crop; fish were most plentiful at Atu Ona (on the south coast of Hivo Oa) in December (*avea*), in Haka Hau (on the north coast of Ua Pou but in the lee of Nuku Hiva) in January (*veo*).

NAMES OF STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS

(From Dordillon's Dictionary (8)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Ao'amanu	Haamekau
Atinaha	Heipua
Atutahi	Iti
Ave'a, Aveka	Manu kaki oa (Great Bear)
Ehuo	Matahetu
Matauana	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Mahau	Mahaka
Manapu-upu'ute ahiahi (Venus)	Mahake tutue honu
Nape'a	Me'e (Corvus)
Pohe	Natuihohoe
Pu'ukaha	Titihohoe
Pukeo'o	Tuhua
Puaka	Tuitui hohoe (Orion)
Tahiipua	Ua'oa
Takeo	
Takuua	
Tape'a	
Tauna'a	
Tuna	
Tuuatea	
Uanui	
Ve'o	

(From the Lawson MS.)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Hee-ti (Aldebaran)	Te-umu
Pao-toa (Aquila)	Kana
Hai (Antares)	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Hua (Jupiter)	Na-poka
Hu-aua	Pohii
Ha-vae-a	Hatu-tahi (Fomalhaut)
Maena eke aia	Na-pai-ka (Aries)
Te-huii	Hetu-nui (Venus)
	Hetu-ao (Morning star)
Te-tuii	Hetu ahiahi (Evening star)
Moana tu-tu a ono	

[27] Forest H. Brown, the results of whose botanical researches in the Marquesas have not as yet been prepared for publication.

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793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the 787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was 784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no 778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under [421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one [822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have 834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with 184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a [822]
result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[2] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

[2] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called *ahu* (pile or mound).

The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

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The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not *a fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[31]

[31] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 600 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season 245
of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the [251]
stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many ge- [773]
nerations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to [823]
mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they im- 167
pressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in [505]
search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

/78 cont./

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days. 757

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

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753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who
[262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought
[755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves
824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or
428 female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu.*

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ances-
[769] tral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u,* the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories
[539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with [324] coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-[293] shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* [775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

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On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual. 764 778

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing [824]

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764 upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is im-
778 possible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees
[824] *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of perform-
[562] ance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[8]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[8]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle." 292 714

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war. 411 [226]

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed: [824]

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid. 342 333

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a background of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch. 342 [531]

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (pam) closing the front of the house. 342 824

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a rail around it. The supplies for a voyage were kept here and in the body of the canoe, and the people on board lived on the platform and below decks. According to a trustworthy Fatu Hiva informant, such a canoe would have two sails, the masts being stepped in the usual place in the forward end of each hull. War canoes and canoes for exploration—according to modern natives—were as much as sixty feet long. So far as I know, however, there is no record of a canoe of this size, although no limitation in the materials at the disposal of the native nor in his ability to utilize them would have prevented him from making canoes of this size or even larger. 501

Porter (24, p. 102) describes small temporary craft as follows:

> "They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

Materials for Canoes

Materials used most for canoe-making were *temanu, hutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and *mi'o*. The size of the canoe desired frequently determined the choice of a tree. The *temanu* was the largest of the available trees, and furnished the most durable wood. According to Linton breadfruit trees were used for smaller canoes. 324 396

Parts of a Canoe[6a]

The main parts of a canoe consisted of the hull, adzed out of a tree trunk; detachable bow and stern piece; sideboards lashed on the edges of the gunwale; and an outrigger. 501

The main body or hull (*vaka, tua, tekee*) of the canoe was made of a hollowed single tree trunk. The bow (*piha, au'au, kanihi, hopeta*), a separate piece, was usually upturned, but both Cook (6, p. 711) and Stewart (26, p. 219) describe horizontal bows. Linton aptly describes the stern (*mu'i, hope au'au*) as narrowing "rapidly to form the tail, which was a long projection like a thick plank with the edge up, rising from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees." (20.) The sideboards (*hue tana*) consisted of single hewn boards (*papa*) lashed (*humu*) to the gunwale of the canoe, but it is probable that the sideboards of some canoes were built up with several boards, for Porter (24, p. 79) described the sides as made of many pieces of the breadfruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibers of the outside shell of coconut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of

6a The terminology is from Dordillon's ms. and from Linton's and my own notes.

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> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

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It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area.

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While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

> Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42)

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287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34), the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in [824] making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kivu*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

[412]

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [386] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the úte cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is described as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Ena tu u taika i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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At each corner of the low wall a number of long, slender bamboos were erected, tied together at short intervals in a square form of bands of white cloth, while within, surrounding a bier covered with white, were a number of cones six or eight feet high in the form of the braided leaf of the coconut, confined at the top by bands of white cloth, the ends of which hung down in long pennants. 778

In Wilson's account (30, p. 526), "a sort of escutcheon" is described within a sepulchral house of a chief. "Again the side of another house, three other escutcheons are placed."

CEREMONIAL APPURTENANCES

Koufau were peeled *fau* stakes wrapped in white cloth and ornamented with plaited coconut leaves. These served as signs of *tapu*, marking off restricted areas during the times of the performance of ceremonial. What are evidently *koufau* are described by Garcia (14, p. 59). He speaks of an altar surrounded by long bundles of white stakes from which floated bits of vari-colored cloth. Melville describes similar signs of *tapu* around the restricted area on a feast place at the time of a festival (23, p. 198). *Koufau* are mentioned by Krusenstern in the following description (16, p. 127):

In the outer circle were some statues carved in wood, intended to represent the human figure, and evidently the coarse work of some unskilful artist; near to these statues were some pillars wrapt up in cocoa-leaves and a white cotton stuff. We were curious to learn what was the intention of them; but could obtain no answers to our inquiries, than that they were tahbu.—Near the morai was the priest's house, whom, however, we did not find there. Every family has its separate morai: the one we visited belonged to the priests.

Kopiripiri or *opinipini* (cf, *opini* on the *fa'e tukau*) was the term applied to the coconut leaves that embellished the *fau* stakes used as *tapu* symbols and the posts of sacred structures bedecked on the occasion of rites. Dordillon (8) gives as the meaning of the word *opini*, a sign of peace. The use of the coconut leaf as a symbol of peace is described under War. The coconut leaf appears to have been a symbol of sacredness that was used in a number of ways on ceremonial occasions: to decorate the sacred houses, *tapu* markers, and war canoes; as a headdress and body covering for *tuhuna* and others when occupied with ceremonial; and as a peace sign. The fact that a coconut leaf was used as the ceremonial dress of *tuhuna* justifies the conclusion that its use in decoration was probably primarily ceremonial rather than aesthetic. [824]

It is common today to find about the remains of some sacred places a great number of conch shells. It is probable that these were used along with drums in ceremonial, as was common in other groups, in announcing periods of tapu. Whether drums were used in the sacred precincts not

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776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

Vehine Hae

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke cu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of [513] *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae*, appearing only at night. *Vehine hae*, seen always with the head and eyes turned

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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *utuna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

> Around, around, O Oieke,
> I am turning, O Oieke,
> Take your man, O Oieke,
> The man born of the land, O Oieke,
> Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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302 combs were not used in ancient times. Dordillon (8) gives the following terms which supplement our information regarding modes of arranging the hair: *Ouoho tuetue, ouoho tukeevo,* and *ouoho tuke* meant hair fixed stiffly; *piama,* a head shaved in the form of a tonsure; *piveve,* to cut the hair in the form of a circle in front; *toua'e i te pa'e,* to let the hair down in front; *ponane,* hair simply tucked up without fastening; *koti'oti'o i te ouoho,* to cut the hair like a ladder [?]; *pa'e oioi,* a coiffure saturated with scented oil; *pohatae,* beard, or side whiskers; and *topetu,* a tuft of hair on a shaved head. The following should also be added: *ohovii,* curl of hair; *ouoho kaaputu,* curled hair (= *koputu ouoho, ouoho taputuputu, ouoho takaha*); and *poriri,* curl of hair on top the head (= *tapuaki*). Bleaching or dyeing of the hair was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never practiced in the Marquesas.

ANOINTING, STAINING, AND PAINTING OF THE BODY

302 824 Bleaching of the skin was the universal practice of women and *ka'ioi* youths before festivals. This was accomplished in part by seclusion and avoidance of the sun but also by anointing the body with juices extracted from the leaves of the *kokuu* tree (?) or of the *papa* vine (*Phaseolus amoenus*). After such application during seven or eight days of seclusion the skin would be bleached white. The normal color returned immediately upon exposure to the sun. Women protected themselves from the sun with robes and leaf shades. According to Jardin (15, p. 41), *niou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) leaves were pounded and used by women for skin bleaching. The root of *ena* (*Curcuma longa,* or amomum) some of it raw and some baked, was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make the body ointment or stain called *ena* or *eka.* The raw *ena,* covering the whole body, was the distinguishing mark of the youthful libertines called *ka'ioi* and of women at festivals. It was frequently smeared only on the face. The stain made from the baked root (*ena moa*) was forbidden to women everywhere and to all commoners on Ua Pou.

Pani was perfumed coconut oil, used for anointing the head and body, rubbing dead bodies, and for polishing wood and stone carvings. The oil was extracted from the coconut meat in two ways: by one method the milk was squeezed from coconut gratings, put in a vessel, and the oil separated out by putting hot stones in the bowl; or gratings of coconut meat were put in large vessels and exposed to the sun, which caused the oil to run out from the meat. Sweet-smelling flowers cut in small pieces and powdered sandal wood were added to the oil until they had soaked it all up. This mixture was then exposed to the sun for three or four

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days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu,* which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe,* an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena,* fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu.* 302 824

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138). [834]

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi.* Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go. 293

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna.* The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a,* according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

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These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since.

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son.

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 257, New York, 1876.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief. 342 343

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a minimum of labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*pacpae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts. 342

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of [824]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *pacpac* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *pacpac* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group. 342 [251]

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *pacpac*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures. 342 333

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *pacpac*, but a few *pacpac* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *pacpac*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor. 342

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details. 342 335 [824]

tudinal poles, usually single bamboos, which ran the full length of the inside of the roof. The two outermost poles were placed eight inches to a foot above the stringer and below the ridgepole; the third pole was placed midway between them. They were attached to all the rafters by lashings of sennit or bark string. Both the front and rear roofs projected six inches to a foot beyond the end walls. 342

One house in Hiva Oa (Pl. XL. *C*) had a narrow porch supported by an additional row of posts, topped by a stringer. These posts were planted in the *paepae* about two feet in front of the house wall. The rafters of this porch were inclined at a lower angle than those of the roof. This feature was not observed elsewhere and was probably due to European influence.

The rear roof extended from the ridgepole to the ground. It was usually supported by eight main rafters, but these were not hewn so far as observed. They were simply peeled hibiscus poles of slightly larger diameter than those used for the remainder of the roof. In some houses all the rafters of the rear roof were identical in size and material. Between the main rafters were smaller poles placed two or three inches apart; at the peak they crossed the similar poles of the front roof forming a crotch. These smaller poles were secured in position on the rear roof by three cross poles of bamboo, the highest being opposite the top crosspiece of the front roof, the lowest about eighteen inches above the floor, and the third midway between them. All the rafters were lashed to these cross poles.

All the early descriptions of Marquesan houses mention the rear roof as perpendicular or descending at a very steep angle, and the old pictures show this feature, also a front roof inclined at less than forty-five degrees. Actual measurements prove that the old authors have exaggerated both these features. The pitch of the rear roofs ranges from eighty degrees in some of the houses of Nuku Hiva to as low as sixty-five degrees in an old dwelling on Hiva Oa. The pitch of the front roof seems to have been rarely, if ever, less than fifty degrees, with about sixty-five degrees as normal. In one old house in the valley of Hana Hehe, Hiva Oa, the pitch of the front and rear roofs is about sixty-five degrees for each.

The roofs of all Marquesan houses were thatched, and a variety of material was employed. In recent buildings coconut mats appear to be the most common, but two or even three sorts of thatch were not infrequently used on the same structure. The thatching mats, which were eight to twelve feet long and one foot to eighteen inches wide, were made by splitting a coconut frond down the midrib and interweaving the leaflets of either half to form a long narrow mat of checkerwork pattern. Mats of this sort are still in common use in most parts of Polynesia. The mats were placed on the roof either singly or in pairs, with the midrib edge up and were tied to every third or fourth rafter with loops or sennit or sewed on with bark string. A large wooden needle was used for sewing. The 824 412

342 thatch was lashed to each rafter with a single cord running the height of the roof. The bottom tier of mats was laid on first, and the successive tiers were laid on shingle fashion, with a deep overlap. As the successive layers were rarely more than two or three inches to the weather, a well-made roof would be from four to eight mats thick.

342 An almost equally common form of thatch was made from leaves of the 824 breadfruit tree. Long straight upland reeds, or occasionally hard-wood shoots, were gathered and the leaves were strung on these by holes pierced at the juncture of the stem and leaf, the top of one leaf resting against the bottom of the next. These rods were then attached to the rafters in overlapping rows in the same manner as the mats. When in position the leaves stood edgewise on the roof. Thatch of this sort, although shaggy and rather unpleasing in appearance, is very effective and is said to outlast that of coconut mats. Where bread fruit leaves were used for thatching, coconut mats were usually substituted for the first two or three rows.

In ancient times a third form of thatch, made from palmetto leaves was used. The leaves were strung on light rods at intervals of twelve to eighteen inches, the rod passing from side to side through the juncture of the leaf and stem. The rods were tied to the rafters so that the leaves lay flat and overlapped like shingles. According to informants palmetto was commonly used to thatch the houses in *me'ae*, but was not tapu for other structures. The only example seen was on the front roof of an old chief's house in Ua Pou.

The use of pandanus for thatch is mentioned by Jardin (33, p. 51), who says that this material lasted longer than either coconut mats or breadfruit leaves, but the practice is now obsolete and only one fragment of doubtful authenticity was seen. This fragment, found in the debris of a house of Tahitian form, consisted of a hardwood rod over which the leaves had been doubled, with the two ends pinned together by a splinter a short distance below the rod. A somewhat similar technique is followed in the making of sugar cane thatch in Tonga.

Grass was very rarely used for thatch but the chief of Tetai, one of the small side valleys in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, is remembered as having occupied a grass-thatched house, the frame of which was of ordinary Marquesan form.

342 The method of closing the peak of the thatched roof was very simple and effective and is still employed for all thatched roofs. In the crotch formed by the crossing of the small rafters above the ridgepole, a small pole was laid with its top flush with the rafter ends. Several layers of coconut mats were then laid longitudinally over this and bent down on either side so that their lower edges extended some distance below the top of the last tier of thatching. These mats were then secured in place by long wooden splints passed through them from side to

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

342 531 284 [824]

The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anaau'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house. 346 [824]

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole. 349 504

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by 342

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

MODERN CANOES

FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Tahuku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

indicates the speed with which new appliances of obvious value are accepted by the natives. The new outrigger is indirect, and consists of three elements, the float, the uprights, and the crosspieces. The float consists of a peeled log of fau wood four to five inches in diameter, slightly shorter than the canoe. This is usually sharpened at the forward end only, the cutting being done entirely from the lower side, but a few specimens were seen which had been sharpened at both ends, apparently with the idea of making the canoe completely reversible. The uprights, about two feet long, are usually made of small barrel staves. A triangular notch about two inches deep is cut in the upper end. Eight inches below this notch the uprights are pierced by a rectangular hole an inch and a half to two inches square. These uprights are permanently attached to the float. The unnotched ends of the staves are wedged into longitudinal slits near either end of the upper surface of the float. The crosspieces are peeled poles of fau or hard wood about eight feet long and three inches in diameter at the butt. Their outer ends are sharpened so that they will readily pass through the rectangular holes in the uprights. 501 356 [824]

The outrigger is assembled and attached as follows: The squared ends of the cross poles are fitted into the holes of the uprights, their points projecting about two inches on the outer side. The whole outrigger is then placed on the right side of the canoe, the crosspieces extending across it on the line of the hard wood plugs, with their butts projecting a few inches beyond the left gunwale. One end of a light rope is then fastened to the projecting end of the front crosspiece, outside the upright. The rope is then carried over the top of the upright, through the notch, and along the crosspiece to the inner side of the right gunwale. It is then passed back and forth diagonally over the crosspiece and around the inside and outside ends of the plug until the crosspiece is held rigidly. The rope then runs along the crosspiece to the left gunwale, where the same lashing is repeated. Some slack is then left in the canoe, and the left end of the rear crosspiece is lashed, the rope passing from there to the right gunwale lashing the crosspiece there, and out along the crosspiece and over the end of the upright to the outer end of the crosspiece, where it is tied. Any rope left over is carried back along the crosspiece and coiled in the canoe.

An outrigger of this sort can be attached or removed in a few moments, and the single rope used to lash it is available for other purposes when not in use on the canoe. When a canoe is beached the owner usually removes the outrigger at once and stores it in a safe place, thus making the canoe useless and safeguarding it from theft.

Small fishing canoes of the type described are rarely used for trips of any length. They are not sailed but are commonly paddled by two men. One man sits on the stern crosspiece of the outrigger where it crosses the boat, while the other wedges himself between the thwarts amidships. Most of these canoes are completely reversible, and they are sometimes paddled with the outrigger on the left instead of the right. The narrowness of these craft, and their high center of gravity (for the paddlers sit practically on top of the canoe) make them very unstable, and in spite of the outrigger they frequently capsize. The natives right them by getting on the outrigger and forcing it down under the canoe and up the other side. 502

VAKA POTI

The *vaka poti*—a craft that appears to be a local development—is an interesting example of the native adaptation of European ideas. It may be described as follows: 501

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 396 [824] As the name indicates, the *vaka poti* is a hybrid of canoe and boat, and is larger and more seaworthy than the fishing canoe, being twenty to twenty-five feet long with a maximum beam of two to two and a half feet. A long strip of breadfruit or temanu wood, eight inches to a foot in width, about four inches thick and tapering to a point at both ends, serves the double purpose of keel and bottom. It is smoothly rounded on the outside and slightly hollowed along the center of its upper surface. This is probably an extreme modification of the dugout underbody of the old built up canoes. Longitudinal slots are cut in either end of this keel and into these two flat, slightly curving pieces of temanu wood are bolted. These serve as the stem and sternposts of the boat, and are identical in form. Short light ribs are then bolted to the keel along both edges, their short lower arms resting upon its upper surface. The sides of the boat are built up with thin planks of commercial lumber which are laid on with an overlap from above downward—that is, the boat is clinker built. These planks are carefully dressed along the points of contact to insure a tight joint, and are fastened into grooves in the sides of the stem and sternpost. The gunwales are finished with a narrow flat strip of wood. At either end of the boat, immediately below this strip, a triangular piece of plank is put in, decking the last two or three feet of the bow and stern. The boat is braced by three broad flat thwarts which also serve as seats. One of these thwarts is placed in the middle and the other two at either end, two to three feet within the edges of the end deckings. The forward thwart is pierced with a hole three or four inches in diameter which, with a corresponding block on the keel, serves to step a mast. These crafts are always provided with an outrigger similar in shape and attachment to that of the fishing canoe, but of proportionately greater size.

Alexander, who visited Nuku Hiva in 1899, saw a slightly different form of outrigger in use with the *vaka poti*. He says (2, p. 746): "From the gunwale to the outrigger float of these canoes is an average of 7 feet. The outrigger frame consists of five pieces of wood, namely, two poles or crosspieces seized across the gunwales 4½ feet apart, one forward and the other aft of center; two stanchions connecting crosspieces of the outrigger float, and a brace which is seized to crosspieces just outside the gunwale. That part of the crosspieces between the gunwales answers the purpose of thwarts, the upper side being hewn to a flat surface. The outboard ends are sized to the perpendicular pieces, or stanchions, the length of which is, as a rule, the distance from the gunwale to the water line. These pieces are sized to the top side of the float, the sizings extending all the way around the float, but done so neatly as to offer little resistance to the water. The crosspieces, float, and stanchions are braced with withes to prevent them from being twisted and thrown out of position by coming in contact 924 with rocks. . . . The material used in sizing the outrigger frame together is cocoanut fiber twisted into a small line."

A *vaka poti* is normally handled by four men, one of whom sits in the stern and steers 502 with a paddle while the other three row with short oars of ordinary European form. The bow and stern oars are placed on the side opposite the outrigger, the middle oar on the outrigger side, working within it.

Every craft of this sort is provided with a leg of mutton sail of canvas like that commonly used on ships' boats. When not in use the sail is stored under the short deck at one end of the boat, while the poles which serve as mast and boom are lashed along the crosspieces of the outrigger. The heavier of these poles, which is about nine feet long, serves as the mast. When the sail is to be hoisted, the mast is passed through loops of string tied along one edge of the sail, the loop nearest the masthead being firmly tied to the pole. Two light ropes are then attached to the masthead opposite each other and the mast is stepped, the butt passing through the hole in the forward thwart and resting in the hollowed block in the keel. The two ropes from the masthead are then fastened to the forward outrigger crosspiece just outside the gunwales of the canoe. A third rope is sometimes run from the masthead to the prow, but this is not common. The lighter pole serves as the boom and passes through the loops along the lower edge of the sail. The outermost loop is firmly tied to the boom, and a rope is attached to its outer end. The boom is then gradually thrust outboard until the sail is fully spread and only the inner end of the boom rests against the mast. This end simply rests against the mast and is not attached to it.

501 accounts and the fragmentary examples surviving in various parts of the group, it is possible accurately to reproduce the type.

Four species of wood were used for the large canoes *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*), temanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), breadfruit, and hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*). The hutu was considered least desirable. *Mio* was rarely used, as large trees of this species were rare and the wood was in great demand for other purposes. Breadfruit wood was usually used for the smaller and poorer boats, while the best craft were made of temanu. Even at the present time there is some very large timber in the Marquesas (one temanu tree over ten feet in diameter was seen) but there is no native tree which produces a long straight stick at all comparable to the New Zealand kauri, and in very large canoes it was usually necessary to make the underbody in two or more sections which were dovetailed together.

Before the introduction of metal very large trees were felled with fire, but the shaping and hollowing appears to have been done entirely with tools. From a chant collected by Handy (personal communication) the tree appears to have been stripped of its bark and possibly of its branches before felling. The shaping was begun as soon as the tree was felled, the green wood being tougher and more easily worked. The tools used were stone adzes of various sorts, chisels and rubbing stones. (See chapter on Stone Artifacts.)

The building of large canoes was in the hands of *tuhuna* (skilled workmen) who merely supervised the work, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. According to informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, four hundred men (probably an exaggeration), under the direction of four *tuhuna*, were employed upon the last war canoe built there. The work was all done at the place where the tree had been felled, which in this case was high up the valley. Here a large decorated house was built for the workmen, who lived there with the directing *tuhuna* and were fed by the chief for whom the canoe was made. Twenty men are said to have been required to gather the food. The place was tapu to women and to all natives from other valleys. According to an informant from another valley some famous warrior slept in the unfinished canoe body every night in order that his mana might strengthen the wood and keep it from splitting. The completed canoe was carried down to the beach, probably in sections, and launched. [For an account of the ceremonies attending canoe building and launching see Handy (32)]. In Pua Ma'u the war canoes were kept assembled in special houses at the beach. These houses were undecorated and appear to have had no ceremonial significance beyond the fact that they were tapu to women. Each war canoe was named, a new canoe was given the name of a former one

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 The rim of the underbody was flat and straight throughout its length, except for the last six feet of the stern where the walls of the underbody were thickened to form a longitudinal ridge about two inches below the upper edge. (See Pl. XLII, *A*.) The lower part of this ridge curved smoothly into the contour of the bottom, while the upper part ran back in a flat bevel at an angle of about 40 degrees to the line of the outer edge of the flat rim. The bow and stern of all underbodies appear to have been finished in this way. The tip of the underbody was cut squarely across, and the outside was flat and vertical. The rim was somewhat broader here than along the sides and had, in the center of its interior surface, a broad, rounded point, left at the time of its excavation. This feature is shown in small canoe models, and both the bows and stern of underbodies were probably finished in this way. The projection corresponded to a similar projection on the under surface of the stern and bow pieces, and no doubt helped to strengthen and make rigid their juncture with the underbody.

The inner end of the canoe section observed at Hakaui was especially interesting as it showed the method of finishing a joint. The bottom was cut squarely across, and had no holes for lashings. The sides were cut back for a distance of two feet, the lower edge of the cut sloping upward gradually until its perpendicular inner end was only eight inches high. The surfaces of the side cuts were beveled, running to a thin edge on the inside, and were pierced with triangular holes for lashings. (See Pl. XLII, *B*.)

A row of similar holes was pierced through either side of the underbody about an inch below the rim. There were no holes at the ends. The lashing holes were an inch and a half in width and approximately an inch in depth, the base of the triangle being upward, and were placed at intervals of five to six inches.

Along each side of the section there was a row of three small projections which had been left at the time the canoe was hollowed out. These projections were six inches wide and five and a half inches high, the upper edges were two inches below the rim of the underbody. They had been carved into the form of squat human figures with disproportionately large heads, but the details had been practically obliterated. The projections were arranged in pairs, facing each other; the interval between pairs was 9 feet 11 inches. The natives could give no information as to their purpose, but it seems certain that they served as supports for thwarts or seats. The complete underbody had no projections of this sort and these projections do not appear in any of the models studied.

[824] Both underbodies were made of temanu wood and had been carefully rubbed down inside and out, obliterating all tool marks and giving the surface a finish as smooth as that of an ordinary bowl.

The Bow Piece

So far as known no bow pieces of Marquesan built up canoes have survived but excellent descriptions which check up with the accounts of early voyagers and the old canoe models were obtained from informants.

In a canoe with a forty-foot underbody the bow piece would be about fourteen feet long. Its shape (difficult to describe) can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a section of an old and apparently very accurate canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*). For the sake of convenience in description the bow piece may be divided into three parts, the deck, the neck and the figure-head. The deck was the rearmost section, which was enclosed between the ends of the side planks and bounded in front by a transverse flange, the breakwater, which kept head seas from entering the canoe. The deck of the bow piece was of the same width as the underbody, with a flat upper surface and vertical sides. The under surface was deeply hollowed, the lower edges being of the same width as the sides of the underbody upon which they rested. Triangular lashing holes were pierced through the sides a short distance above the lower edge,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were 501
painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the 531
tevake bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were [237]
held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds 501
which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower 531
edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed 824
along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung [237]
on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip 501
of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-* 531
hina (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one [824]
of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any [127]
enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small 502
canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the informa- 501
tion obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

brief description of the manner of propulsion applies perfectly to the Tongan method of sculling large craft. It would be practically impossible to build a boat six feet wide and of the same depth on the lines of the built up canoes already described, and it seems certain that these boats were made either of planks or of many pieces. Plank canoes were used in the Society and Tuamoto groups and the Marquesans could hardly have been ignorant of this form of boat. 501

In a legend of the migration of one of the tribes of Hiva Oa, which was driven out by its neighbors and went to seek new land, it is stated that they departed on large bamboo rafts. The tribe in question lived on the plateau and were said to have used these craft because they had no wood suitable for canoes. No details as to the construction could be obtained. [824]

Porter (49, p. 103) says:

> "[The natives] use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board. . . . These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbor."

SAILS

The aboriginal type of sail became obsolete at an early date and it is doubtful whether any of the living natives have seen a genuine ancient sail. Informants insisted that they were like those in use at the present time except that the boom sloped upward instead of being horizontal and that the sail itself was made of coconut mats instead of canvas (pandanus mats were tapu for sails). This agrees perfectly with the brief mention of Porter and the picture given by Cook. Porter (49, pp. 102-103) says: 501 285 [824]

> Double canoes . . . are furnished with a triangular sail made of mat, similar to that called a shoulder-of-mutton sail but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom.

The drawing published by Cook (14, p. 307) shows a single canoe provided with a mast of rough timber and a triangular sail of matting along the lower edge of which there is a boom also of rough timber. The boom is set at an angle of about forty-five degrees, the apex of the triangular sail being at the juncture of the boom and mast. The upper edge of the sail is concave, and the tips of the mast and boom project for some distance beyond the fabric of the sail. The mast is stayed by a rope running from a little below the masthead to the center of the bow projection, and by three other ropes two of which run to the stern outrigger crosspiece a short distance outside the gunwales of the canoe, while the third is attached to the crosspiece near its outer tip. In the picture the sail is directly over the canoe, between the two inner stays, a system impossible in practice. It seems probable that the author placed it in this position in order to better show

501 the arrangement of the stays. A slack line is shown running from the outer end
285 of the boom to the stern seat to control the sheet. In the drawing the lower end of the boom is concealed, but it seems probable that, as in the modern sail, it was not attached to the mast. In the background of the picture there are two small distant canoes one of which is shown under way with the sheet paid out. The side stays are fastened to the bow instead of to the stern outrigger crosspiece, while the bow stay is replaced by a single stern stay. The second canoe is shown with the sail furled, apparently by bringing the boom up against the mast. The method of stepping the masts of the ancient canoes was not ascertained. According to information obtained by Handy, a square rail was used, with a spar at the top and bottom.

PADDLES

Porter's mention of "paddles more resembling an oar" (49, p. 152) would
501 imply that more than one type of paddle was in use in the Marquesas, but all the specimens seen or described by informants belong to a single well defined type.

[824] The paddles were made of rose wood, and were often decorated with carving. The manufacture of small highly ornamented paddles of somewhat degenerate form intended for sale as curios has continued until the present time, but the natives have lost the skill necessary for the manufacture of the large genuine specimens; the only ones seen in actual use were old.

The peculiar shape of Marquesan paddles makes them easily recognizable in any collection. (See Pl. XLIII, *B*.) In length they range from 4 feet, 8 inches to 5 feet, 8 inches, although the steering paddles used on war canoes were probably still longer. The average length is slightly over 5 feet. For convenience in description they may be divided into three parts, the shaft, the blade, and the terminal knob, a projection below the blade.

The shaft is approximately circular in cross section and tapers very slightly toward the upper and lower ends. In some old specimens the central part is somewhat flattened laterally, but this may be due to long use. The upper end terminates in a cylindrical knob, slightly thicker than the shaft, or in a flat expanded transverse grip with a concave upper surface. Only one specimen of this sort was seen, the grip in this having been originally two inches in width. At the lower end the shaft passes imperceptibly into the blade.

The total length of the blade, exclusive of the terminal knob, is one foot to 15 inches, with a maximum width of 6 to 7 inches. The wings of the blade curve outward gradually from the shaft to the point of maximum width, which in a blade one foot long is slightly less than 11 inches from the upper end. From this point they curve inward sharply toward the base of the terminal knob. The thickness of the wings at the edges is about ¼ inch, this thickness remaining uniform for the entire length of the blade. The center of the blade has a thickness of ¼ to ½ inch, gradually increasing toward the ends. The outer surface of the blade is convex, either smoothly rounded or with a slight longitudinal ridge along the center. The inner surface is concave, the center, at the point of greatest depth, being sometimes as much as ½ inch below the level of the wing edges.

The form of the terminal knob may be seen from Plate XLIII, *B*. The knob is connected with the blade by a short neck which curves upward and backward. The inner side of this neck bears a rather sharp longitudinal ridge which continues for a short distance up the blade. The outer surface is flat or bears a much lower longitudinal ridge which continues for a short

distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *uio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [532]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
531 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped [824] like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe [439] models. At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, [824] treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so
284 arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of
[824] three plait coconut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on
[531] were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

412 curved edge. Each of these adzes has its special use and in doing any piece of work, as the shaping of a bowl, great care seems to be taken to use the proper
412 tool for each stage of manufacture. In working any surface a series of light
322 glancing blows are struck instead of two or three heavy ones. Informants agree that this was also the ancient system. The blade of a stone adz could easily be shattered by a heavy direct blow, and it is related that when a *tuhuna* who had been employed to make some object became dissatisfied with his pay or working conditions he would strike a heavy blow, breaking his adz, and with this as an excuse, refuse to finish.

The small straight bladed adzes are also used as planes. The handle is grasped at the curve, with the blade below the hand, edge forward, and the tool is pushed along the surface of the wood, removing a thin shaving. Stone adzes are said to have been used in the same manner.

Very little data could be obtained on the method of using the hafted chisels other than that they were used to hollow drums and cut the lashing holes
● [824] in canoe parts. They were struck upon the upper end of the shaft with a *toa* wood mallet like that used in caulking canoes. (See Pl. LVI, *B*.)

GOUGES

412 The Marquesan collection in the Bishop Museum includes four implements uncommon to the group, and it has been thought best to describe them separately under the head of gouges although it can not be said with certainty that they were not hafted and used as adzes. The implement shown in Plate XLVII, *B*, 2 is 6¾ inches long, 1¾ inches wide at the bit and 1¼ inches wide at the upper end. It is almost semicircular in cross section. The cutting edge is curved, but the lower side of the bit, which is ground with a well marked bevel, is flat. The implement fits the hand well and does not appear to have been hafted.

Only slightly smaller than No. 2 and with a similar bit, gouge No. 3 shown on the same plate is distinguished from it by having parallel sides.

No. 4 on the same plate shows a small specimen whose shaft has been broken. The bit has a width of 11/16 inches and its lower surface is slightly concave. The body of this gouge is almost circular in cross section and well polished throughout, although the marks of the chipping have not been completely obliterated. The bit shows use and sharpening, and the implement was probably a carving tool.

No. 1 on this plate is completely ground and has a narrow upper and broad lower surface, both of which are flat, while the sides are somewhat rounded. The upper surface narrows toward the rear so that the blade is almost triangular at the butt (the point of greatest thickness) and the whole shape is reminiscent of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lower part of a narrow *toki kouma* whose tang has been broken off. The implement appears to be complete however, and shows no signs of hafting. It is possible that this implement marks a transition from *toki kouma* to gouges and that the two classes of implements are related. 412

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

Marquesan knives were usually made from bamboo or shell, and shells were used as scrapers, but stone knives and scrapers also existed. In the absence of iron tools, stone knives have been used as a makeshift until comparatively recent times. Père Simeon Delmar, head of the Catholic Mission in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, has witnessed the manufacture of stone knives. He says that the knives, often six to eight inches in length, were made from flakes of a special variety of phonolite, which were detached from a core by a single sharp blow with a rounded stone held in the hand. The natural fracture gave a fairly sharp edge to the flake and it was used without retouching or hafting. When the edge became dull from use, the implement was thrown away. In M. Delmar's experience these stone knives were used only to open and scale fish. Many phonolite flakes were found in old village sites, but their certain identification as knives is impossible. (See Pl. XLVIII, *G*.) [824] [321]

Two stone artifacts were collected which appear to have been scrapers. One of these, found in an old village site, is a large semicircular spall of some basaltic rock which has evidently been retouched along its lower edge. Its form is not unlike that of some of the shell scrapers used for tapa making. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 1.)

The second specimen was collected on the island of Ei Ao. It is a thin spall of phonolite which has been worked into rectangular form and dressed along the outer end and one side with an abrupt retouch. This implement appears to be complete, and is much too thin and carefully worked to be a reject from the adz workshops. It was identified by natives as a scraper. (See Pl. XLVIII, *E*, 2.)

RUBBING STONES

The Marquesans used rubbing stones in the manufacture of various wooden objects and in dressing the large stone slabs which are a common feature of their masonry. The large rocks upon which adzes were ground and polished have already been described (p. 321) and mention has been made of the probable use of whetstones, but it is uncertain whether rubbing stones were used in the manufacture of other stone artifacts. The modern makers of *popoi* pounders deny their use, and none of the ancient artifacts show a finish which could not have been produced by careful pecking and a final polishing with sand. The large flat 412 324

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/2 and the method of hafting is problematical. The objects carved with rats' [324] teeth indicate that the work was done by continued rubbing rather than by strokes of the chisel, as the bottoms of the carved lines show a high polish.

The most important wooden tool appears to have been the mallet. This was employed with the chisel in shaping and carving wooden objects, and was also used with caulking tools. Mallets were made of *toa* wood, and were short [324] and heavy. The specimen shown (Pl. LVI, *B*) is 11 inches long, with a maximum width at the head of 4 inches, and a maximum thickness of 1¾ inches. The handle of the mallet was round or rectangular and was frequently pierced near the outer end for the attachment of a wrist-loop. The head was pear shaped in outline, expanding and thickening gradually toward the outer end. The sides and end of the head were flat, with a surface at right angles to that of the broad surfaces. In use the blow was struck with the broad face, not with the edge.

No specimens of the ancient caulking tools were seen, but those used on the bow and stern seams of canoes are said to have been wedge shaped. Those used for the lashing holes along the sides were simply pointed sticks with a flat upper end. The favorite material for these implements was *toa* wood.

A long needle of hard wood (Pl. LVI, *C*) was used to sew on house thatch and to pass the cord used in canoe lashings through the lashing holes. The specimen collected is slightly over a foot in length. On one side of the point there is a short barb. The butt has a small knob, to which the cord was attached.

The pump drill was the most elaborate of the Marquesan tools. Apparently no examples have been preserved, but their form and method of use are still remembered by the older natives. The Marquesan drills appear to have been identical with those used elsewhere in Polynesia, although there are indications that some of them were equipped with stone whorls, a rare feature. According to informants, drill points were made in ancient times from a sliver of stone, a shark's tooth, or a rat's tooth. All these materials were replaced at a very early date by iron nails obtained from Europeans.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

This section deals with the artifacts, other than containers, which formed 128
part of the equipment of a Marquesan household. The implements were for the most part used either in the collection or preparation of food.

TOOLS FOR FIRE MAKING

Fire was made in ancient times in the Marquesas by means of the fire 372
plow, a method common to all Polynesia. The fire plow consisted of two parts, the bed and the plow (Pl. LVI, *G*.)

The favorite material for the bed was a large dry stem of the fruit cluster of the coconut palm which, being fibrous, aided in the collection and retention of dust upon which the [824] ●
success of the operation depended. The second best material was fau wood. The bed was not as a rule shaped, but in the better specimens its top was flattened slightly to prevent the plow from slipping during the first few strokes. A little earth was sometimes rubbed on the bed at the beginning of the operation to increase the friction.

The plow was simply a short stick, usually of fau wood, sharpened to a straight or slightly convex edge, about one-fourth of an inch wide.

In fire making two men were usually employed, one of whom held the bed firm while the other manipulated the plow (Pl. LVI, *H*).

The bed was placed upon the ground with the end toward the plowman slightly elevated. The plow was grasped in both hands, forming an angle of about 45 degrees with the bed, and was rubbed rapidly back and forth, care being taken to stop each downward stroke at exactly the same point. As the rubbing continued, a groove was formed in the bed and a small pile of wood dust collected in the lower end of this groove. The speed of the rubbing was gradually increased until both groove and plow were smoking; then, at the right instant, the point of the plow was driven slightly beyond the end of the previous strokes and buried in the dust. A spark was thus kindled and gently blown to a coal, then dumped off into tinder made from tree cotton or shredded coconut fiber. A new groove was made each time fire was to be kindled.

In spite of the introduction of matches practically all adult Marquesans can still make fire by this process, and the time required is surprisingly short. One expert individual repeatedly made fire in between 25 and 30 seconds. The process requires a perfect muscular control which is only acquired with long practise, the trick lying in stopping all the strokes at exactly the same point and lengthening the last only enough to bury the plow in the dust without scattering it.

Native informants insisted that fire was kindled in ancient times by striking sparks from two stones, but it seems probable that this process was borrowed from Europeans at such an early time that its origin has been forgotten. Fire making sets consisting of quartz crystals, a piece of steel, and a section of bamboo filled with tree cotton are still used by the poorer natives.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and pre-
245 paring it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying
286 nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head con-
[824] sists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether
413 the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A special tool (Pl. LVII, *C*) made from the shell of a cowrie (*Cypraea mauritiana*) is used for peeling the ripened fruit. 413 252

An oval hole with sharp edges is ground through the rounded end of the shell. At the opposite end the top is broken away, the base of the shell and a strip across the center being left intact. When in use, the shell is held in the hand transversely, with the base against the palm and the sharp edge toward the outer side of the hand. It is moved downward and away from the body. The peelings cut off by the sharp edge pass through the shell and fall out at the rear aperture like the shavings from a plane. These peelers are remarkably rapid and effective, superior to any European tool for peeling breadfruit.

It is interesting that an identical tool is used in Kuschai, in the Carolines, although it is not reported from other parts of Micronesia. It is impossible to outline the Polynesian distribution of this tool. It was used in the Society Islands, but not in Hawaii, and seems to be absent in Tonga. [171]

When properly ripe, the breadfruit are soft enough for the raw pulp to be easily separated from the core with the fingers. Slightly unripe fruits are sometimes cut up for *ma* making. In ancient times this was probably done with a wooden breadfruit splitter. An implement of this sort in the Bishop Museum is eight inches long, with a maximum width of four inches. (See Pl. LVII, *B*.) It has a long oval blade terminating in a broad flat knob. Only the outer end of the blade is sharpened. It is made of some rather hard, light weight wood.

Fresh breadfruit are roasted on an open fire, the proper moment for removing them being determined by the sound they give when tapped with a stick. They are lifted from the fire with two sticks, or, in well equipped households, with tongs. 252 412

These tongs are made from a single straight piece of wood, preferably *mio*, about 2½ inches in diameter and 3 to 4 feet long. The wood is split for the lower two-thirds of its length and the ends spread apart. A few turns of fau bark are usually tied around the upper part of the stick to keep it from splitting in two. Tongs of this sort are also used to arrange the hot stones used in the earth oven, or *umu*. [824]

The charred outer surface of the breadfruit is removed with a knife of wood or bone. Most of the wooden knives appear to have been simple sticks with one end fashioned into a thin blade. Any wood, even that of the fau, might be used. (See Pl. LVII, *E*.) The bone knives are more carefully made (Pl. LVII, *F*.) As all those seen were shaped from the leg bones of cattle it seems doubtful that the type is an ancient one.

The upper end is squared and rubbed smooth, the natural swell of the bone at the joint giving the handle a slightly expanded butt. The blade is formed by grinding away one side of the shaft. The average knife is 9 inches long, with a blade length of 4 inches. The blade is 1½ inches wide at the base, tapering toward a broad rounded point.

After peeling, the breadfruit is dropped into the *popoi* trough, cored, and beaten into a paste with the *popoi* pounder.

415 The *popoi* trough is usually made from breadfruit wood. An average specimen is 5 feet long and 16 inches wide, with square ends, straight sides, and a rounded lower and slightly ex-
252 cavated upper surface. In new specimens the depth of the hollow rarely exceeds 1½ inches but in old specimens it may be as much as 3 inches deep in the center, due to wear. In one very old *popoi* trough, evidently made with stone tools, the interior had been hollowed with fire. The dimensions of individual *popoi* troughs vary considerably, but those used in Nuku Hiva are on the whole shorter and broader than those used in the southern islands.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING COCONUTS

412 Coconuts rank next to breadfruit in the Marquesan dietary, but they seem to have been somewhat less important in pre-European times. They are
252 gathered by hand, without special appliances. The first step in their preparation is to remove the thick husk. This is done by means of a pointed stake, about two inches in diameter, which is fixed rigidly in the ground, point up. To husk the nut it is grasped in both hands, struck sharply upon the point of the stake, and twisted away from it, removing a sliver of the husk, the process being repeated until only the inner shell remains. The process appears easy, but it calls for a considerable skill in manipulation. Nuts are usually husked where gathered, to avoid carrying unnecessary weight.

Nuts other than the thinnest shelled drinking nuts are opened by a few sharp blows of a stone given along the line of greatest diameter, an expert being able to break a nut into two almost equal halves in this way. The water in the cavity of old nuts is thrown away, and the flesh itself, rarely eaten, is grated to extract the milk. Coconut graters vary considerably in the details of form, but are all made upon a single principle.

The graters consist of a stool, or seat of some sort, from one end of which an arm projects more or less horizontally. At the end of the arm the actual scraper is fastened. In ancient times this consisted of a piece of rough coral, or of a strip of shell with the upper edge cut into teeth. Much care is expended upon the seat portion of some of these scrapers, which appears the more remarkable as the furniture of a Marquesan home rarely includes stools or other raised seats. To use the scraper the workman places himself astride the seat, and rubs the nut rapidly over the end of the arm, with a downward and outward motion. A bowl placed below catches the fragments of meat as they fall. When a sufficient quantity of the grated meat has collected, water is added and the whole mixed to a paste.

A strainer is then brought into play to separate the milk from the meat.

This strainer is nothing more than a thick bundle of fiber, about one foot in length and two to three inches in diameter, which is spread out and drawn across the bowl toward the workman, gathering up part of the paste. The ends of the strainer are then twisted in opposite directions, enclosing the paste, and the whole lifted from the bowl and wrung out, the liquid expressed falling back in the bowl. The dry meat remaining in the strainer is thrown away and the process repeated until only a thick creamy white fluid remains in the bowl. Two species of fiber are used for strainers, the commoner is that from the husk of the coconut. The finer strain-
● [824] ers are made from the fibers of the stem of a long-leaves plant, which in leaf form and habit of growth resembles large garlic, and from a reference in Jardin (33) is probably *Cyperus macrolema*. No attempt is made to separate the fiber from the substance, the stems are simply split into long strips. (This fiber is also commonly employed for kava strainers, but there is a con-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ¾ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dispatch human victims for sacrifice.

[824] [782]

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.)

[824] [171]

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GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*).

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows:

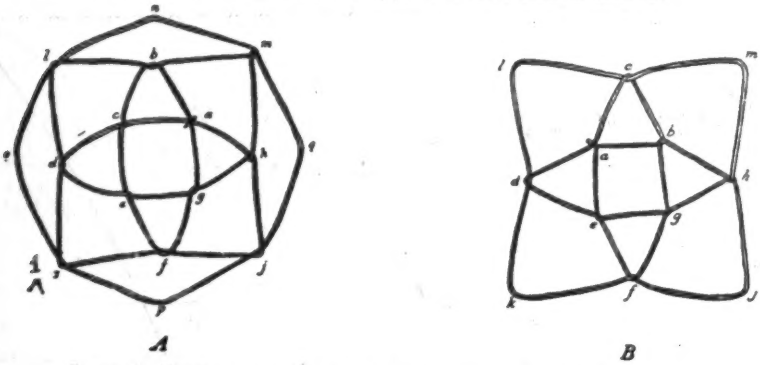

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

[this should be k, in light of description on page 358—Analyst]

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WOODEN CONTAINERS

The Marquesans made a great variety of wooden containers all of which may be placed in one or the other of two main groups: boxes, and bowls or dishes. The objects of each of these classes show considerable individual variation, and in the case of covered containers it is often difficult to say whether a given specimen is a bowl or a box. 415

BOXES

Wooden boxes, used for the storage of valuables, formed part of the equipment of every well-to-do Marquesan family. Such boxes were hewn from large pieces of wood by the processes described under bowl manufacture. (See p. 360.) The favorite materials were breadfruit, temanu and *mio*. The boxes varied greatly in size and in minor details of form and decoration, but all the specimens seen were clearly of a single type. They were made in two parts, a body and a lid. (See Pl. LIX, *A*.) [824]

The body was oval in outline, with a more or less rounded bottom and considerably recarved sides; the upper edge was finished in a narrow flat rim which was broadened at either end. At one end of the body a large knob projected above the rim, while at the opposite end the body was either flattened or bore a short flat-ended horizontal projection. The lid was rounded on the outside, excavated inside, and bore along the inner edge of its rim a thin downward projecting flange which accurately fitted the orifice of the body. The end which rested against the knob of the body when the lid was in position was either flat or notched. The opposite end was elongated and provided on the under side with a short downward projection like a thick blunt hook, which rested against the outside of the body.

In one specimen, which differs in other details from the normal type, the rear end of the lid bears an upward projection corresponding to the knob of the body. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) In well made boxes the lid fits the body so closely that it is frequently difficult to remove it. The whole utensil appears to be a more or less modified bird form, the body knob representing the head; the horizontal projection of the lid, the tail. (See Pl. LIX, *C*.) Boxes were frequently carved and the designs were usually the same as those used upon bowls. The first step apparently was to carve the body knob into a tiki face, and specimens in which this constitutes the sole decoration are not uncommon, although the more ornate examples are carved all over. In one crudely carved specimen in the Bishop Museum the designs show a preponderance of angular-geometric figures coupled with small line representations of human beings which are not of tiki type. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) 415 531

BOWLS AND DISHES

Wooden bowls and dishes are probably more numerous in ethnological collections than any other objects of Marquesan manufacture, as the elaborate carvings with which many of them are decorated make them eagerly sought after by collectors. They still form part of the equipment of every native household 415

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 and are manufactured in considerable numbers. No lathes have ever been introduced into the Marquesas, and all wooden utensils are still made by aboriginal
[322] processes modified only by the introduction of metal tools. The modern makers have ceased to reproduce the more elaborate ancient forms and ordinary utensils are rarely carved at the present time; but skillful carvers are still found in Nuka Hiva and Hiva Oa, and especially in Fatu Hiva, which was formerly the artistic center of the group.

415 The Marquesans employed a great variety of woods for their utensils, the favorite being *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*). This tree has a dark brown heart
824 wood and white sap wood, while its softness and even texture make it especially easy to carve. Next in importance came the temanu. This wood is light red to yellow in color and somewhat harder and less even grained than the *mio*, but still well adapted to the purpose. The trees attain a very large size, and on this account temanu appears always to have been used in ancient times for feast bowls and other large vessels. Most modern utensils are made of this wood, as the supply of large *mio* is practically exhausted. *Mei* (breadfruit) was used to a limited extent, but was considered an inferior material. Fau wood, when taken from old trees, was occasionally used, and small more or less ornamental vessels were made from sandal wood or *toa*. *Toa* was especially difficult to work on account of its hardness and its tendency to split, and objects made from it seem to have been primarily intended to show the skill of the workman. A number of other woods were sometimes used for special purposes or in the absence of better material, but according to informants, *vai*, a close grained red wood which appears well adapted to bowl making, was never used because it would split when exposed to the sun.

415 Modern bowl makers shape their utensils with adzes and knives, but knives are little used. The adzes are provided with iron blades made either from
322 plane irons or from sections of iron pipe, which has replaced the stone blades of the *toki kouma* type. (See p. 323.)

A well equipped workman employs a whole series of adzes of diminishing size, the last used being miniatures only a few inches in length. Green wood is used when possible, as it is softer and easier to work, but seasoned wood can also be used for bowls after it has been soaked in the river for several weeks. A block considerably larger than the intended object is first roughed out from the log, and is then worked down with the adz until the desired outline has been obtained. In all the examples seen approximately the final form was given to the exterior before the excavation of the interior was begun. In making round bowls a pair of European compasses are now used to outline the rim, but the shaping of the body is done entirely by eye. In shaping the exterior a light glancing blow is used, the chips detached being of such uniform size that a well made bowl just prior to polishing is covered with a multitude of small regular facets like those on a bowl of beaten brass. In excavating the interior the workman begins at the center, and gradually works back to the edges, hollowing the whole interior to the depth of about an inch. He then begins at the center once more and excavates another level, continuing until the desired depth is reached. The inside of an unfinished bowl

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a [824] large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *nio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

415 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *hue po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

[266] This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

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FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string. 283 [624]

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tona* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them. [231]

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth [292]

283 The cords of the large fish net (u'ena) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ka'aca* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

[824] Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber. This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the [227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as [534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

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Finished three plait cord is stored in long cylindrical rolls wound to give an ornamental effect. Many strand cord on the other hand is said to have been commonly wound in thin flat rolls like European tape. (See Pl. LXV, *B*.) 283

The only dyed coconut fiber cord collected was of the three strand variety, but it is probable that the more intricate plaits were also occasionally colored. All the specimens seen were reddish brown, tan or black, but red is mentioned in native stories and Stewart, a reliable authority, speaks of yellow and white sennit used in house lashings. The reddish brown and tan sennit appears to be natural. The Tongan method of deepening the color by baking, if originally known to the natives, has been forgotten. The lightest shade of tan sennit was made from fiber of the leaf sheath. Three methods of coloring the black sennit were described. 283 386

The bark of the *mai'i* tree was beaten up with stones and the juice squeezed into large wooden bowls. The finished sennit was then steeped in the juice for several days, until it became black. It was then removed and buried for three days in the mud of a taro patch, washed, and dried. A second method consisted of burying it in the mud for a longer period without the preliminary dyeing, while a third method consisted of rubbing the finished cord with a mixture of *ama* nut soot and water.

It seems probable that when mention is made to red sennit the darker shades of red brown are referred to, but at least some red sennit was made by painting the fiber, apparently after plaiting, with the seeds of the arnotto (*Bixa orellana*). Yellow sennit was colored with saffron, the cord probably being made from the light colored fiber of the leaf sheath. White sennit must, from the nature of the fiber, have been incrusted or painted rather than dyed, and it is quite possible that it was produced by rubbing the finished cord with a paste made from shell lime or from a fine white earth, extensive deposits of which occur in Nuku Hiva. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that fans were whitened in this way.

Although most Marquesan cordage was made from either fau bark or coconut fiber a number of other fiber plants were known and used. The most important of these seems to have been the pineapple. Pineapple fiber is still used for thread and for very small fish lines, and is prepared as follows: 283 824

The fresh green leaves are taken one by one, laid across a banana log, and scraped longitudinally with any sharp-edged instrument. The bowl of an ordinary metal spoon was seen used for this purpose. Continued scraping removes all the flesh of the leaf, leaving a few soft fibers which are then dried in the sun. The women convert these fibers into thread by rolling them upon the bare thigh with the palm of the hand. To make fish lines either two or three strands of this thread are twisted together, the finished line being passed rapidly through a flame to singe off the lint.

Banana fiber is said to have formerly been used for certain kinds of cord, but this material has not been employed for many years. To prepare the fiber,

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283 banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber
824 was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe* or string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amaenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amaenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *mauomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

284 A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cord-
177 age and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

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MATTING AND BASKETRY

MATS

The twin arts of matting and basketry appear to have been less developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of tropical Polynesia and both have been nearly destroyed by European contact. No mats of the better sort are now manufactured and the processes employed are unknown to most of the natives. Only three materials appear to have been used for mats, ti leaves, coconut fronds, and the leaves of the pandanus. Mats made from ti leaves were small crude affairs, hardly deserving the name. They were used only to line and cover *ma* pits. (See Pl. LXVI, *A*.) They were made as follows: 285 [824]

A quantity of the leaves were collected and the stems and heavy portion of the midrib removed, without breaking the inner surface of the leaf. These stemmed leaves were laid in bundles of three or four, the face of each leaf being against the back of the one below. These bundles were then placed side by side with a wide regular overlap, always from the same direction, and were pinned together with splints about two inches long made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet or from bamboo. Three of these splints were used to join each pair of bundles, one being placed in the middle and the other two near either end. In doing the work a long splint was used; a portion of the end of the splint was broken off each time and left as a pin. The resultant mat was as wide as the length of the leaves and could be extended indefinitely by pinning on new bundles.

Coconut mats are still regularly made in the Marquesas; the work is done by men and women indiscriminately. They are employed mainly as thatching for houses, to cover large earth oven and in ancient times they were used on beds, under the fine mats. The coconut mats are made as follows: [352]

A coconut frond, usually that of a young tree, is split longitudinally and the midrib, to which the leaflets of either half are attached, is pared thin enough to be rather flexible. Alternate leaflets are then directed forward and backward and interwoven in a simple checkerwork. The outer edge of the mat is finished by braiding the tips of the leaflets together in a continuous longitudinal strip. The size of these mats naturally depends upon that of the frond from which they are made, ordinary specimens being 14 to 20 inches wide and 6 to 12 feet long. A common variation of this technique is to employ two half fronds placed side by side, the midribs being joined together by twisting a leaflet around both at intervals of one to two feet. The leaflets of both fronds are then interwoven to form a mat of single thickness like that just described. A still further variation consists in placing two half leaves together with the midribs at opposite edges and interweaving the leaflets in checkerwork. This last technique is rarely used at the present time.

The better Marquesan mats, used principally upon beds, were made from pandanus. These bed mats were as a rule long and comparatively narrow, being intended to cover the space between the two coconut logs. They were of two sorts, the distinction being apparently one of shape and use. The mats upon which the legs rested were called *moena*, those upon which the body rested *kahuaa*, those for the head *p'ai p'ai*. (For shape and arrangements of these mats 285 352

to friends, that she had gathered a few of the women together and was teaching them to weave coarse mats. This statement is so remarkable, implying as it does an ignorance of the art, that it is difficult to account for unless mat weaving, like certain other industries, had become more or less localized so that the valley in which the missionaries settled bought its mats ready made. 285

BASKETS

The manufacture of all but the simplest baskets had been discontinued in the Marquesas in 1920 and only two types of basket were remembered by the informants questioned. Both of these were made from coconut fronds. The simplest type *kooho* (Pl. LXVI, *D*) is still manufactured, and is made as follows: [824]

Four short sections of coconut midrib, to each of which three leaflets are attached, are placed two at either end of the proposed basket and the leaflets interwoven in checkerwork to form the broad, oval bottom. Four similar sections, bearing two or three leaflets each, are then placed in pairs above the first four and their leaflets interwoven with the ends of those forming the bottom, making the sides. Three of the bottom leaflets are left projecting beyond the basket at either end and these are braided and the braid carried up over the outside of the basket to the rim. The rim is finished like the edge of an ordinary mat. When the body of the basket is finished, a bunch of tips project from either end. The braids from the bottom are combined with these tips and the whole plaited into a broad flat cord. The cords from the two ends are tied together above the center of the basket to form a handle, and the receptacle is ready for use. Baskets of this sort can be made in a few minutes. They are used principally for carrying fruit.

The more elaborate type of coconut basket called *hakete* (Pl. LXVI, *E*) is no longer regularly manufactured; the specimen figured was made to order by an old woman who remembered the process:

Young fronds, just beginning to unfold were used and the two sides of each leaflet were folded together before weaving so that the midrib lay along one edge of the strip. The basket was made as follows: The frond was taken and prepared as for mat weaving. Sections 3 to 5 feet long, depending on the size of the desired basket, were then cut from the corresponding portions of the two halves, and the leaflets of each section interwoven tightly at the base, each leaflet passing over two in the direction of its natural angle with the midrib. All the leaflets of each section thus ran in the same direction. The midribs of the two sections were then placed together in such a way that the leaflets of one ran at right angles to the leaflets of the other and were bent into a long oval, their ends being tied together with short pieces of bark string. This formed the rim of the basket. The leaflets of the two sections were then interwoven in a twilled pattern, over three and under three, those of one section forming the warp and those of the other section the weft. This weaving was continued down to the juncture of the bottom with the sides, where there was a narrow strip twilled over two and under two. The bottom, which was very narrow, was made in two thicknesses. The inner layer was formed by interweaving the warp strips of the two sides in a simple checkerwork, their tips being bent back and plaited together in a long strip beneath the checkerwork. The outer layer of the bottom was formed by bringing the weft strips of the two sides together along the middle of the bottom and there plaiting them into a flat braid. The braids from both the inner and outer layers were concealed between the two sections of the double bottom, but their tips projected upward, one at either end, on the inside of the basket. No handle was made, the basket being suspended by cords passed under the rim at either end. Baskets of this sort were used principally for carrying fish.

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to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract." 411

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long. Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant, [824

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.) [227]

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this 411 531

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APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise. 226 278 [824]

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual. 227

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavou* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds. 226 373 [824]

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]: 534 [192]

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio;* and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used. [322] [324]

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

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CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says, 291

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege. [784]

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent. 287 824

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils. 287 413

SCRAPERS

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

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Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, coconut oil scented with sandalwood. 302

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this purpose. In Hiva Oa this is called *cua*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *cka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *cua*, but it seems certain that the *cka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*cua*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it. 302 386 824 [249]

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says: 302

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house; they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *cua* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

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ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesans compensated for their simple costumes by the use of a great variety of ornaments, ranging from quickly made necklaces and wreaths of ferns and flowers to elaborate headdresses whose manufacture must have required months of work. Certain ornaments were worn exclusively by men or by women, but it is an interesting commentary on the position of the women that many of the most valuable could be worn by either sex. There are some indications of local differences in ornaments, but these are hard to establish at the present time.

FLOWERS, HERBS AND FRUITS

301 824 A great variety of wreaths and garlands, made from ferns and from all sorts of flowers and fragrant herbs, were formerly worn by the Marquesans. This sort of decoration is now limited to wreaths worn on the hair or around the hat.

Most of these wreaths are made from plants chosen for their odor rather than their beauty. The finest are made from *Guttarda speciosa* which bears a creamy yellow tubular flower of wonderful fragrance. The calyxes of the flowers are broken off and the tubes threaded upon a string, the base of one flower entering the mouth of the next. The flowers have a peculiar property of increasing in fragrance as they wither and even when dried have a pungent perfume. At the present time the flowers of *Gardenia tahitensis* are much used for wreaths, although this plant is not native to the Marquesas. The calyxes are broken off, but are left suspended by the pistil. The corollas are then threaded. The finished wreath is a white band from which hangs a fringe of bright green calyxes.

A necklace made from the fragrant ripe fruit of pandanus [*Pandanus odoratissimus*] was formerly a favorite ornament of both men and women.

The fruit looks somewhat like small sweet peppers, with shiny surfaces, bright red at the upper end, shading to lemon yellow at the tip. They were pierced laterally and strung side by side, small ends up, so that they formed a heavy semicircular collar two to three inches wide in the center, tapering toward either end. These ornaments are especially interesting because of their resemblance to a form of wooden gorget. (See p. 429.)

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Ornaments made from locks of human hair attached to a band of coconut fiber are highly characteristic of the Marquesan culture; nothing at all resembling them seems to have been used elsewhere in Oceania. Although these ornaments vary in size according to the part of the body on which they were to be worn, the technique is always the same.

The band to which the locks were attached was composed of a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber, which were plaited around two heavy longitudinal cords. The method of plaiting was such that at first glance the band seemed to consist of two half-inch ropes, tightly twisted in opposite directions, and fastened side by side. (See Pl. LXXVI, *A*.) The hair was made up into a number of small locks which were attached to the

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301 was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting
237 them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, *C*.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bear for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

301 The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity
[321] in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, *B*. The broader of these is made from the end of a large Conus shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from Tridacna shell, and is unusually well made. As Tridacna shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, *F*) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

● 824] A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precartorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, *G*.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouoho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, *A*.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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301 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, *B*) gives
321 the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of Conus shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

301 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem,
237 the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, *C*, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, 9½ inches; maximum width, 2¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are perforated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds attached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the [824] *Abrus precatorius*. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII, *C*, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered with the shiny red and black Abrus seeds. Along either side of the encrusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

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ornament of this sort, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 2. 292 237

The ornament consists of two feathered bands, of identical construction, placed side by side and fastened together by wrappings of sennit at intervals of three or four inches. The ends of the bands are enclosed in a longer wrapping; each band consists of a heavy core of twisted coconut fiber over which there is a continuous sennit wrapping. The plumes are closely spaced and have been laid on with their quills against the core, each quill being held in place by two or three turns of the wrapping. Great care was taken to place the plumes so that their natural curve caused those on each half of the band to incline outward and away from the center. Heavy sennit cords, probably a continuation of the fiber in the cores of the bands, spring from either end of the ornament. Other cords of fau bark are attached to the ends of the sennit cords.

The *taatvaha* was worn across the forward part of the head, a little back of the forehead, with the plumes rising vertically. The cords at its ends were tied under the chin, like bonnet strings. It was primarily a man's ornament, but was sometimes worn by women dancers at fetes.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says that about 500 feathers were required for a *taatvaha*, and that each cock had only two feathers which would serve, so that it was necessary to despoil over 200 cocks to make a single ornament. At the time of his visit a *taatvaha* was valued at a gun.

A modified form of the *taatvaha* is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 1. The bands which form the base of this ornament are like those in the one just described, but the workmanship is not so good. The feathers are much shorter and appear to be cocks' tail coverts. They are made up in small bunches of three to five feathers each, with the quill ends enclosed in short sennit wrappings. The bunches are attached to the cores of the bands by a method resembling that used in attaching the small locks of hair in hair ornaments.

Stewart (59, pp. 247-249) describes still another modification of the *taatvaha*. He says:

It [the headdress] consists of a crescent three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, an eighth of an inch wide, ran around the edges in a herring bone pattern of alternate black and white—while the middle was entirely filled with the small scarlet berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the breadfruit tree. [Compare this description with the gorget (?) shown on Pl. LXXVIII, *C*, 2.] The crescent formed the front of a cap, fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long black and burnished tail feathers of the cock—the finest I ever saw; those in the center being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner, as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head—the feathers in the center standing perpendicular, and becoming more and more vertical, till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends—falling, from the highest point above the forehead, one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side—played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. [824]

According to Handy a headdress made from the white feathers of the *vaki* bird was also called *taatvaha*.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says: "Oftentimes a bunch of other more curious feathers of sea birds, in the form of a plume, are worn at the top or back of the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the [533] operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the 752 patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina,* feast; *tuhi,* show; *tiki,* design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe 847
pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the [824]
abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted.

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is 843
certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea).

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often re- [262]
quested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua).

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse [522]
during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby."

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease 844
the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative [656]
edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the [743]
Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives.

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./

(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instructions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's generation, but much is also learned from more sexually advanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruction of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about appearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite common and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881 are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182 speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789] in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes be- [114] gan heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the com- plex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

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or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices. 728

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent: [825]

> The last *keana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *keana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

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501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but
531 not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip
[325] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atu-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

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On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage. 412 321

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. [825] [302]

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws. 412 322 237

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived, 412 324 [237]

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415 cups were rather dull, but with handling they acquired a beautiful glossy polish. Many cups were provided with a cord handle by which they were hung up when not in use. This handle consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole a short distance below the rim, the inner end being kept from slipping back either by a knot or by a small disk of pearl shell, like a button. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 1.) The finer grade of cups were used principally in kava drinking, which gave the inner surface of the cup a coating of glossy yellow enamel, like lacquer.

It is difficult to draw any line between cups proper and bowls, as the two classes grade imperceptibly into each other. As a rule the bowls are larger and thicker walled, and most specimens have recurved rims, that is, they are made from more than half a nut. Most of these bowls are provided with handles by which they can be suspended horizontally. One specimen in the Bishop Museum has the handle cut in one piece with the body of the bowl (Pl. LVIII, *A*, 2), but as the bowl is evidently unused it seems doubtful whether this is an ancient form. The handles of old specimens are of cord and appear to conform to a single type. (See Pl. LVIII, *A*, 3.) They were made as follows:

A pair of holes were pierced through either side of the shell a short distance below the rim. A loop of sennit cord was passed through each pair of holes, the ends protruding on the outside. A large black seed was then threaded upon each end of the loop and pushed down against the outer surface of the utensil. A cylinder of human bone, carved with horizontal grooves, was next threaded on, followed by another seed. The two strands of cord were then brought together and passed through a short thick ornament cut from the shaft of a human humerous, carved into a tiki figure. Above this ornament both strands were threaded through a single black seed and closely wrapped with a strand of fine sennit, giving them the appearance of a single cord. The ends of the loops were either tied together above the center of the bowl or interwoven and enclosed in a continuous wrapping which concealed the point of juncture. Bowls arranged for suspension in this way were frequently provided with carved wooden covers like those used for gourds. Bowls were usually rougher in finish than cups and were rarely carved.

Coconut bottles were made from the whole nut, the kernel was removed by a simple but ingenious method. (See Pl. LVIII, *C*.)

825 A large ripe nut was husked and the shell around the largest eye ground away to form an aperture about one inch in diameter. The nut was then placed in some stream where fresh water shrimps were plentiful and was left for a few days. The shrimps, entering through the aperture, picked the interior of the shell clean and left it ready for use. One of the smaller eyes was then pierced with a pointed stick and a loop of heavy cord passed through and secured on the inside, the outer end of the loop serving as a handle for the bottle. A wooden stopper for the large aperture completed the utensil, which appears never to have been decorated.

A slightly different type of bottle was used for the storage of scented oil for the hair (Pl. LVIII, *B*).

These utensils were made from small, thick shelled nuts having a more or less pointed stem end, which was ground off to below the eyes. The kernel was removed by the method just described. Most bottles of this sort were elaborately carved, some of the specimens ranking among the finest products of the native art.

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TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D.*) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet [825] found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B.*)

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by [825] divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued.

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *ama* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C.*) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. [284] The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum.

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776 782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" [825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months [764] all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

776 622 562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

775 765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with [352]
her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline
completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and
cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus
result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp,
the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer
an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional re- 835
ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander.
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by
native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825]
in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor
reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164]
he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the
promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This [786]
occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when
the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two
nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

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Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii. 551 [424]

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names. [547]

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond. [826]

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father. 597 551

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoiseshell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The 852 783

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778 attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

[826] Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

778 532 The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conventions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

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784 posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her
778 head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

784 Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred.
778 Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head
826 of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

784 Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special
778 coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 000 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/17 cont./ 856
role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications ad- 757
ministered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications --decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832]
of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness--are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186
believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757
are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856
superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826
contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757
sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856
limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly 836
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, [839]
as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [492]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./ 826

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 832
puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases. 757
to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856]
is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of
the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation
of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824]
alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary
effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u)
more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be
somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864
tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602]
generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603]
vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883]
together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521]
talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason,
government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875]
girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871]
and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower
grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864
in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838
tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are
more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their
clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor
supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the
pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy"
of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291
undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883
pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be
termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833]
clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there
is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526]
indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being
observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515]
mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo asgyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/51cont./

826 831 [192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

831 834 [609] [571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

838 883 838

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 157 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resembiance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The 756 856
use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an
aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known [182]
today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due
to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out [797]
all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the
Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained 174
on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty 881
from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two [115]
valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at
least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were [302]
kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the [757]
vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation [826]
for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some [824]
tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank [304]
at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls 174
would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or 88
koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they 826
exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a
genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon
flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the
rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called
ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone
or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to
be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva.
Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside
genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed
sufficiently large, hence the name attached. 881

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus 832
membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair 826
pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan
aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes
were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to con-
siderable derision, being insulted with the appellation of
to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

628 tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge
721 unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward
[302] the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and
[266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[182] ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground [516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a [352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192]

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. [828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotce*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou;* Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme;* Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka;* and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the
481 island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well *known to need a description; yet the mode* used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send
245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a
251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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293 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live. 829

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England. 186

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. 173

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months. 548

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god. 622

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief. 622 789 831

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *mohomoho*, a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of 622 [559]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4). 751 83

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa. 754 752 755

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods). 755

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa,* by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a,* who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tion of words and their relationship to those of other Polynesian tongues 126
quite clear to students. In the dictionary the glottal stop is indicated by an accent printed over the vowel following. (See Dordillon, pp. 5-6).

The native pronunciation of proper names has been followed as the basis of orthography throughout, in translations as well as in texts. The more important localities and tribes may be identified by reference to the maps published in Bulletin 9.[1]

In rendering the Marquesan into English I have sought to give literal translation and to preserve the native idiom as well as possible, without making the English grotesque, rather than to give a smooth English version. The tales are essentially Marquesan in character—rugged and rough. If there are any that deserve rendering into polished English, such transformed versions should appear elsewhere than in a volume that seeks to preserve the lore in its unvarnished integrity.

Like most people living in a state of nature, the Marquesans have no 831
more sense of impropriety in describing incidents relating to sex life and the like than they have in talking about eating and drinking or any other physical habits common to all mankind. In some stories, grotesque incidents of this nature appear as embroidery of the main theme. In others they constitute main themes. Throughout the legends the sex motif is more dominant than any other. I trust no reader will be led by this to judge the ancient Marquesans to have been immoral or degraded. They are not to be judged by our standards. The Marquesans of old were doubtless as strict in their obedience to tapus and proprieties affecting sex relationships as they were to other tapus: and the respect for tapus prevailing among Polynesians in the days of their folk automony certainly exceeded that of Europeans and Americans of the present day for either law or morality. In my judgment the sex interest shown in their folk lore demonstrates the Marquesans to have been essentially healthy in mind—there is none of the morbid dwelling on erotic detail characteristic of the folk lore of certain other races more effetely civilized.

Only an understanding of the Marquesan nature in its setting can give a true basis for judgment. They were probably the most robust and exuberant of all the Polynesians, and lived in complete isolation in tropical islands of unsurpassed beauty. There was no venereal disease among them. Their philosophy of sex was that of sons and daughters of nature whose environment permitted a remarkable amount of freedom in the indulgence of an appetite which one cause or another—environment, congestion of population, religious teaching—has forced most peoples in the world to repress to a greater degree. The whole story of the Marquesans' philosophy of sex lies in the word which they most commonly employ when speaking of intercourse, namely *hou*, which means sport, or play.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

[481]

648 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

831

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

[231]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

All *popoi* pounders agree with the commercial pounders in the form of the body and base. The necks range in cross section from oval to round, but the differences appear to be more or less accidental and are not correlated with other features. The range in size does not appear to have been very great, the ancient specimens seen varying in height from 7 to 8½ inches and in base diameter from 4½ to 5¾ inches. The variation is about the same in all subtypes. The subtypes are therefore based entirely upon differences in the form and decoration of the head. 412

The simplest form of *popoi* pounder appears to be the flat topped type called *opu*. In the plainest specimen collected (Pl. LI, *B*, 2) the neck is circular in cross section and expands only slightly at the top, the upper end being slightly convex. The curve of the bottom is unusually high. More commonly in this type the neck is more or less oval in cross section and the upper end shows a more marked expansion, its surface being flat or slightly concave. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 1.) In one specimen, which could not be obtained, the ends of the oval head projected beyond the neck in finely made flat flanges not more than one-fourth inch thick. A further modification of the *opu* type consisted in encircling the neck some distance below its upper end with a raised ring. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 3.) In view of the shape of one of the specimens of phallic form it seems probable that the idea here is phallic also. *Popoi* pounders of the *opu* type were seen only in the island of Hiva Oa, and as all the specimens were of local rock it seems possible that this was peculiar to Hiva Oa. [831]

The phallic type of pounder is much more common than the *opu* type and appears to have been the dominant form throughout the Marquesas. It may be subdivided into simple phallic representations, and the tiki headed pounders, which are clearly derived from the simple phallic form.

A single specimen (Pl. LII, *C*) may link the phallic pounders with the ringed specimens of the *opu* type. The neck of this implement is encircled a short distance below its upper end by a raised, smoothly rounded ring. The space above this ring is dome shaped and ungrooved. The whole appears to be a phallic representation.

The normal form of phallic pounder is well illustrated by the specimen shown on Plate LII, *A*. In this the neck expands smoothly to form a head of almost rectangular cross section, there being no line of demarkation between the two parts. The transverse groove is deep and the sides slope inward steeply. The ends are almost vertical and the top on either side of the groove is flat. The whole surface is treated as a series of slightly convex planes which meet in well marked angles. This angularity is most pronounced in No. 1. Most of the phallic pounders seen had this form and it is probably the prototype from which both the modern commercial and tiki headed pounders have been developed.

Two phallic pounders, shown on Plate LII, *B*, differ slightly from this normal type. The head of No. 1 is oval in cross section, the sides slope inward

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 858
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant [552
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given 831]
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 881 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 831 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 [864] Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that [836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but [535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable
831 bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desir-
562 able girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in
762 the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/40 cont./ 832
described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make
an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the
boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place them-
selves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to
be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not
noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a
misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion
conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary.
Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often
thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between
who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly
at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan
these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary
for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be
working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select
a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she ap-
proaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the
excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush
for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls
while bathing, or just after when they are still partially un-
dressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and
neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound
of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are
noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes
place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and
might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the in-
truder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction
of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the
tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831●
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tutte hakaiki --

/50 cont./

"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. mōa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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/59 cont./

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Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

836 883

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. [838]

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As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

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/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community.

/70 cont./

lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This prac- [833]
tice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy,
and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations
for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are
often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced fre-
quency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly
men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well
as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much
younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age
group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner
sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure
whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-
known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual
partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their atten-
tions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature under-
stood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our
society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour.
Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a
sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care
is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have
been discussed previously, referring to the male and female
genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle ex-
pressions and figures of speech are used; and often the con-
versation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./ 521
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being pro- 522
duced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. 831
These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already 192
been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," 195
p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented 831
here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over
Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The [177]
word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate,"
and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on con- 521
versation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except 831
in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect re- [602]
lations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, [606]
are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed con- 831
siderably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both 177
with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than [578]
referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

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'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
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/75 cont./ Having 192 602 831 [177]

been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea 164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked. 192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat 571 831 unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has 178 been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [248] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into 831 the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the 797 missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [564] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114-
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

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In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

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context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154 seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182 on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797 nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831 ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182 relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831 French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery. 182 834

Conclusions

114

The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

/119 cont./

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on. 182 121

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt. 182 831

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here. 178 831

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified, (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

852 304 [782]

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau,* wood; *pi'a,* male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

[832]

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is
534 said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk
832 through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night

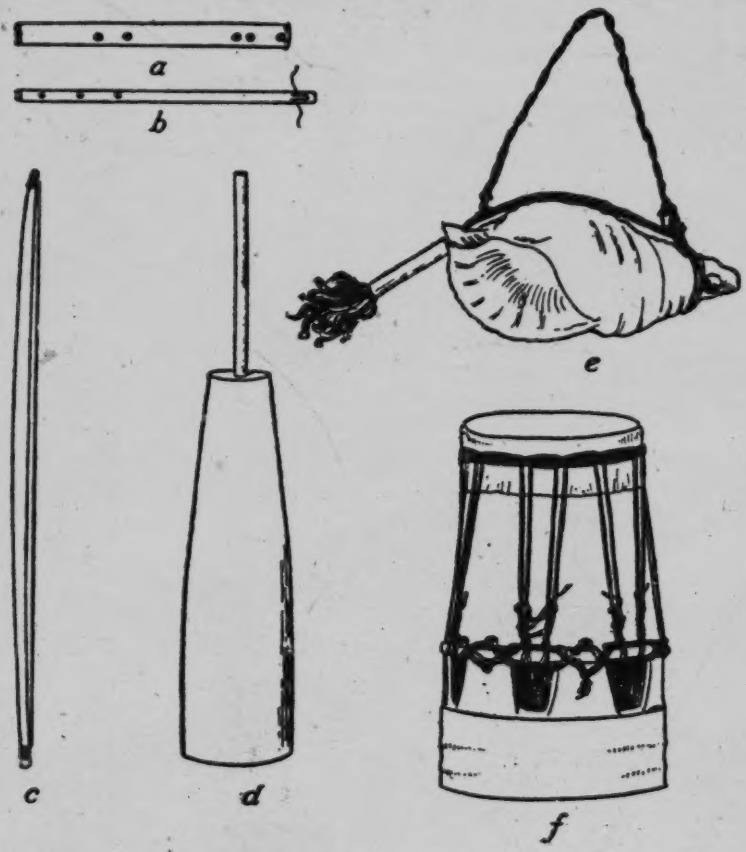

FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were "talked to" in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander's most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533 773

hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X553

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.*

[869] [868]

X533 769 832

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

* Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna,* who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[10] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[10] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 164), London, 1813.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women 853
took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their [832]
breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its 863
functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; [514]
they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child 865
doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum [276
or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, 261]
observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was 854
under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, [176]
who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 855
266

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no 861 discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.[2] They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[832] [2] White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

[End of processed section]

/17 cont./ 856
role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832] of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186
believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757
are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856
superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826
contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757
sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856
limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly 836
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 832 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases 757 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/36 cont./

their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 589 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883 515
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173]
in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883 526

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 832 [177] [797]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/40 cont./ 832 883
described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212] handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- "(What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any 836 648
previously established unions and marriages.

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual [832] potential of the girl.

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits 836 derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the dis- 648 ruptive influence that such a person might wield on native so- 182 cial relations.

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group 836 of the same culture and completely alien groups, which 648 possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic [833] foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" ooo

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tutte hakaiki --

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/66 cont./ 585 833

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 159 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 57
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered." 844

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house. [753]

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind. 846 [262] 833 846 [841]

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in 851

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833] ●
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the chil- 868
dren were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but
[535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking 833 ●
pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm.

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, 836
many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms 833
of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience.

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the 833
woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown.

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly [illegible]
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [856] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming. [824]

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/ 832

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522]
some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833 ●
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515]
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind [302]
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534]
soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832 833 [522] [177]

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make 833 833 192

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed
by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage,
especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas
archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been
influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply in-
creased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a
girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives
of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tenden-
cies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax
a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting
pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually
somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the
water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to
remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Inter-
course usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in
rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be
condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing
ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan
males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As
was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first
experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscu-
ous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which
is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further [648]
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers,
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the
islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any 836 648
previously established unions and marriages.

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites. the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash. and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European. for it is believed to reduce the sexual [832] potential of the girl.

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence. or if they have great wealth or position. however. gradually the resistance against their presence falls away. and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases. the economic benefits 836 derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the dis- 648 ruptive influence that such a person might wield on native so- 182 cial relations.

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside. acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule. which will be discussed at more length below. involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group 836 of the same culture and completely alien groups. which 648 possess different patterns of sexual behavior. the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below. the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic [833] foreplay. oral stimulation. variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act. to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" ooo

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result. 833 836 [178]

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka 585
na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, 192
there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex 195
act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used 585
among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply 833
slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words.

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/67 cont./ 833

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not.

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 521

/70 cont./

lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This prac- [833]
tice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy,
and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations
for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are 887
often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 522
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature under- 831
stood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 149
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/93 cont./
observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789]
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, [881]
then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 114 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special [183]

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth. it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./

not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numer- 831
ous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be 175
sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this 183
category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture
in general) which appear to have been of European introduc- [177]
tion. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly
Western type kissing in general, and a large number of
idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with
particular individuals. However, these last are relatively
superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of be-
havioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus,
there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior
pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in [182]
the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of
aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical
and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have 114
been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain 833
nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of
these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the
sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques
which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allow-
ing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch
(Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was
impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimu-
lation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible
cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are
linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held [562]
effective power over the male contingent by the distribution
of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued
primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution
to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual
gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical 462
and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority [562]
in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made
extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as
they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went
to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the
787 victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *koto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of
the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was
784 under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no
778 one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under
[421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one
[822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and
had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have
● 834 nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with
184 women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married. 793 834 184

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men. 793 292

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes, 793 766 776

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu,* which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe,* an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena,* fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu.* 302 824

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138). [834]

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi.* Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go. 793

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna.* The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a,* according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [567]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

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music is not the only criterion of musical sense. The inadaptibility of the Marquesans to our music is directly in line with their evident inability to assimilate European culture or any important elements in it, which apparently results from pride and independence of character, and an intense love of their own ways of living.

Individuals sang alone when they chanted spells, or as they accompanied work with a song; priests sometimes intoned the sacred chants alone; and it is probable that a type of love song, called *uta,* of which every individual possessed one of his own, was sometimes sung alone, though it appears usually to have been performed by a chorus. It is the choral singing, however, that distinguishes Marquesans as a musical people. The records of the melodies of a few of the choral chants presented in this paper can give little suggestion of what must have been their effect when sung, with the energy characteristic of the Marquesans, by many voices to the accompaniment of clapping and drums.

When the head of a family or tribe desired to have a song or songs prepared for some festivity, the first step was to employ an adept (*tuhuna*) skilled in composition and teaching. The composer retired into seclusion to evolve from his mind the verses and melody. Sometimes a small house (*oho au*) was especially built for him by his employer, who supplied him with food during the time that he was thus working alone. After his compositions were ready, the next step was the assembling and teaching of the chorus that was to perform them. For teaching the tapu chants for important occasions, a special house was built to accommodate the singers. They dwelt in the singing house, were not allowed any indulgence of their sexual instincts, and were fed by the family for whom the chant was being prepared. The composer himself taught his chants to the chorus, all members of which, like the teacher, were subject to certain restrictions during the period of training. The type of chant determined the nature of the chorus. For example: the *pipine,* performed in honor of a maiden, was sung by a chorus of young girls; the *rari* and *uhaki,* recreational and funeral songs, respectively, by mixed choruses; the *nato* by a chorus of men of all ages; and the *pu'e,* the solemn creational chant, by old men. Every chorus had a leader (*kahua*), a man or a woman with a strong voice and musical ability, who started and directed the singing.

In the native nomenclature three voices (*eo*) are distinguished: *a'o* deep; *vavena,* medium (literally, "middle"); and *ma una,* high (literally, "on top"). There are these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and to contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Registers between these are designated descriptively, as *ma una o te eo i vavena,* just above the medium voice;

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of *304 262 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had pre-
38 pared the pigment *(hinu)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu*
[834] operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaahi*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

*304 When the *tuhuna* arrived, bringing his instruments in a bamboo case
413 seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(ivi heana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173]
in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522

Marquesan		Uhi tua	834 883
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe	
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki	
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe	
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue	
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio	
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea	

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [797] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news. 837 521

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband. 684 [152] 934 837 [578]

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare. 837

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/97 cont./
relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions 603 864
was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that
instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the
"shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts
between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, [182]
that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of
transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal
custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma 291
in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely
naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over
the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also
worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women
apparently went naked to the waist in general but also ap-
peared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions,
however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, con-
sisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much
of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual rela- 291
tions, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a 797
direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation
of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to ac-
cept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the
mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to
those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan mis-
sionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been
a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties
of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less
concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth 178
century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, 291
most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage 797
of the time that they were in situations where numbers of
people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth
or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have
gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably
disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and 178
values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]

European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 864 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

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heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship
604 was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and
605 nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male
604 and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations,
● 835 rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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583 through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848 or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582 applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. 835
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825] in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164] he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when [786] the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626 is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835 seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 52

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was 836 greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution [184] in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264 was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262 it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231 kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556 feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585 this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586] and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582 are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836 themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462 different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463 certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352 calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415 cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, 000

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
• [836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in inter-
[535] course. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking 833
pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm.

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, 836
many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms 833
of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience.

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the 833
woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown.

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [1197] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./ 836

transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145] worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881] individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197] for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871] of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839] of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513] time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836 will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548 so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648 sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648] provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly [redacted]
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/34/ 836 ●

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837 heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864 married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183] pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522] some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833 of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836 (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837] the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515] with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. [302] Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177] variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. [534] As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226] expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) [609]
is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe [797]
(rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any 836 648
previously established unions and marriages.

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual [832]
potential of the girl.

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits 836 648
derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the dis- 182
ruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations.

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group 836 648
of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic [833]
foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" ooo

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and
strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result. 833 836 [178]

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/59 cont./ 183

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans 831
participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period 836 883
consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into [838]
to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl de- 182
pends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the 836
world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the 182
Marquesans, also have an established role which they can 838
play in the community. 839

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows: 778

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking. 951

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [231 241]

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [581 584] [607 837]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was un- [586] happy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being im- 291 modest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahkee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. 721 This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: 766 its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the 782 deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and 837 women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love 585 with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get pos- 583 session of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The

/34/ 838

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837 heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864 married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young [183] males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522] some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833 of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836 (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837] the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515] with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of com- [302] mercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177] variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534] soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226] expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/62 cont./ The 586

dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178]
ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837●
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/66 cont./ 585 833

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used. [192] [195]

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 [52]

/69 cont./ 837 52

two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684 extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152] injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 834 is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837 in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [578] be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837 a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/70 cont./

lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time. 837 [833]

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates. 833 887

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to indulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic. 521 522 831

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites. 584 585

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatá mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas. 589 838

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way: 763

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!——O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!——Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!——May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!——O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking 833
pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm.

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, 836
many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms 833
of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience.

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the 833
woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown.

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently com-
762 mitted suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 832 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 757 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/51cont./

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus. 826 831 [192]

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size. 831 834 [609] [571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and 838 883 838

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a [462] considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles.

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male [832] before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm.

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a 839 sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males.

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/59 cont./

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained. 183 831

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. 836 883 [838]

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large. 182 836

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community. 182 838 839

/67 cont./ 833

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not.

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite 837
soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or [835] with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts.

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior [833] patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation.

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and 838 practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural.

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as 839 an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females.

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in 837 most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom 521 possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [187]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [197]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

/21 cont./
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 864 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when
a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it
from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently
prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although
the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the
acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 864
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant
in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children.
Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very
early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early
beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation
technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the
penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the
sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example
of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on
female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of
women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female
investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story
by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally
masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female
masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation,
however, as males make frequent reference to female
practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 857
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger
members of these groups are physiologically incapable of
ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on
their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the
actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 87 86 [83]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly 836
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the lois of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [143]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832] comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839 ●
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521] images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/50 cont./

"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839] outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious of each others endowments, often conducting comparative sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804] indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123] tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bathing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a [462] considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles.

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Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/55 cont./ 839 ●
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839 ●
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/59 cont./

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained. 183 831

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. 836 883 [838]

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large. 182 836

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community. 182 838 839

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 52

/108 cont./

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no 182 838
stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that 178
in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, 835
there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as [582]
being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there [604]
was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship be- [606]
tween parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships 178
are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, 835
but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the 605
sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted [161]
population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available 839 ●
from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted [538]
that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends [773]
is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with the tail on one side of the body instead of behind. 291

WOMEN'S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka'eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu'eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko'oi, taka pu,* and *piti'i ko'oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka'eu* as "a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees." On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being "drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs." *Eu'eu pipi* or *eu'eu ku'uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka'ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu'eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa'aha eu'eu* (8).

Noku, or *no'u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka'eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any articificial support, and after use it was buried. 841

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka'ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or 291

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304K
definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 581
chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [941]
success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304K
with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343
tuhuna and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602
the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones *(hutu)* were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561]
forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833]
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the chil- 868
dren were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to 161 determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. 119 These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the pro- 162 portions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed 843 by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role 842 of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating 841 (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed 842 that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided [997]

/7 cont./ 841 842 [797]
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept.

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
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at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
842 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-
851 such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early • 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

/6 cont./

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/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

 335 602

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it. 582 602 784 831 341 844

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property. 582

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says: 843

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina,* which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina.* Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, because of the *tapu* on blood. [759] If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts as bait. [843] These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.

Fanaua seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

6: Lisianskiy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 776 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb [158 843] (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to 161 114
determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the pro- 162
portions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed 843
by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role 842
of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating 841
(mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed 842
that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained [797]
from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced. 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe 847
pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the [824]
abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted.

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is 843 ●
certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea).

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often re- [262]
quested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua).

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse [522]
during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby."

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease 844
the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative [656]
edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the [743]
Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. 565 There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, 565 342 as I have before observed in describing the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. [356] The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264] the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565 or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, 351 of the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. [287] The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844 distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833] after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841] bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854 four years, after which bathing was less formal since the chil- 868 dren were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852 household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

/9 cont./

known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844●
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/11 cont./ 844
take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the [178]
pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the 846
umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) 757
consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). [824]
After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another
medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump
is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found
in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to
absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off
an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of [824]
leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This prep-
aration is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the
entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that
Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a
large number of astringents for a variety of purposes.

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the hus- 846
band and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there 757
indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic 178
value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in [833]
aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 959 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

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778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, [843] for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.

Fanaua seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley. 223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [483 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

PLANTS CULTIVATED

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

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I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas. 252

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku,* but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower,smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women. [251]

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa.* The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uka*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E ika mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some- [846] [251]

/11 cont./ 844
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pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks.

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aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal
condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are posi-
tively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls
are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom,
still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the
1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern
archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not com-
pletely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed
between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal
sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to [842]
be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again,
as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or
so after birth.

846
The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) [826]
if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth
it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste
(ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it.
This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [757]

/13 cont./ 846 ●
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 757
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753] (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824] fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824] utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412] shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178] use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

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10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

 611 592

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment [554] of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or 162 wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural [592] wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice [847] infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, 592 a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband 595 outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592

The household also included the children of the women, 595 either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were 842 perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 851

/7 cont./ 841 842 [797]
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept.

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843 relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached. In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462] the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492] the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757] abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776] of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847 as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858] at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/9 cont./

known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha 'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

161 175

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant. 163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants. 161 175

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources: 162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. [776] [753]
Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. [778]
Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [847]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con-
[784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by
[386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the
[413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm
[533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the
[553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation-
848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

583 through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848 or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582 applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [591]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 592 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

● 548 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
590 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered." 844

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house. [753]

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after intision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind. 846 [262] 833 846 [841]

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in 851

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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EULOGISTIC CHANTS

PIPINE

The *pipine* was a chant composed in honor of a young woman and sung at a feast prepared to celebrate the occasion of the singing. Such a compliment might be paid by the girl's father, by other relatives, or by friends. The song was taught to a group of young girls who, after thoroughly learning the words, melody, and rhythmic movements, sang it as the central feature of the feast. The girls were seated in rows, and as they sang, accompanied the melody by light clapping with flat hands (*papaki*), varied by the hollow-hand clapping (*pu*), the shoulders and hands at the same time being swung slowly from side to side in rhythm with the melody. The first line was sung alone by the leader or director (*kahua*), and the song was then picked up and carried on by the whole chorus. 533X

In the example presented in melodic figure 4, the young woman is described as preparing herself for the feast to be given in her honor.

POPE

It was the custom in the Marquesas for a father to erect a new dwelling for his first-born son. The *pope* was a song composed for the occasion and sung at the opening of the new house, the song being chanted in the house on the night following the formal consecration and the feast of entrance, by the relatives of the boy. The singing was accompanied by clapping, the hands and shoulders of the singers being swung from side to side in harmony with the rhythm of the song. (See melodic figure 5.) 533X 851 342

PUTU

The *putu* (melodic figure 6) was a song for a young man, chanted in his honor at a feast given to celebrate the singing. In a performance observed at Atuona the chorus consisted of men of all ages, but no women. The men stood as they sang, being arranged in concentric semicircles, having the old men with deep voices in the center, the middle-aged men next, and the young men on the outside. They all sang together, apparently in unison, except on the line *"A hau mai te oho he oho,"* which was repeated twice. The first time, this line was sung by the old men in a deep voice (*i a'o*); the second time, by the middle-aged men in a medium voice (*vavena ae*); and the third time, by the young men in the high voice (*mauna nui*). 533X

The accompaniment consisted of drums and clapping. Throughout the whole song the singers clapped (*papaki*) regularly, one, two, three, four, followed by a rest. Occasionally the tempo of the clapping was doubled.

 611 592

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth. [554]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women. 162 [592] [847]

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. 592 595 592

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, 595 842 851

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595 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Ques-
842 tioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is
851 my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 When a man came into a household, he brought no property
595 except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 The first-born child was really a symbol through which the
554 status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was
597 held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these
[852] ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a
584 mate from another household entailed still more elaborate
592 property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's [623] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl 262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a 853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. 854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry [278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to [602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the ● 852 father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ovu ovu*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 353

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 354 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door.

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled.

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue*.) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The 852 783

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called ***hakahe'e*** was given by the ***pahupahu*** in honor of their ***i'amutu*** (nephew or niece). 852 858

On Nuku Hiva a rite called ***kohihika,*** evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal ***me'ae*** on the shoulders of a priest. This was called ***hakahe'e.*** Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of ***hakahe'e.*** As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. [302] Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow ***ena.*** When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief ***(mo'i ha'atepeiu)*** was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called ***uta*** and ***komumu.***

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—***matua*** is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; ***ua tihe,*** signifies has arrived. 881

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or ***te ma'ui*** (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the ***ko'ina putoto,*** was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the ***pahupahu*** (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the ***pahupahu,*** who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the ***pahupahu.*** Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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881 who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

852 The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were 301 *tehe* (cut), *tche te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tahuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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852 304 All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.

After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua,* where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tehe* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu),* and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna.* The *tuhuna tehe,* or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a viihoa,* sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[8] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[8] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vanana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way. 539

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-au no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation. 539 789

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference. 539 852

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama,* the *pu'e,* or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e,* although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take,* or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope.* During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 539 852

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu,* has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu,* with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha,* the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu.* 539 764

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u,* or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue,* it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*). 539 765 [533]

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu,* which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families 539

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

595 842 851 but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

592 595 When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

592 554 597 [852] The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

554 584 592 The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833]
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke. 868

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

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service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
262 cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
853 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
854 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
[602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

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During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. 252
The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily. [853]

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions 264
for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 362).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and 252
they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

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inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). 252
Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours.

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an 853 ●
ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by 252
piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth.

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were 252
weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the bread- 862
fruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies.

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The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 412 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 412 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 412 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 412 524

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional [305] curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 846
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) 757
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1' [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 959 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made
by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut
milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
[278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before
suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come
out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very
early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation
of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means
of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its
skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
[602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the
852 father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have
it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According
to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and
another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog
was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry
presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all
the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee*
as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born
child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her
first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been
born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the
newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time
an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth
and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae).* The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who [262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833]
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke. 868

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/21 cont./

children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the association of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite frequently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

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855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/15 cont./ 164 842

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/17 cont./ 856 757

role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832] of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186 believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757 are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856 superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826 contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757 sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856 limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/18 cont./

northeastern side of the valley. Despite its scarcity it is most popular of all the preparations. 757 856

/19/

ko ku'u (Staphylea sp. ?). The leaves of the plant are prepared and administered in the same manner as described above. Can be administered at three weeks of age.

ko'i'e The nut of a coconut (C. nucifera) fallen at a very young stage called koie is used for this medication. The nut is crushed on a stone and squeezed for juice, which is administered three times daily in one or two drops from the time the infant crawls until it reaches an age of a year.

moho ki'o (Achyrathes aspera?). A branch is grated against an abrasive stone and the scrapings squeezed in a cloth after mixing with a small amount of water. The juice can be administered one week after birth.

vai ma This medication consists of water poured from fermented breadfruit paste when it has been removed from storage, pounded with a stone pestle to remove lumps and moistened. The excess water, mixed with urine, can be used as a vaginal astringent.

ki'i kehika (Szygium jambos ?). The bark of the kehika tree (the well-known pomme rouge of Eastern Polynesia), is grated, mixed with water and squeezed through a cloth in the same fashion as the preceding medications.

ki'i 'ama The bark of the candlenut tree (Aleurites trilobita) can be used in the same fashion as the above medication.

/20/

pota ko The juice of the fruits of the mi'o tree (Thespesnia populnea) are crushed for their juice which is administered in the same fashion as noted above.

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/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of [856] the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 159 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [789]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without [833]
stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, [881]
then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed 501
in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enume- [526]
rated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys [851]
and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh 648
complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The 657
group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell.

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-con- [156]
fidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical [57]
of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations

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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 864 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

/21 cont./

children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 864 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 864
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 857
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 87 86 [83]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 862 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 86A [603]

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly 836
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

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854 753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who
[262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought
[755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves
824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs
[769 that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories
[539 collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'onó)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 852 853 861 [584] [304]

Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 858

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door. 852 858

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled. 852 858 342

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue*.) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 ● 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece). 852 858

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. [302] Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived. 881

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and 604
mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 858
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both 622
administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant [552
mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given 831]
names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

/7 cont./ 841 842 [799]
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept.

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843 relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached. In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462] the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492] the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757] abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776] of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847 as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858] at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

855 [266] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

/28 cont./ 204

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

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inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). 252
Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours.

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an 853
ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by 252
piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth.

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were 252
weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the bread- 862
fruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies.

/14 cont./ These 853

individuals,[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan-
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on [476]
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

[1] [i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women 853
took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their [832]
breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; [514]
they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child 865
doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum [276
or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, 261]
observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was 854
under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, [176]
who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 855
266

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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but
[535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 865 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/21 cont./ 86A
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when
a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it
from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently
prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although
the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the
acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 86A
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant
in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children.
Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very
early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early
beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation
technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the
penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the
sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example
of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on
female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of
women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female
investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story
by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally
masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female
masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation,
however, as males make frequent reference to female
practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 859
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger
members of these groups are physiologically incapable of
ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on
their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the
actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 837 [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 866 857 [273]
alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

/25 cont./ 864
of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the 603
vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in [856]
techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of 515
bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to [183]
body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large num- 302
ber of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers them- [824]
selves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such [439]
quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for 515
Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious [578]
affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of [856]
vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circum- 881
cision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [856] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming. [824]

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/ 836

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522]
some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515]
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind [302]
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [177]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [534]
soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka, or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881 are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182 speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin 824 in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [789] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without [833] stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, [881] then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was 881
given concerning the relative chronological order of this
ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any
mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche cere-
mony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, [114]
therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to
puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, re-
sembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid [304]
221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in
honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the
final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a
tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance [535]
festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-
around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for [304]
young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report 182
by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, 881
and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only sur-
vivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these [157]
puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details
recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the
area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's [184]
information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely
that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the
archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and 603
especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by 864●
Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not
mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the
grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of ration- [602]
ship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was
permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been
judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having
parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom. 603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body. 291

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of 291 797 178 291 797 178 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 864 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 115
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason; it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 38-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/107 cont./ 114
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864]
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853 [832]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863 [514] 865 [276 261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854 [176] 855 266

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 87 86 [83]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 859

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 867 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

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Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

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By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vovona* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vovona* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vovona* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a 844
distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately [833]
after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual [841]
bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or 854
four years, after which bathing was less formal since the chil- 868
dren were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the 852
household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga,* ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before they became *kaioi.* Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty 304 rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 87 864 [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 857

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

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/24 cont./
alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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852 (clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon
858 the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the
342 food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

852 This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in
858 the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

858 The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching
● 869 consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina,* bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave,* and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea,* that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou.* He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou,* in which the men chanted the *pu'e, tona pou,* and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa,* in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e, faia'u* or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki,* and *ohu au no ihi,* all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called *ahu* (pile or mound).

The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

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The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *vpini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tou enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[31]

[31] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X553

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

[869] [868]

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The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

/21 cont./ 864
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when
a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it
from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently
prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although
the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the
acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 864
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant
in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children.
Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very
early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early
beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation
technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the
penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the
sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example
of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on
female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of
women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female
investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story
by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally
masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female
masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation,
however, as males make frequent reference to female
practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 857
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger
members of these groups are physiologically incapable of
ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on
their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the
actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [797]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 832 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, 757 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [863] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [531] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/115 cont./ 154 182 648 797 831

context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154 seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182 on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797 nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831 ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182 relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831 French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

/32 cont./

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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562 Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, 852 who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there 858 was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi.* 881 The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was 584 also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was 304 tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

852 The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as 858 those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece). 852 858

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. [302] Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change "*Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived. 881

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, "*Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were *tehe* (cut), *tche te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work. 352 304 [278]

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[5] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from 304 [281]

[5] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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304 clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must
[73] agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the
[56] father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

304 A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal
184 marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

304 That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious sea-
●881 sons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

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men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less 304 x
definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Ber- 581
chon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the [547]
success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began 304 x
with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for 343
tuhuna and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, 602
the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from [561]
forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga,* ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before they became *kaioi.* Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty 304 rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

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on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations.

The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim, tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
881 dinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
[864] trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that
[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but
[535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. 864 603 [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881 ●

/26 cont./

rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [797]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources 881 are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, 182 speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem [115] them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of 304 824 preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin [789] in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, [833] although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, [114] the behavior may actually be a local development. It is [184] doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which 864 male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the 174 aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will [114] be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to [626] lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates [304] (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to [881] heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis- [182] parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again 757 bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital [826] qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. [832] The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to [856]

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision; being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175 appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 648 in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864 There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the changes are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833 for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881 that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178 evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834 is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183] hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114 adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571 appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth. 554 [571]

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society. 882

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly. 883 302 [533 882]

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence 883 836

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesa OX6

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883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 [184] It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). 883 Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon 883 for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. 304 It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au,* including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further [597] explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born [593] or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi,* because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi.*

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533X [517]

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 533X 883 [302] [301]

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs 533X

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at 826 puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases. 832 to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It 757 is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of [856] the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 836 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342]
to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family [231]
barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626]
and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 589 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the 515
Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan 832
sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in 883
routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in 834
groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is charac- 883
teristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It 522
is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at 198
no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex 834
as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked [173]
in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. [551] Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. 834 883 A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. 526 832 [177] [797] In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands 838
of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small 883
and the females available as sexual partners are either few or [361]
completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these [162]
valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 [162]
people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent op- [123]
portunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known [522]
to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

/59 cont./

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained. 183 831

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. 836 883 [838]

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large. 182 836

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community. 182 838 839

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy. 583 [883] [177]

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come. 583 585 178 [648] [692] [197]

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one. [626]

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing. [197]

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The 586 [585]

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heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 175
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 698
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. 864
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the changes are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883 ●
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and 114 883 recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers 571 for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups 883 as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group 342 was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained 571 houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, [172] and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but [833] the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type 883 were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes 571 that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they 174 might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out 114 here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains 342 a considerable amount of information on general and special 182

/102 cont./

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned 182 74 883 571 at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/28 cont./ 804

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [197] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[536] [887]

> . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. 769 776

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9). [784] [386] [292]

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals." [292 302 887] [786]

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty. [302]

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practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; beld thus, the body was left to burn.

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301 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruvania.*
192 **Hei nano.** (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vei-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of breadfruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

[887]

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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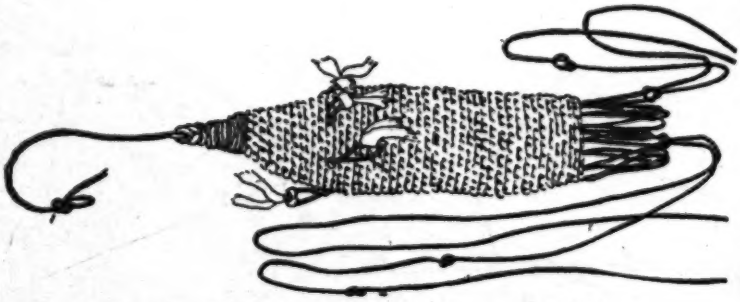

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

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An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 887
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837] [648]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This prac- [833]
tice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy,
and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations
for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are
often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced fre-
quency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly
men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well
as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much
younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age
group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner
sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure
whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-
known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual
partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their atten-
tions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature under-
stood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our
society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour.
Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a
sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care
is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have
been discussed previously, referring to the male and female
genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle ex-
pressions and figures of speech are used; and often the con-
versation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [793] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and 273] that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi-
682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 833 837 is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. [158] His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days [733] a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 882 [832] Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

/106 cont./ 462

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little